

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ  
দলিলপত্র

# বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ

দলিলপত্র : চতুর্দশ খন্ড

বিশ্ব জনমত

সম্পাদক : হাসান হাফিজুর রহমান

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার  
তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়

প্রকাশক	:	গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়-এর পক্ষে গোলাম মোস্তফা হাক্কানী পাবলিশার্স বাড়ি # ৭, রোড # ৪ ধানমন্ডি, ঢাকা-১২০৫ ফোন : ৯৬৬১১৪১, ৯৬৬২২৮২ ফ্যাক্স : (৮৮০২)৯৬৬২৮৪৪ E-mail : <a href="mailto:info@paramabd.com">info@paramabd.com</a>
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প্রথম প্রকাশ	:	নভেম্বর, ১৯৮২ অগ্রহায়ণ, ১৩৮৯
পুনর্মুদ্রণ	:	ডিসেম্বর, ২০০৩ অগ্রহায়ণ, ১৪১০
পুনর্মুদ্রণ	:	জুন, ২০০৯ জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ১৪১৬
প্রচ্ছদ	:	বকুল হায়দার
মুদ্রাকর	:	মোঃ আবুল হাসান হাক্কানী প্রিন্টিং এন্ড প্যাকেজিং সড়ক # ৯, লেইন # ২, বাড়ি # ১ ব্লক # এ, সেকশন # ১১, মিরপুর, ঢাকা-১২১৬

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দলিলপত্র : চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

**সচিব**

তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়  
গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার  
ঢাকা, বাংলাদেশ

**পুনর্মুদ্রণ প্রসঙ্গে**

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয় ১৯৭৭ সালে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস লিখন ও মুদ্রণ প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। পরবর্তীকালে এই প্রকল্প স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত দলিল ও তথ্যসমূহ প্রকাশনার সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করে। ইতিহাস রচনার ক্ষেত্রে নিরপেক্ষতা ও বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা রক্ষা করা ও বিকৃতির আশংকা এড়িয়ে যাবার জন্যই ইতিহাস রচনার পরিবর্তে দলিল ও তথ্য প্রকাশকেই অধিকতর গুরুত্বপূর্ণ মনে করা হয়েছে। আর সে প্রকল্পের ফসলই “বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র”। প্রায় ১৫,০০০ পৃষ্ঠায় ১৫ খণ্ডে এসব দলিলপত্র প্রণয়ন করে ১৯৮২ সালে তা প্রকাশ করা হয়। এই প্রকল্পের সঙ্গে জড়িত গবেষক ও সম্পাদকবৃন্দের আক্লান্ত পরিশ্রমের ফসল এই দলিলপত্র গ্রন্থমালা।

প্রথম প্রকাশের পরপরই বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা ও নিরপেক্ষতায় “বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র” গ্রন্থমালা সর্বমহলে ব্যাপকভাবে সমাদৃত হয়।

এই গ্রন্থমালা প্রকাশের অল্প সময়ের মধ্যেই এর সমুদয় কপি বিক্রি হয়ে যায়। পরবর্তীকালে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত সকল গবেষণায় এই গ্রন্থমালা রেফারেন্স হিসেবে ব্যবহৃত হতে থাকে।

“বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র” গ্রন্থমালার চাহিদা উত্তরোত্তর বাড়ছে। বিভিন্ন মহল থেকে তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়ে গ্রন্থমালার চাহিদাপত্র আসতে থাকায় মন্ত্রণালয় “বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র” গ্রন্থমালা সীমিত সংখ্যায় পুনর্মুদ্রণের সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করে। প্রয়োজনীয় আনুষ্ঠানিকতা শেষে পুনর্মুদ্রণের দায়িত্ব অর্পণ করা হয় দেশের প্রখ্যাত প্রকাশনা প্রতিষ্ঠান ‘হাক্কানী পাবলিশার্স’কে। পুনর্মুদ্রণের ক্ষেত্রে তথ্যের কোন ব্যত্যয় বা ব্যতিক্রম যাতে না হয়, সে ব্যাপারে সর্বাত্মক সতর্কতা অবলম্বন করা হয়েছে। গত দুই দশকে প্রকাশনা প্রযুক্তিতে বৈপ্লবিক পরিবর্তন সাধিত হয়েছে। ফলে পুনর্মুদ্রিত দলিলপত্রের অঙ্গসৌষ্ঠব আরও সুন্দর ও দৃষ্টিনন্দন হয়েছে।

আমার দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস, “বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র” গ্রন্থমালার সংস্করণটি বরাবরের মতই পাঠক ও গবেষকদের কাছে আদৃত হবে।

ঢাকা  
ডিসেম্বর ২০০৩

(নাজমুল আলম সিদ্দিকী)  
ভারপ্রাপ্ত সচিব

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার  
তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়  
প্রেস-১ শাখা  
বাংলাদেশ সচিবালয়, ঢাকা।

নং-তম/প্রেস-১/২এফ-২/৯৭/বিবিধ-১/৯৬৯

তারিখঃ ৩০ অক্টোবর ২০০৩

প্রেরক : অঞ্জলী রানী চক্রবর্তী  
সিনিয়র সহকারী সচিব (প্রেস-১)

প্রাপক : জনাব গোলাম মোস্তফা  
স্বত্বাধিকারী  
মেসার্স হাক্কানী পাবলিশার্স  
মমতাজ প্লাজা (৪র্থ তলা)  
ধানমন্ডি, ঢাকা।

বিষয় : “বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র (১৫ খণ্ড)” পুনর্মুদ্রণের নিমিত্তে প্রচ্ছদ ও অঙ্গসজ্জার নমুনা অনুমোদন।

সূত্র : তাঁর ০৮ অক্টোবর ২০০৩ তারিখের আবেদন।

মহোদয়,

উপর্যুক্ত বিষয়ে সূত্রোক্ত আবেদনের সাথে প্রাপ্ত নমুনা অনুযায়ী প্রচ্ছদ, প্রিন্টার্স লাইন ও অঙ্গসজ্জা মোতাবেক বিষয়োক্ত গ্রন্থাবলী চূড়ান্ত মুদ্রণের অনুমোদন প্রদান করা হলো। মন্ত্রণালয় কর্তৃক নির্বাচিত/অনুমোদিত প্রচ্ছদ নির্দেশক্রমে এতদ্-সাথে ফেরত প্রদান করা হলো।

সংযুক্তি : বর্ণনা মোতাবেক।

আপনার বিশ্বস্ত,

(অঞ্জলী রানী চক্রবর্তী)  
সিনিয়র সহকারী সচিব (প্রেস-১)

### প্রকাশকের কথা

প্রতিটি দেশ বা জাতির জন্য তার স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ইতিহাস একটি অমূল্য সম্পদ। সে আলোকে বাংলাদেশের ১৯৭১ সনের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ এবং তৎপূর্বের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ইতিহাস আমাদের কাছে এক গৌরবময় সম্পদ। বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার ইতিহাস প্রণয়নের জন্য ১৯৭৭ সনে তৎকালীন সরকার বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস লিখন ও মুদ্রণ প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। নিরপেক্ষতা ও যথার্থতা বজায় রাখার জন্য স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিলাদি সংগ্রহ ও যাচাইপূর্বক তা সংকলন করা হয়। তারই ফলশ্রুতি ‘বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্র’ গ্রন্থাবলী। বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয় ১৯৮২ সনে ১৫ খণ্ডে এই গ্রন্থাবলী প্রকাশ করে। এ উদ্দেশ্যে গঠিত কমিটির সম্মানিত সদস্যগণের অক্লান্ত পরিশ্রমের ফসল এই গ্রন্থাবলী।

এই গ্রন্থাবলী প্রকাশ হওয়ার অল্প দিনের মধ্যে তার পুরো স্টক ফুরিয়ে যায়। এই গ্রন্থাবলী স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ-বিষয়ক সকল গবেষণা কর্মের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ রেফারেন্স হিসেবে ব্যবহৃত হচ্ছে এবং হবে। কিন্তু স্টক না থাকায় বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান জনগোষ্ঠীর একটি বৃহৎ অংশ আমাদের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের প্রকৃত ইতিহাস জানা থেকে দীর্ঘদিন যাবৎ বঞ্চিত রয়েছে এবং এর দুঃপ্রাপ্যতা অনেক গবেষণা কর্মে ব্যাঘাত ঘটচ্ছে।

এমতাবস্থায় গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয় কর্তৃক **বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্র** গ্রন্থাবলী পুনর্মুদ্রণের সিদ্ধান্তটি অত্যন্ত সময়োপযোগী বলে আমরা মনে করি।

বাংলাদেশ সরকার কর্তৃক এ রকম একটি জাতীয় গুরুত্বপূর্ণ কর্মকাণ্ডের দায়িত্ব আমাদেরকে অর্পণ করায় আমরা গৌরবান্বিত। এরই ভিত্তিতে গ্রন্থাবলীর বিষয়সূচি সম্পূর্ণ অপরিবর্তিত রেখে নতুন আঙ্গিকে নির্ভুলভাবে পুনর্মুদ্রণের আশ্রয় চেষ্টা করেছি। আশা করি, পুনর্মুদ্রিত গ্রন্থাবলী পাঠক-গবেষকদের চাহিদা মেটাতে সক্ষম হবে।

বিশাল এই কর্মকাণ্ডে যাঁরা অক্লান্ত পরিশ্রম করেছেন, আমরা তাঁদের আন্তরিক কৃতজ্ঞতা ও ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি।

০৭ ডিসেম্বর ২০০৩

(গোলাম মোস্তফা)  
স্বত্বাধিকারী  
হাক্কানী পাবলিশার্স

## মুখবন্ধ

বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস প্রকল্পের নয় সদস্যবিশিষ্ট প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির তরফ থেকে এই দলিল সংগ্রহের প্রকাশনা সম্পর্কে দুটি কথা নিবেদন করছি। এ প্রকল্পের উৎপত্তি ও গঠন, এর মূল উদ্দেশ্য ও কার্যপদ্ধতি সম্পর্কে ভূমিকায় বিস্তারিত বলা হয়েছে।

বিপুলায়তন ও সংগৃহীত উপাত্ত থেকে প্রকাশিতব্য দলিলসমূহ নির্বাচন কমিটির সদস্যবৃন্দ নিরপেক্ষ ভূমিকা পালনে যথাসাধ্য চেষ্টা করেছেন। তাঁরা ঘন্টার পর ঘন্টা ধরে দলিলাদির পাণ্ডুলিপি ধৈর্য ধরে পরীক্ষা করেছেন, বিস্তারিত আলোচনা-সমালোচনার মাধ্যমে সংযোজন ও সংশোধনের জন্য মূল্যবান উপদেশ দিয়ে প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নে সহায়তা করেছেন। আমাদের কোন মন্তব্য ছাড়াই দলিলগুলো সরাসরি পাঠক ও গবেষকদের কাছে উপস্থিত হচ্ছে। দলিলপত্র যথাসম্ভব মূলসূত্র থেকে উদ্ধারের চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। প্রকাশিত দলিলগুলো প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি অনুমোদন করে দিয়েছেন।

প্রায় সাড়ে তিন লাখ পৃষ্ঠাব্যাপী দলিল থেকে প্রাথমিক নির্বাচনের গুরুদায়িত্ব পালন করেছেন প্রকল্পে নিয়োজিত বিভিন্ন গবেষকবৃন্দ। তাঁরা জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানের নেতৃত্বে এবং পরে প্রফেসর কে এম মহসীনের তত্ত্বাবধানে এ দায়িত্ব যথাযথ নিষ্ঠা ও আন্তরিকতার সংগে পালন করছেন।

প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সকল সদস্যকে এবং প্রকল্পের গবেষকবৃন্দকে তাঁদের প্রশংসনীয় ভূমিকার জন্য আমি অশেষ ধন্যবাদ জানাই। সেই সঙ্গে প্রয়াত বাংলাদেশের বিশিষ্ট কবি ও সাংবাদিক জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানকে তাঁর বিশেষ অবদানের জন্য শ্রদ্ধার সঙ্গে স্মরণ করি।

বিভিন্ন সূত্রে সংগৃহীত ও সবিবেচনার সাথে নির্বাচিত দলিলগুলো থেকে আমাদের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের একটি সার্বিক, প্রামাণ্য ও নিরপেক্ষ চিত্র বেরিয়ে আসবে, আমরা এ আশা পোষণ করছি। সংগৃহীত সমুদয় দলিল একটি স্থায়ী আর্কাইভস্ গঠনে সহায়তা করবে। অনুদঘাটিত ও অনাবিস্কৃত দলিলগুলো ভবিষ্যতে সংগৃহীত হলে পরিশিষ্টের মাধ্যমে সেগুলি মূল দলিলের সংগে সংযোজিত হতে পারে।

প্রকাশিত দলিলগুলো পাঠক সমাজ ও গবেষকদের কাছে সমাদৃত হলে আমাদের শ্রম সার্থক বলে মনে করব।

২৫ জুন,  
১৯৮৪।

মফিজুজ্জাহ কবীর  
চেয়ারম্যান,  
প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি,  
বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস প্রকল্প।



## ভূমিকা

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সময়সীমা ১৯৭১ সালের ২৫ মার্চ থেকে ১৬ ডিসেম্বর পর্যন্ত। এই সময়ে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সংগে সম্পর্কিত সারা বিশ্বে যা কিছু ঘটেছে তার তথ্য ও দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহ এবং সেসবের ওপর ভিত্তি করে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস রচনা ও মুদ্রণের দায়িত্ব অর্পিত হয় মুক্তিযুদ্ধ ইতিহাস লিখন ও মুদ্রণ প্রকল্পে ওপর। গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়ের অধীনে এই প্রকল্পটি প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় এবং এর কাজ শুরু হয় ১৯৭৮ সালের জানুয়ারী থেকে (পরিশিষ্ট দ্রষ্টব্য)।

ইতিহাস রচনার দায়িত্বপ্রাপ্ত হলেও এই প্রকল্প স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধসংক্রান্ত দলিল ও তথ্যসমূহ প্রকাশনার সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করে। এর কারণ, সমকালীন কোন ঘটনার বিশেষ করে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের মতো একটি যুগান্তকারী ঘটনার ইতিহাস রচনার ক্ষেত্রে নিরপেক্ষতা ও বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা রক্ষা করা এবং বিকৃতির সম্ভাবনা এড়িয়ে যাওয়া বস্তুত অত্যন্ত দুর্লভ। এ জন্যই আমরা ইতিহাস রচনার পরিবর্তে দলিল ও তথ্য প্রকাশকেই অধিক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ মনে করেছি। এর ফলে দলিল ও তথ্যাদিই কথা বলবে, ঘটনার বিকাশ ও ধারাবাহিকতা রক্ষা করবে, ঘটনা পরম্পরার সংগতি রক্ষা করবে।

এই লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখেই কয়েকটি খন্ডে সংগৃহীত দলিলসমূহ প্রকাশের সিদ্ধান্ত প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। এই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে প্রকল্পের সামনে একটি বিশেষ বিবেচ্য বিষয় দেখা দেয় এই যে, দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহের সময়সীমা স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকেন্দ্রিক হওয়া সত্ত্বেও এ সত্যও সমান গুরুত্বপূর্ণ যে, স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের পশ্চাতে বিরাট পটভূমি রয়েছে। স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকে এই পটভূমি থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে দেখা যায় না। এই পটভূমির ঘটনাবলী- যাকে মুক্তিসংগ্রাম বলে অভিহিত করা যায়- তার অনিবার্য পরিণতিই স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকে অবশ্যসম্ভাবী করে তোলে। তাই মুক্তিসংগ্রামের স্বরূপ জানা ছাড়া স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকে তুলে ধরা সম্ভবই নয়। এই পরিস্থিতিতে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিল প্রকাশের সংগে এর পটভূমি সংক্রান্ত দু'খন্ড দলিলসংগ্রহ প্রকাশের সিদ্ধান্ত প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। এর ফলে প্রকল্পের দলিল প্রকাশের পরিকল্পনা নিম্নরূপে দাঁড়ায় :

প্রথম খন্ড	ঃ	পটভূমি (১০৫-১৯৫৮)
দ্বিতীয় খন্ড	ঃ	পটভূমি (১৯৫৮-১৯৭১)
তৃতীয় খন্ড	ঃ	মুজিবনগর : প্রশাসন
চতুর্থ খন্ড	ঃ	মুজিবনগর : প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা
পঞ্চম খন্ড	ঃ	মুজিবনগর : বেতারমাধ্যম
ষষ্ঠ খন্ড	ঃ	মুজিবনগর : গণমাধ্যম
সপ্তম খন্ড	ঃ	পাকিস্তানী দলিলপত্র : সরকারী ও বেসরকারী
অষ্টম খন্ড	ঃ	গণহত্যা, শরণার্থী শিবির ও প্রাসংগিক ঘটনা
নবম খন্ড	ঃ	সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম (১)
দশম খন্ড	ঃ	সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম (২)
একাদশ খন্ড	ঃ	সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম (৩)
দ্বাদশ খন্ড	ঃ	বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়া : ভারত
ত্রয়োদশ খন্ড	ঃ	বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়া ” জাতিসংঘ ও বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র
চতুর্দশ খন্ড	ঃ	বিশ্বজনমত
পঞ্চদশ খন্ড	ঃ	সাক্ষাৎকার
ষোড়শ খন্ড	ঃ	কালপঞ্জী, গ্রন্থপঞ্জী ও নির্ঘণ্ট

চার

মূল পরিকল্পনায় ৭২০০ পৃষ্ঠা মুদ্রণের পরিকল্পনা থাকলেও সংগ্রহের পরিমাণ বিপুল হয়ে যাওয়ায় আমাদের সিদ্ধান্ত পরিবর্তন করতে হয়। নতুন পরিকল্পনা অনুযায়ী প্রতিটি খণ্ড প্রায় ৯০০ পৃষ্ঠা, সর্বমোট ১৫০০০ পৃষ্ঠার মধ্যে সংগ্রহগুলির মুদ্রণ সম্পন্ন করার বাজেট বরাদ্দ অনুমোদিত হয়। এই ভিত্তিতে আমাদের কাজ এগিয়ে যায়।

দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে নীতিমালা আমরা ব্যাপক ও খোলামেলা রেখেছি। তবে পটভূমি সম্বন্ধে দলিল ও তথ্যাদি গ্রহণে কিছুটা সংযত দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী অবলম্বন করি। আমরা শুধু সেইসব তথ্য ও দলিলই পটভূমি খণ্ডে সন্নিবেশিত করার সিদ্ধান্ত নিই, যা বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান ভূখণ্ডের বৈশিষ্ট্য ও এখানে বসবাসকারী জনগণের আশা আকাঙ্ক্ষার সংগে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে জড়িত। অর্থাৎ যেসব ঘটনা, আন্দোলন ও কার্যকারণ, এই ভূখণ্ডের জনগণকে মুক্তিসংগ্রামের দিকে উদ্বুদ্ধ ও পরিচালিত করেছে, প্রধানত সেসব সংক্রান্ত দলিল ও তথ্যই এই খণ্ডে কালানুক্রমিকভাবে সাজানো হয়েছে। এই দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে আমরা বাংলাদেশের অতীত ঘাঁটতে বহু দূর-অতীতে প্রত্যাবর্তন করিনি। ১৯০৫ সালের বংগভংগ থেকেই পটভূমি সংক্রান্ত দলিল-তথ্যাদি সন্নিবেশন শুরু করি। আমরা মনে করি, বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামের ব্যাখ্যায় এই শুরুর সীমাটি বাহুল্যবর্জিত, প্রত্যক্ষ ও যুক্তিগ্রাহ্য।

১৯০৫-এর বংগভংগ এবং তা রদ-এর পর ১৯৪০ সাল পর্যন্ত মধ্যবর্তী এ দীর্ঘ সময়ের আর কোন দলিল এ খণ্ডে সন্নিবেশ করা হয়নি। কারণ ১৯১১ থেকে ১৯৪০ পর্যন্ত এই ভূখণ্ডে অনুষ্ঠিত সকল রাজনৈতিক আন্দোলন সর্বভারতীয় ব্রিটিশবিরোধী আন্দোলনের অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল। ১৯৪০ সালে গৃহীত লাহোর প্রস্তাবে স্বতন্ত্র রাষ্ট্রীয় সভারূপে বাংলার প্রতিষ্ঠার সম্ভাবনা নিহিত ছিল। আর তা উত্থাপন করেছিলেন বাংলাদেশেরই সংখ্যাগুরু জনগোষ্ঠীর অবিসংবাদিত নেতা এ, কে, ফজলুল হক। ১৯৪৬ সালে নিতান্ত অবৈধভাবে দিল্লী কনভেনশনে লাহোর প্রস্তাবের যে সংশোধনী করা হয়, তাতে বাংলার স্বতন্ত্র রাষ্ট্রীয়রূপের প্রশ্নকে পরিহার করা হয়। ১৯৪৭ সালে ভারত বিভাগ সম্পর্কে মাউন্টব্যাটেন পরিকল্পনা ঘোষণার পর স্বাধীন ও সার্বভৌম বাংলা প্রতিষ্ঠার প্রচেষ্টা হয়, কিন্তু সে প্রচেষ্টা ব্যর্থ হয় এবং যেভাবে পাকিস্তান প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় তাতে স্বায়ত্তশাসনের বিষয়টি সম্পূর্ণরূপে উপেক্ষিত হয়। এরই পরিণতিতে পরবর্তীকালে বাংলাদেশের জনগণের সম্মুখে স্বায়ত্তশাসন তথা স্বাধীনতার জন্য সংগ্রাম করা ঐতিহাসিক প্রয়োজন হয়ে দেখা দেয়। এই ঐতিহাসিক প্রয়োজনকে মূর্ত করে তুলেছে এমন সমস্ত দলিলই এ খণ্ডে সন্নিবেশিত হয়েছে।

পটভূমি সংক্রান্ত দলিলপত্র দুটি খণ্ডে বিভক্ত। প্রথম খণ্ডটি শেষ হয়েছে ১৯৫৮ সালে আইয়ুব খানের ক্ষমতা দখলের সময়সীমায়। এখানে কাল বিভাজন করা হয়েছে একান্তই খণ্ড পরিকল্পনার পৃষ্ঠাসংখ্যার সুবিধার দিকে লক্ষ্য রেখে- কোন বিশেষ ঐতিহাসিক দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে নয়।

পটভূমির বেলায় যে ধরনের দলিল ও তথ্যাদি আমরা গ্রহণ করেছি সেগুলি হলো গেজেট বিজ্ঞপ্তি, পার্লামেন্টের কার্যবিবরণী, কোর্টের মামলা সম্পর্কিত রিপোর্ট ও রায়, কমিশন রিপোর্ট, রাজনৈতিক দলের কর্মসূচী ও প্রস্তাব, জনসভার প্রস্তাব, আন্দোলনের রিপোর্ট, ছাত্রদলের প্রস্তাব ও আন্দোলন, গণপ্রতিক্রিয়া, সংবাদপত্রের প্রতিবেদন, বিশিষ্ট ব্যক্তিবর্গের প্রামাণ্য সমীক্ষা ও প্রবন্ধ, রাজনৈতিক পত্র, সরকারী নির্দেশ ও পদক্ষেপ ইত্যাদি। স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিল ও তথ্যাদির বেলায় সংগ্রহের ধরন বিস্তৃততর হয়েছে স্বাভাবিকভাবেই। কারণ এই যুদ্ধের সংগে সারা বিশ্ব জড়িত হয়ে পড়েছিল। ফলে কেবল বাংলাদেশের অভ্যন্তরে নয়, সারা বিশ্বের বিষয়াদি জোঁগাড় করা অপরিহার্য হয়ে দেখা দেয় এবং প্রকল্প সেভাবেই অগ্রসর হয়। এ ব্যাপারে ব্যক্তিগত ডায়েরী, চিঠিপত্র, সাক্ষাৎকার, স্মৃতিকথা, সরকারী নথিপত্র, রণকৌশল ও যুদ্ধসংক্রান্ত লিপিবদ্ধ তথ্যাদি, মুক্ত এলাকায় মুক্তিবাহিনী ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রশাসনিক তৎপরতা, জনসাধারণের সক্রিয় অংশগ্রহণ, কমিটি গঠন, বিবৃতি, বিশ্বজনমত, বিভিন্ন দেশের পার্লামেন্টের কার্যবিবরণী প্রভৃতি নানা ধরনের তথ্য ও দলিল এই সংগ্রহের অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়। এ ক্ষেত্রে আমরা বিশেষভাবে নজর রেখেছি যাতে সর্বসাধারণের মনোভাব প্রতিফলনে কোন ফাঁক না থাকে। এই লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখে গণসহযোগিতার প্রতিস্তরের তথ্য সংগ্রহের চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। প্রতিটি খণ্ডে যতদূর সম্ভব মূল দলিল সন্নিবেশিত করার দিকে বিশেষ লক্ষ্য রাখা হয়েছে। তবে যেসব দলিল ঐতিহাসিক গুরুত্ব অর্জন করেছে এবং যেগুলি বাদ দিলে ঘটনার ধারাবাহিকতা রক্ষিত হয় না সেগুলি আমরা প্রকাশিত সূত্র থেকে গ্রহণ করেছি।

পাঁচ

এ কাজে একটিই আমাদের প্রধান বিবেচ্য ছিল, সঠিক ঘটনার সঠিক দলিল যেন সঠিক পরিমাণে বিন্যস্ত হয়। আমাদের কোন মন্তব্য নেই, অঙ্গুলি সংকেত নেই, নিজস্ব ব্যাখ্যা-বিশ্লেষণও নেই। আমরা বস্তুনিষ্ঠ ও নিরপেক্ষ মনোভাব আগাগোড়া বজায় রাখার চেষ্টা করেছি। এই মূল লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখেই দলিল-তথ্যাদি বাছাই, সম্পাদনা এবং বিন্যাস করা হয়েছে। এ ক্ষেত্রে আমরা শুধু এইটুকু সতর্কতা অটুট রেখেছি যাতে কারো প্রতিনিধিত্ব ক্ষুণ্ণ না হয়। দলিলের যথার্থতাই যার যা ভূমিকা ও গুরুত্ব তা যথাযথভাবে তুলে ধরবে। বস্তুত জনসাধারণই এ ধরনের ঘটনার প্রকৃত মহানায়ক। জনসাধারণের মধ্যে অবস্থা পরিবর্তনের ইচ্ছা যখন পরিণত ও অপ্রতিরোধ্য হয়ে ওঠে, কেবল তখনই জনগনের মধ্য থেকে যোগ্যতম নেতৃত্বের অভ্যুদয় ঘটে। বাংলাদেশের বেলাতেও তাই ঘটেছে। আর তাই এমন সব দল বা সংগঠনের দলিল অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়েছে, যে দল বা সংগঠন আমাদের জাতীয় রাজনীতির ক্ষেত্রে হয়তো মুখ্য ভূমিকা বা নেতৃত্ব গ্রহণ করেনি। তবু একাত্তরের অনেক আগেই বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা চিন্তা একটা দেশের একটা জাতির নিদিষ্ট লক্ষ্যাবিসারী অন্তঃস্রোতকেই সামনে তুলে ধরে। আসলে মহীরুহের চারপাশে জেগে ওঠা অজস্র গাছপালা নিয়েই বনের গঠন-কাঠামো। বনকে জানতে হলে এর সবটাই জানা দরকার।

তবে ব্যাপক প্রতিনিধিত্বের প্রশ্নে সবটুকু হয়তো প্রতিফলিত নাও হয়ে থাকতে পারে। এর দুটো কারণ, প্রথমত গ্রন্থের সীমিত পরিসরে স্থান সঙ্কুলানের প্রশ্ন, দ্বিতীয়ত অনেক তথ্য ও দলিল হাতে না আসা যা বহুক্ষেত্রে যোগাযোগ করেও পাওয়া যায়নি, কিছু ক্ষেত্রে যোগাযোগেরও সুযোগ ঘটেনি। সবাইকে আমরা জায়গা দিতে চেয়েছি এবং ভূমিকা অনুযায়ী গুরুত্ব বিধানের দিকেও লক্ষ্য রেখেছি- এইটাই মূল কথা। এই নীতি পটভূমি ও অন্যান্য খণ্ডেকইভাবে অনুসৃত হয়েছে।

সাড়ে তিন লাখ পৃষ্ঠার মতো দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহসংখ্যার দিক থেকে বিপুল বলতে হবে। তবু আমাদের ধারণা এই যে, বহু দলিল ও তথ্য এখনো সংগ্রহের বাইরে রয়েছে। বাংলাদেশের প্রায় প্রতিটি লোকই কোন না কোন ভাবে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সংগে জড়িত ছিলেন। গ্রামে গ্রামে ব্যক্তিগত ব্যক্তিতে বহু ঘটনার উদ্ভব হয়েছে, বহু বীরত্বগাথা, বহু ত্যাগ, বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা, অত্যাচার, নিপীড়নের কাহিনী স্তরে স্তরে গড়ে উঠেছে। এর পরিমাণ অনুধাবন করা কঠিন। তাছাড়া সারা বিশ্ব জুড়েও ছিল এ সম্পর্কে সমর্থন ও প্রতিক্রিয়া এবং প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের ব্যাপক তৎপরতা। তাই সংগ্রহের কাজ সম্পূর্ণ হয়েছে তা বলা যায় না। দেশ ও বিদেশের তথ্য সংগ্রহের কাজ তাই কেবল বাড়তে পারে, শেষ সীমায় পৌঁছানোর ঘোষণা দেয়া এখনই সম্ভব নয়। এর জন্য দীর্ঘ পরিক্রমা ও সক্রিয়তার প্রয়োজন।

সীমিত সময়ের জন্য আমাদের প্রকল্পের আয়ু; তদুপরি আমাদের লোকবলও মাত্র চারজন। এই অবস্থায় এই বিশাল কাজের কতখানি বাস্তবায়ন সম্ভব তা ভাববার বিষয়। তবু আমরা অসাধ্য সাধনের লক্ষ্যে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছিলাম এবং যতদূর সফল হয়েছি তাতে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধসংক্রান্ত তথ্য ও দলিলের ভিত্তিভূমি রচিত হয়েছে, নির্দিষ্টায় এ কথা বলা যায়। এখন এর বিকাশ ও উন্নয়নের অপেক্ষা রাখে মাত্র। তথ্য ও দলিল সংগ্রহ করতে গিয়ে আমাদের যে অভিজ্ঞতা হয়েছে তাতে এ কথা বলা যায়।

দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহের ক্ষেত্রে আমাদের প্রচেষ্টা ছিল ব্যাপক এবং খোলামেলা। ব্যক্তিগত যোগাযোগ ছাড়াও এ উদ্দেশ্যে আমরা বিভিন্ন সময়ে পত্রপত্রিকায় বিজ্ঞাপন প্রকাশ করেছি এবং মুক্তিযোদ্ধা সংসদ, শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান, পত্রপত্রিকার দপ্তর, গ্রন্থাগার এবং ইউনিয়ন পরিষদের কর্মকর্তাসহ বিভিন্ন শ্রেণীর জনগণের কাছে প্রেরণ করেছি কয়েক হাজার প্রশ্নমালা কিন্তু দুঃজনকভাবে আশানুরূপ সাড়া মেলেনি। প্রতিটি রাজনৈতিক, ছাত্র, শ্রমিক এবং কৃষক সংগঠনের সাথেই যোগাযোগ করা হয়েছে- কিন্তু দলগতভাবে নয়, ব্যক্তিগতভাবে কেউ কেউ দিয়ে গেছেন নিজস্ব সংগ্রহের দলিলপত্র। আবেদনের জবাবে আশানুরূপ সাড়া না পাবার কারণ হিসেবে আমরা দুটি বিষয় লক্ষ্য করেছি : প্রথমত, ইতিহাসের গুরুত্ব সম্পর্কে অসচেতনতা, যার ফলে খুব কমসংখ্যক মানুষই দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহ বা সংরক্ষণ করে থাকেন এবং দ্বিতীয়ত, ভিত্তিহীন সংশয়- বিশেষ করে কারো কারো প্রতিক্রিয়ার আমাদের মনে হয়েছে যে, ইতিহাস প্রণয়নের প্রচেষ্টাটি সরকারী হওয়ায় এর সত্যতা ও বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা সম্পর্কে তাঁরা

হয়

যথেষ্ট সন্দেহান এবং ফলে দলিলপত্র প্রদানের মাধ্যমে পরিকল্পিত ইতিহাসকে সমৃদ্ধ করার পরিবর্তে অপূর্ণাংগতার সম্ভাবনাকেই যেন তাঁরা মেনে নিয়েছেন। ব্যাপক ব্যক্তিগত যোগাযোগের মাধ্যমে এই সমস্যা আমরা অনেকটা কাটিয়ে উঠেছি। সরকারী উদ্যোগের কারণে ইতিহাসের নিরপেক্ষতা সম্পর্কে যে আশঙ্কা, তা আমাদের দলিল খণ্ডগুলি নিরসন করবে বলে আমরা মনে করি।

এছাড়াও আমরা লক্ষ্য করেছি, এমন অনেকের কাছেই দলিল ও তথ্যাদি রয়েছে যা তাঁরা হাতছাড়া করতে রাজী নন। অনেকেই কিছু ছেড়েছেন, কিছু হাতে রেখে দিয়েছেন। আবার কারো কারো প্রত্যাশা, দলিলাদি পুরানো হলে সেগুলি অনেক বেশী লাভের উৎস হয়ে উঠতে পারে। আমরা মূল দলিলের ফটোকপি রেখে অনেকেই তাঁর মূল কপি ফেরত দিয়েছি। এ ক্ষেত্রেও অনেকেই ফটোকপি রাখারও সুযোগ দিতে রাজী হননি- অর্থাৎ তাঁর হাতের দলিলটি তিনি বেরই করেননি ভবিষ্যতের আশায়। সরকার দলিল সংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে কোন অর্ডিন্যান্স পাস করেননি। ফলে দলিল পাওয়ার জন্য আমরা ব্যক্তিগত অনুরোধ ও প্রয়াস চালাতে পারি, আইনগত চাপ সৃষ্টি করতে পারি না। অথচ এ কথাও সত্যি যে, স্বাধীনতাসংক্রান্ত দলিল মাত্রই জাতীয় ইতিহাসের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ উপকরণ, তাকে ব্যক্তিগতভাবে বা প্রতিষ্ঠানগতভাবে কুক্ষিগত করে রাখা উচিত নয়।

এই সংগে আমরা দুঃখের সংগে উল্লেখ করি যে, এই প্রকল্প শুরু হবার আগেই স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের বিশিষ্ট নেতাদের অনেককে আমরা হারিয়েছি। ফলে তাঁদের কাছে রক্ষিত দলিলপত্র পাওয়ার কিংবা তাঁদের সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণের সুযোগ থেকে আমরা বঞ্চিত হয়েছি।

এইসব বাধাবিঘ্নের মধ্যেই আমাদের এগিয়ে যেতে হয়েছে। ফলে আমাদের এতদসংক্রান্ত যে বুনியাদ তৈরী হয়েছে তা অতীতের ক্রটি সংশোধনে এবং ভবিষ্যতের সম্ভাবনার ক্ষেত্রে প্রস্তুত করতে সহায়ক হতে পারে। যে তথ্যগত ফাঁক থেকে যাচ্ছে তা পূরণ হওয়া দরকার। সম্ভব হলে অপ্রকাশিত দলিলপত্র থেকে কিংবা ভবিষ্যতে আরো দলিলপত্র সংগৃহীত হলে তা থেকে নির্বাচন করে অতিরিক্ত খণ্ড প্রকাশ করে এই ফাঁক পূরণের চেষ্টা করা যাবে। দেশে-বিদেশের দুস্ত্রাপ্য দলিল সংগ্রহের চেষ্টা অব্যাহত রাখা একান্ত জরুরী বলেই আমরা মনে করি। এ ধারা ক্ষুণ্ণ হলে এ কাজ দুরূহতর হবে, এমনকি এটা সম্পূর্ণ করা অসম্ভব হয়ে উঠতে পার। এ ব্যাপারে স্থায়ী কর্মসূচী সুফলদায়ক হবে সন্দেহ নেই।

দলিল এবং তথ্য প্রামাণ্যকরণের জন্য সরকার নয়-সদস্যবিশিষ্ট একটি প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি গঠন করেন (পরিশিষ্ট দ্রষ্টব্য)।

ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রাক্তন প্রো-ভাইস চ্যান্সেলর প্রখ্যাত ইতিহাসবিদ প্রফেসর মফিজুল্লাহ কবীর এই প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান।

#### কমিটির সদস্যরা হলেন :

ডঃ সালাহউদ্দীন আহমদ, প্রফেসর, ইতিহাস বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

ডঃ আনিসুজ্জামান, প্রফেসর, বাংলা বিভাগ, চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

ডঃ সফর আলী আকন্দ, পরিচালক, ইনস্টিটিউট অফ বাংলাদেশ স্টাডিজ, রাজশাহী।

ডঃ এনামুল হক, পরিচালক, ঢাকা যাডুঘর।

ডঃ কে, এম, করিম, পরিচালক, জাতীয় আর্কাইভস ও গ্রন্থাগার।

ডঃ কে, এম, মহসীন, সহযোগী প্রফেসর, ইতিহাস বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

ডঃ শামসুল হুদা হারুন, সহযোগী প্রফেসর, রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

জনাব হাসান হাফিজুল রহমান, সদস্য-সচিব।

প্রকল্পের কর্মীবৃন্দ নির্দিষ্ট গ্রন্থের জন্য দলিলাদি বাছাই করে প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সামনে পেশ করেন। প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি সেগুলি নির্ভুল ও গ্রহণযোগ্য কি না তা পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খরূপে যাচাই করেন। কমিটির সর্বসম্মত সিদ্ধান্তানুযায়ী যে সকল দলিল ও তথ্য প্রামাণ্য বলে গৃহীত হয়, কেবলমাত্র সেগুলিই গ্রন্থে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়েছে। গ্রন্থের জন্য পেশকৃত দলিলাদির কিছু কিছু কমিটি নাকচ করেন; কিছু নতুন দলিল ও তথ্য যা গ্রন্থের উৎকর্ষের জন্য নেহাৎ জরুরী তা সংগ্রহের জন্য নির্দেশ দেন। প্রকল্পের পক্ষ থেকে তাঁদের এই নির্দেশ যথাসাধ্য পালন করা

হয়েছে। তবে এ-ক্ষেত্রে অনেক সময় প্রকল্পকে বেশ দুর্লভ সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হতে হয়েছে। একেই লোকবল নগণ্য, তার ওপর স্বাভাবিক কাজ সেরে নিতান্ত দুস্প্রাপ্য দলিলের সন্ধানে প্রকল্পের কর্মীদের হিমশিম খেতে হয়েছে। তবুও কর্মীরা লেগে থেকেছেন এবং অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই সফলও হয়েছেন। তবে সংগ্রহ যথাসময়ে হয়তো হয়নি, অনেক সময় গড়িয়ে গেছে। ফলে খণ্ডবিশেষে সংযোজন অধ্যায় যোগ করতে হয়েছে। বিশেষভাবে পটভূমি খণ্ড সংকলনে এই পরিস্থিতি প্রকট হয়ে দেখা দিয়েছিল। উদাহরণস্বরূপ বলা যায় যে, ১৯০৫ সালের মূল গেজেট বিজ্ঞপ্তিটি পাওয়া যাচ্ছিল না। পটভূমি খণ্ডের জন্য আমরা প্রামাণ্য গ্রন্থ থেকে এই বিজ্ঞপ্তিটি উদ্ধৃত করি। কিন্তু প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি যতদূর সম্ভব মূল দলিল সংকলনের পক্ষপাতী। তাই মূল দলিল সংগ্রহের চেষ্টা নতুনভাবে নেয়া হয়। ঢাকা গেজেটে এই বিজ্ঞপ্তি ছাপা হয়নি। কোলকাতা গেজেটেও নয়। ইতিমধ্যে পটভূমি খণ্ডটি প্রেসে চলে যায়। এই গেজেটের ফাইল লোকচক্ষুর অন্তরালে ছিল, হঠাৎ অন্য কাগজের স্তূপের ভেতর ধূলিধূসরিত অবস্থায় পাওয়া যায়। তমিজুদ্দিন খানের রীট আবেদনের মূল দলিল খুঁজতে গিয়ে অপরিসীম পরিশ্রমের পরও তা পাওয়া যায়নি। এর মূল কপি সিদ্ধু হাইকোর্টে রয়েছে। আনা সম্ভব হয়নি। সুতরাং তা উদ্ধৃতির আকারেই গিয়েছে। এ থেকে প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সংকলনের কাজ নিখুঁত ও সুষ্ঠু করার জন্য অটল আগ্রহ ও আন্তরিকতাই ব্যক্ত হয়। প্রকল্পের কর্মীরাও তাঁদের এই অনুভূতির যথাসাধ্য মর্যাদা দিয়েছেন; তাঁদের নির্দেশাবলী বাস্তবায়নে কসুর করেননি, প্রায় ক্ষেত্রেই সফল হয়েছেন। পটভূমি খণ্ডে দলিলসমূহ কালানুক্রম অনুযায়ী সাজানো হয়েছে। অন্যান্য খণ্ডের দলিলের বেলাতেও কমবেশী এই নীতি অনুসৃত হয়েছে। প্রতিটি খণ্ডেই নির্ঘণ্ট ও কালপঞ্জী দেয়া হয়েছে। শেষ খণ্ডে গ্রথিত হচ্ছে সকল খণ্ডের নির্ঘণ্ট এবং কালপঞ্জী; ফলে পাঠকদের পক্ষে কোন খণ্ডে কী আছে তা একনজরে জানা সম্ভব হবে।

প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সিদ্ধান্ত ছিল দলিলসমূহ মূল যে ভাষায় আছে তাতেই ছাপা হবে; কিন্তু কার্যক্ষেত্রে এতে বিশেষ অসুবিধে দেখা দেয়। বাংলা ও ইংরেজী ভাষায় মূল দলিলগুলি আমরা সংকলনে স্থান দিয়েছি। তাছাড়া উর্দু, হিন্দী, আরবী ও রুশ ভাষার বেশ কিছু গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দলিল অনুবাদসহ সংকলনের অন্তর্ভুক্ত হয়েছে। স্কান্দেনেভীয়, ফরাসী, জার্মান, জাপানী ও ইন্দোনেশীয় প্রভৃতি ভাষায় বেশ কিছু দলিল ও তথ্য থাকা সত্ত্বেও তার অনুবাদ করা এবং গ্রন্থে সেসবের স্থান দেয়া এখনও সম্ভবপর হয়নি। এগুলি ভবিষ্যতের জন্যে জমা রইল। প্রাসঙ্গিকতা ও পরিসরের কথা বিবেচনা করে কোন কোন দলিল সংক্ষিপ্ত করা হয়েছে, তবে সে ক্ষেত্রে আমরা বিশেষভাবে লক্ষ্য রেখেছি যাতে মূলের বিকৃতি না ঘটে।

বর্তমানে আমাদের সংগ্রহে প্রায় সাড়ে তিন লাখ পৃষ্ঠার দলিল ও তথ্যাদি জমা হয়েছে। এর ভেতর ১৫ হাজার পৃষ্ঠা ছাপা হচ্ছে। বাকি দলিল ও তথ্যাদি ছাপার বাইরে রয়ে যাবে। এছাড়া সংগ্রহের প্রক্রিয়া অব্যাহত থাকায় আরও দলিলপত্র সংগৃহীত হবে। এগুলির গুরুত্বও কম নয়। অর্থাৎ এগুলির ওপর গবেষণা করা এবং তার ওপর ভিত্তি করে প্রকল্প-প্রকাশিত খণ্ডগুলির বাইরেও নতুন তথ্য সংবলিত মুক্তিসংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত গ্রন্থ প্রকাশের সম্ভাবনা অব্যাহত থেকে যাবে। এ সুযোগ সম্প্রসারিত করা দেশ ও জাতির স্বার্থেই একান্ত অপরিহার্য। কারণ এ সম্পর্কে যত বেশী বস্তুনিষ্ঠ তথ্যাদি জাতি জানতে পারবে আমাদের অগ্রযাত্রা তত বেশী নির্ভুল ও সচ্ছল হবে। তাছাড়া এ আমাদের অনন্ত অনুপ্রেরণার উৎস; তাই এ সম্পর্কিত প্রতিটি ছত্র পরম যত্ন, দায়িত্ব ও আগ্রহে সংরক্ষিত করা দেশ ও সরকারের নৈতিক কর্তব্যের অন্তর্ভুক্ত। বস্তুত প্রায় প্রতিটি আত্মসচেতন দেশই তাদের অভ্যুদয়ের সঙ্গে জড়িত ঘটনাবলী সংক্রান্ত তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের জন্য স্থায়ী আর্কাইভস প্রতিষ্ঠা করে থাকেন এবং এ সংগ্রহের কাজ ও এর ওপর গবেষণার কর্মসূচী অব্যাহত রাখেন। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ব্যাপারে এ সম্ভাবনার বাস্তবায়ন করার সুযোগ সৃষ্টি সমানভাবে দরকার- বিশেষভাবে এ কারণে যে, এ সংগ্রামে এ দেশের সর্বস্তরের জনসাধারণ অংশগ্রহণ করেছিলেন, যত দিন যাবে তাদের সংগে যোগাযোগ তত বৃদ্ধি পাবে, নতুন নতুন তথ্য আর্কাইভস-এর সংগ্রহ সমৃদ্ধতর করতে থাকবে। এ সুযোগ বিনষ্ট করা দুর্ভাগ্যজনক ছাড়া আর কিছুই বলা যাবে না।

প্রকল্পের বিপুল পরিমাণ দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের কাজে স্বতঃস্ফূর্তভাবে সাড়া দিয়ে যাঁরা আমাদের সহযোগিতা করেছেন তাদের সকলকে জানাই আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ। এ পর্যায়ে কিছু প্রতিষ্ঠান, সংগঠন, ব্যক্তি ও কর্মীর নাম বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য। ঢাকা যাদুঘর, বাংলা একাডেমী, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় গ্রন্থাগার, কেন্দ্রীয় পাবলিক লাইব্রেরী, বাংলাদেশ অবজারভার লাইব্রেরী, দৈনিক বাংলা লাইব্রেরী, জাতীয় সংসদ লাইব্রেরী এবং

আট

জাতীয় আর্কাইভস ও গ্রন্থাগার বিভিন্নভাবে আমাদেরকে সাহায্য করেছেন। বাংলাদেশ প্রেস ইনস্টিটিউট, চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় যাদুঘর এবং দিনাজপুর কালেকটরেট হতেও আমরা কিছু দলিল ও তথ্যাদি পেয়েছি। এছাড়া তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়, প্রতিরক্ষা মন্ত্রণালয়, পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রণালয়, বাংলাদেশ সচিবালয় গ্রন্থাগার এবং সামরিক গোয়েন্দা পরিদপ্তর (ডি, এম, আই)-এর সৌজন্যে বহুসংখ্যক দলিল-দস্তাবেজ আমরা সংগ্রহ করতে পেরেছি। তাঁদের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতার জন্য আমরা তাঁদের প্রতি কৃতজ্ঞতা জ্ঞাপন করছি।

ব্যক্তিগত উদ্যোগে ও ব্যক্তিগত সংগ্রহ থেকে অনেকে দলিলপত্র দিয়ে প্রকল্পকে সাহায্য করেছেন। তাঁদের মধ্যে কিছু নাম এখানে উল্লেখ করা খুবই সংগত মনে করছি। প্রাক্তন রাষ্ট্রপতি বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী কিছুসংখ্যক মূল্যবান দলিল প্রকল্পকে দিয়েছেন। বিদেশে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলন এবং মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের বহুসংখ্যক দলিল এ, এম, এ, মুহিতের সৌজন্যে আমরা পেয়েছি। প্রবাসে বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের সংগে জড়িত অনেকে তাঁদের দলিলপত্র প্রকল্পকে দিয়েছেন। তাঁদের মধ্যে মরহুমা রাশীদা রউফ, আজিজুল হক ভূইয়া, ডঃ এনামুল হক, আমীর আলী, সাখাওয়াত হোসেন ও জহির উদ্দীন আহমদের নাম উল্লেখযোগ্য। বিদেশ হতে কিছু মূল্যবান দলিল পাঠিয়েছেন মাহমুদুল হক এবং খন্দকার ইব্রাহিম মোহাম্মদ। মুজিবনগর সরকার এবং স্বাধীন বাংলা বেতারের দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহের ক্ষেত্রে যাদের সাহায্য-সহযোগিতার কথা আমরা বিস্মৃত হব না তাঁরা হলেন হাসান তৌফিক ইমাম, মওদুদ আহমদ, মঈদুল হাসান, আবদুস সামাদ, দেবব্রত দত্তগুপ্ত, শামসুল হুদা চৌধুরী ও আলমগীর কবীর। পটভূমি পর্যায়ে কিছু গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দলিল দিয়ে সাহায্য করেছেন বদরুদ্দীন উমর, কাজী জাফর আহমদ, অজয় রায়, ইসমাইল মোহাম্মদ, যতীন সরকার, শেখ আবদুল জলিল, ডঃ সাঈদ-উর-রহমান এবং আমিনুল হক। ইসমত কাদির গামা, শামসুজ্জামান মিলন, উৎপল কান্তি ধর, স্বপন চৌধুরী ও রেজা মোস্তাক স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিল ও তথ্যাদি দিয়েছেন। উল্লিখিত সকলকে আমরা আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। এছাড়া আমাদের বিপুল সংগ্রহের বিরাট কর্মকাণ্ডের সংগে জড়িত রয়েছেন আরও অনেকে। এই স্বল্প পরিসরে তাঁদের প্রত্যেকের নাম উল্লেখ করা সম্ভব নয়। আমাদের আর্কাইভস-এর দলিল সংরক্ষণ খাতায় তাঁদের সকলের নাম দলিলাদির উৎস হিসেবে লিখিত রয়েছে। তাঁদেরকেও ধন্যবাদ।

দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সত্যতা যাচাইয়ের ক্ষেত্রে প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির অবদান কৃতজ্ঞতার সাথে স্মরণ করছি। কমিটির সদস্যগণ পরম ধৈর্য, যত্ন ও আগ্রহ সহকারে দলিলাদির প্রাসঙ্গিকতা ও মূল্য বিচার করেছেন। তাঁরা শুধু দলিলাদির সত্যতা যাচাই করেননি, প্রকল্পের উন্নয়ন এবং বিশেষ করে খণ্ডসমূহের তথ্যসমৃদ্ধি ও সৌকর্য বৃদ্ধির জন্য মূল্যবান পরামর্শ দিয়েছেন। এ ক্ষেত্রে আমরা বিশেষভাবে কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান প্রফেসর মফিজুল্লাহ কবীরের কথা আন্তরিকতার সংগে স্মরণ করছি।

দলিল সংগ্রহ খণ্ডগুলির প্রকাশনার ব্যাপারে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়কে ধন্যবাদ জানাই। এই সংগে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের মুদ্রণ বিভাগ এবং দি প্রিন্টার্স-এর প্রতিও আমরা কৃতজ্ঞতা স্বীকার করছি।

সবশেষে আরও কয়েকজনের কথা বলতে হয়- স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিলসংগ্রহ খণ্ডগুলির পেছনে রয়েছে যাঁদের অক্লান্ত শ্রম ও নিরলস সাধনা, তাঁরা এই প্রকল্পের চারজন গবেষক- সৈয়দ আল ইমামুর রশীদ, আফসান চৌধুরী, শাহ আহমদ রেজা এবং ওয়াহিদুল হক। শুধুমাত্র চাকরির দায়িত্বে নয়- গবেষণার স্পৃহা ও প্রকল্পের কাজের সংগে একাত্মতায় তাঁরা দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের কাজ হতে শুরু করে দলিলসমূহের সংগ্রহ, বাছাই, সম্পাদনায় সহায়তা, প্রেসকপি তৈরীকরণ, মুদ্রণ তত্ত্বাবধান-সর্ববিধ কাজ সীমিত ও সংকীর্ণ সময়ের মধ্যে সম্পন্ন করেন। এছাড়া সুকুমার বিশ্বাস ও রতনলাল চক্রবর্তীর শ্রম ও নিষ্ঠার কথা উল্লেখযোগ্য। প্রশাসনিক দিক থেকে আবদুল হামিদের গভীর দায়িত্ববোধ এবং নিরলস তৎপরতা প্রকল্পের স্বাভাবিক কাজকর্ম অব্যাহত রাখতে সাহায্য করেছে।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধে যাঁরা আত্মহুতি দিয়েছেন, যাঁরা নির্যাতিত হয়েছেন, যাঁরা ত্যাগ স্বীকার করেছেন, সর্বব্যাপী প্রতিকূল পরিবেশে যাঁরা দেশপ্রেমের দীপশিখা অমলিন রেখেছেন, যাঁরা আমাদের কর্মের পথে প্রতি মুহূর্তের প্রেরণাস্বরূপ তাঁদের সকলের উদ্দেশে গভীর শ্রদ্ধা ও আন্তরিক কৃতজ্ঞতা জ্ঞাপন করে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিলপত্রের এই সংগ্রহ আমরা দেশের মানুষের হাতে তুলে দিচ্ছি।

হাসান হাফিজুর রহমান

সম্পাদক

## সংযোজন

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস প্রকল্পের সাবেক পরিচালক জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানের আকস্মিক মৃত্যুর পর তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়ের দু'জন উপসচিব কিছুকাল প্রকল্পের দায়িত্বে ছিলেন এবং এরপর পরিচালকের দায়িত্ব আমার ওপর অর্পণ করা হয়। হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানের জীবদ্দশায় প্রকল্পের কাজ সুষ্ঠুভাবে এগিয়ে চলছিল তবে তিনি চার খন্ডের মুদ্রিত রূপ দেখে যেতে পেরেছিলেন আর ছয় খন্ড মুদ্রণের জন্য প্রেসে পাঠানো হয়েছিল। এই প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নের জন্য তাঁর আন্তরিক উৎসাহ ও নিরলস পরিশ্রমের কথা আমরা সশ্রদ্ধচিত্তে স্মরণ করছি।

স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাসের দলিলপত্র সংকলন ও মুদ্রণের গুরুদায়িত্ব সম্পর্কে সংশ্লিষ্ট সকলে সচেতন ছিলেন। ফলে হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানের মৃত্যুর পর প্রকল্পের কাজের স্বাভাবিক গতি ব্যাহত হয়নি। প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির গঠন পূর্বানুরূপ থাকে এবং এই কমিটি কর্তৃক অনুমোদিত প্রকল্পের অন্তর্ভুক্ত কোন বিষয় পরিবর্তন করা হয়নি। পূর্বে গৃহীত নীতির ভিত্তিতে এবং কর্মরত গবেষক ও অফিস কর্মচারীদের নিয়ে প্রকল্পের অবশিষ্ট কাজ চলতে থাকে। তবে প্রকল্পের জন্য নির্ধারিত সময়ের সীমাবদ্ধতার জন্য দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহ এবং সেগুলোর সম্পাদনা যুগপৎভাবে করতে হয়েছে বলে দলিল খন্ডসমূহের ক্রম অনুযায়ী মুদ্রণের ধারাবাহিকতা রক্ষা করা যায়নি। কোন কোন খন্ডের বিষয় সম্পর্কিত পর্যাপ্ত দলিল ও তথ্যপ্রাপ্তির বিলম্বই তার একমাত্র কারণ।

প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি কর্তৃক অনুমোদিত ভূমিকাটি পরবর্তী খন্ডগুলিতেও অপরিবর্তিতভাবে সন্নিবেশ করা হয়েছে। আমাদেরও মূল লক্ষ্য ছিল সবগুলো দলিলখন্ডের মধ্যে গুণগত ও পদ্ধতিগত সামঞ্জস্য অক্ষুণ্ণ রাখা এবং নির্দিষ্ট সময়ের মধ্যে সকল খন্ডের মুদ্রণ ও প্রকাশনা সম্পন্ন করা। এ কাজ সুষ্ঠুভাবে করতে পারলেই দায়িত্ব পালনে আমরা সমর্থ হয়েছি বলে ভাবতে পারব।

কে এম মোহসীন

## দলিল প্রসঙ্গ : বিশ্ব জনমত

চতুর্দশ খন্ডের বিষয়বস্তু হচ্ছে আন্তর্জাতিক গণমাধ্যম। ১৯৭১ সালে বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলী বিভিন্ন দেশের পত্র-পত্রিকা এবং বেতার প্রচারে ব্যাপকভাবে স্থান পায়। বস্তুতঃক্ষে প্রায় প্রতিদিনের খবরের কাগজে বাংলাদেশের বিভিন্ন ঘটনার রিপোর্ট বা সম্পাদকীয় মুদ্রিত হয়। এখানে উল্লেখ্য যে, প্রায় সব প্রকাশনাই ছিল বাংলাদেশে আন্দোলনের পক্ষে অথবা সেই সময় এই দেশের মানুষের অবর্ণনীয় দুঃখকষ্টের ওপর রচিত নিবন্ধ।

এই খন্ড নির্মাণে প্রকল্প দলিলপত্রের ভিত্তিতে কয়েকটি দেশ ভিত্তিক বিভাজন করেছেন। সমগ্র গ্রন্থ ৫ টি অধ্যায়ে বিভক্ত করা হয়েছে। প্রথম অধ্যায়, মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র, পৃষ্ঠা ১-৩১৪, দ্বিতীয় অধ্যায়, যুক্তরাজ্য, পৃষ্ঠা ৩১৭-৪৬১ তৃতীয় অধ্যায়, বিবিসি, পৃষ্ঠা ৪৬৫-৫৫৮; চতুর্থ অধ্যায়, বিশ্ব-রাষ্ট্র সমূহ, পৃষ্ঠা ৫৬১-৬৬৫; পঞ্চম অধ্যায়, ভারত, পৃষ্ঠা; ৬৬৯-৯৮০।

গণমাধ্যমের ক্ষেত্রে কেবলমাত্র বিবিসি থেকে প্রচারিত সংবাদ ও প্রতিবেদনসমূহ অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়েছে। এর কারণ হচ্ছে অন্যান্য বেতার কেন্দ্র থেকে প্রচারিত সংবাদ ও নিবন্ধসমূহ চেষ্টা সত্ত্বেও সংগ্রহ করা সম্ভব হয়নি। বিবিসি এ ব্যাপারে সহযোগিতা দেখায়। এছাড়া এই বেতার কেন্দ্রের খবরসমূহ ছিল পশ্চিমী বেতার কেন্দ্রগুলি কর্তৃক প্রচারিত তথ্যসমূহের প্রতিনিধিমূলক।

মার্কিন পত্র-পত্রিকা থেকে নির্বাচনকালে যতদূর সম্ভব বিভিন্ন সংবাদের গুরুত্ব এবং প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক চরিত্র উপস্থিত করার চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস, ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট, বাল্টিমোর সান, টাইম ও নিউজউইক ম্যাগাজিন, ওয়ালস্ট্রিট জার্নাল ইত্যাদিতে প্রকাশিত খবরাদিতে প্রধান্য পেয়েছে। কেননা এই পত্রিকাগুলো হচ্ছে যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের জনমত গঠনে সবচেয়ে শক্তিশালী এবং এগুলো ৭১ সালে বাংলাদেশের পক্ষে প্রচার কার্যে অগ্রণী ভূমিকা পালন করেছে। তুলনামূলকভাবে স্বল্প পরিচিতি কিছু পত্র-পত্রিকার সংবাদ নিবন্ধও সংযোজিত হয়েছে। যেসব প্রতিবেদন সেসময় বাংলাদেশের মানুষের কাছে জনপ্রিয় হয়েছিল তার বেশ কয়েকটি এই খন্ডে ছাপানো হয়েছে।

যুক্তরাজ্য থেকে প্রকাশিত বিভিন্ন পত্র-পত্রিকার ক্ষেত্রেও উপরোক্ত নীতিমালা মেনে চলা হয়েছে। তৎকালীন যুক্তরাজ্যের গণমাধ্যম বাংলাদেশের আন্দোলনকে ব্যাপকভাবে বিশ্ববাসীর সামনে উপস্থিত করে। বিবিসি থেকে প্রচারিত অনুষ্ঠানসমূহের মধ্যে একটি ছিল সাপ্তাহিক সংবাদ পরিক্রমা। এই অনুষ্ঠানে যুক্তরাজ্যে প্রকাশিত প্রভাবশালী পত্রিকা সমূহের সংবাদ ও প্রতিবেদন এবং তাদের ওপর মন্তব্য প্রচার করা হতো। অতএব, এই দুই অধ্যায় একে অন্যের পরিপূরক হিসেবে এই গ্রন্থে স্থান পেয়েছে।

চতুর্থ অধ্যায় বিন্যাসকালে যতদূর সম্ভব চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে বিশ্বজনমতের একটি প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক চিত্র তুলে ধরার। এই উদ্দেশ্যে যেসব পত্র-পত্রিকা প্রকল্পের সংগ্রহে ছিল সেগুলো থেকে যতদূর সম্ভব একটি বিস্তৃত রূপ উপস্থিত করা হয়েছে। কিছু কিছু দেশের অনুপস্থিতির কারণ হচ্ছে আমাদের সংগ্রহের অভাব।

১৯৭১ সালে ভারতের সমস্ত পত্র-পত্রিকায় বাংলাদেশের সংক্রান্ত সংবাদই সবচেয়ে বেশি প্রধ্যান্য পায়। যেহেতু ভারতের পররাষ্ট্র এবং অভ্যন্তরীণ প্রধান বিষয় ছিল বাংলাদেশ সমস্যা সেহেতু ভারতীয় খবর এবং বাংলাদেশ সংক্রান্ত খবরের মধ্যে এমন কোন পার্থক্য ছিল না। পঞ্চম খন্ডের এ অধ্যায় সম্পাদনা করতে গিয়ে দলিলের ব্যাপকতাই ছিল আমাদের সামনে এক প্রধান সমস্যা। এই সমস্যা উত্তরণে প্রকল্প যথাসম্ভব চেষ্টা করেছে সেই সব সংবাদ নিবন্ধকে স্থান দিতে যেগুলি সরাসরি বাংলাদেশের অবস্থান এবং আন্দোলন সম্পর্কিত। একই সাথে বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গে ভারতীয় নীতি সংক্রান্ত দলিলসমূহও অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়েছে। বিভিন্ন দল ও গোষ্ঠীর ভূমিকাও বাদ যায়নি। অর্থাৎ সরকারী কর্মকাণ্ডের বাইরে যেসব তৎপরতা ছিল সেদিকেও নজর দেয়া হয়েছে।



বার

কেবলমাত্র একটি খণ্ডে সমগ্র বিশ্বজনমতের প্রতিচ্ছবি পাঠকের সামনে উপস্থিত করা দুঃসাধ্য ব্যাপার। প্রকল্প চেষ্টা করেছে তার একটি প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক চিত্র তুলে ধরতে। এর মধ্যে কিছু পরিচিতি প্রতিবেদনও হয়ত বাদ পড়তে পারে তবে প্রকল্পের মূল উদ্দেশ্য ছিল ১৯৭১ সালে আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের প্রতি সমর্থন এবং সহানুভূতির একটি নির্বাচিত দলিল-সমগ্র নির্মাণ করা।

পাঠকের কাছে কিছু কিছু সংবাদ এবং প্রতিবেদন হয়তো পরস্পর বিরোধী মনে হতে পারে। এটাই স্বাভাবিক, কারণ, ঘটনাসমূহ বিভিন্ন সাংবাদিক অবলোকন করেছেন তাঁদের নিজস্ব প্রেক্ষিতে থেকে। তাছাড়া তথ্যেরও কিছু কিছু গরমিল থাকা অস্বাভাবিক নয়। কারণ সে সময় কোন কেন্দ্রীয় তথ্য সরবরাহের ব্যবস্থা ছিল না। এমনকি বলা যেতে পারে যে সে অবস্থায় নির্ভুল সংবাদ সংগ্রহ করা ছিল প্রায় অসম্ভব। সংগৃহীত তথ্য এবং অনুমানের ওপর ভিত্তি করেই এইসব রিপোর্ট রচিত হতো। আশা করা যায় এই ধারাটি পাঠক উপলব্ধি করবেন এবং ৭১-এর বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলীর একটি সামগ্রিক চিত্র এই খন্ডের মাধ্যমে উপস্থাপিত হবে।

কে এম মোহসীন

## পরিশিষ্ট

[এক]

*The Bangladesh Gazette, Part II September 1, 1971, Page 503*

*Ministry of Information & Broadcasting*

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## বিজ্ঞপ্তি

ঢাকা, ২৩শে আগস্ট ১৯৭৭

নং-তথ্য/৪ই-২৫/৭৭/৪১৪৮১- স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ইতিহাস রচনার উদ্দেশ্যে দৈনিক বাংলার প্রাক্তন সম্পাদক জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানকে তথ্য ও বেতার মন্ত্রণালয়ে বিশেষ ভারপ্রাপ্ত অফিসার পদে ১৯৭৭ সনের ১লা জুলাই হইতে জনস্বার্থে এক বৎসরের জন্য ছুটি ভিত্তিতে নিয়োগ করা হইল।

২। ছুটির শর্তানুযায়ী তিনি তাঁহার বেতন ও অন্যান্য সুবিধাদি পাইবেন।

রাষ্ট্রপতির আদেশক্রমে-

আবদুস সোবহান

উপ-সচিব

পরিশিষ্ট

[দুই]

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING

DACCA

No. 51/2/78-Dev/231

Dated 18-7-1978

## RESOLUTION

In connection with the Writing and Printing of the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation the Government have been pleased to constitute and Authentication Committee for the Project “Writing and Printing of a History of Bangladesh War of Liberation” with the following members:

- |                               |                                                                    |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Dr. Mafizullah Kabir       | Pro-Vice Chancellor, Dacca University                              |
| 2. Professor Salahuddin Ahmed | Chairman, Department of History, Jahangirnagar University          |
| 3. Dr. Safar Ali Akanda       | Director, Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Rajshahi.               |
| 4. Dr. Enamul Huq             | Director, Dacca Museum.                                            |
| 5. Dr. K. M. Mohsin           | Associate Professor, Deptt. of History, Dacca University           |
| 6. Dr. Shamsul Huda Harun     | Associate Professor, Deptt. of Political Science, Dacca University |
| 7. Dr. Ahmed Sharif           | Professor and Chairman, Deptt. of Bengali, Dacca University        |
| 8. Dr. Anisuzzaman            | Professor, Deptt. of Bengali, Chittagong University                |
| 9. Mr. Hasan Hafizur Rahman   | O.S.D., History of Bangladesh War of Liberation Project            |

The following shall be the terms of reference of the Committee:\

- To verify, endorse and authenticate the collected data and documents to be included in the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation.
- To determine validity and price of document are required for the purpose.

**Syed Asgar Ali**  
Section Officer

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH  
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING  
DACCA

No. 51/2/78-Dev/10493/ (25)

Dated : 13-2-1979

**RESOLUTION**

In partial modification of Resolution issued under No. 51/2/78-Dev/231, dated 18.7.78 Govt. have been pleased to reconstitute and Authentication Committee for the Project "Writing and Printing of a History of Bangladesh are of Liberation" with the following members:

- |                                                                                                 |                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Dr. Mafizullah Kabir<br>Pro-Vice Chancellor, Dacca University                                | Chairman         |
| 2. Professor Salahuddin Ahmed<br>Chairman, Department of History, Jahangirnagar University      | Member           |
| 3. Dr. Anisuzzaman<br>Professor, Deptt. of Bengali, Chittagong University                       | Member           |
| 4. Dr. Safar Ali Akanda<br>Director, Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Rajshahi.                 | Member           |
| 5. Dr. Enamul Huq<br>Director, Dacca Museum.                                                    | Member           |
| 6. Dr. K. M. Mohsin<br>Associate Professor, Deptt. of History, Dacca University                 | Member           |
| 7. Dr. Shamsul Huda Harun<br>Associate Professor, Deptt. of Political Science, Dacca University | Member           |
| 8. Dr. K. M. Karim<br>Director, National Library and Archives, Dacca                            | Member           |
| 9. Mr. Hasan Hafizur Rahman<br>O.S.D., History of Bangladesh War of Liberation Project          | Member-Secretary |

2. The following shall be the terms of reference of the Committee:

To verify, endorse and authenticate the collected data and documents to be included in the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation.

To determine validity and price of document are required for the committee.

**M.A. Salam Khan**  
Section Officer

**সূচীপত্র**  
**প্রথম অধ্যায়**  
**পত্র-পত্রিকা : যুক্তরাষ্ট্র**

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২৮৩।	বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে জাতিসংঘের প্রতারণা	৭১৭
২৮৪।	কলকাতা ও ঢাকায় ডেপুটি হাই কমিশন অফিস বন্ধ হচ্ছে	৭১৯
২৮৫।	ঢাকায় ভারতীয় দূতাবাসের কর্মচারীরা অন্তরীণ	৭২১
২৮৬।	যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে বাঙালী কূটনীতিকদেরকে বদলী করা হচ্ছে	৭২২
২৮৭।	সীমান্তের ওপারের জনগণ সক্রিয়	৭২৩
২৮৮।	রেলওয়ে শ্রমিক ইউনিয়নের বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতিদানের আবেদন	৭২৭
২৮৯।	ইয়াহিয়ার বায়না-বাংলাদেশ মিশনের সঙ্গে গোপন বৈঠক চাই	৭২৮
২৯০।	এখনই ভারতের স্বীকৃতি বাংলাদেশের স্বার্থের অনুকূল হবে না	৭৩০
২৯১।	পূর্ব বাংলার ঘটনা প্রবাহের ওপর ফ্রন্টিয়ার পত্রিকার একটি সমীক্ষা	৭৩২
২৯২।	চট্টগ্রামে পাক বর্বরতা	৭৩৫
২৯৩।	দূতাবাস কর্মচারী বিনিময়ে সুইস মধ্যস্থতায় পাক-ভারত সম্মতি	৭৩৬
২৯৪।	শরণার্থী শিবিরে শ্রীমতি গান্ধী	৭৩৮
২৯৫।	দূতাবাস কর্মচারী বিনিময়ে সুইস প্রস্তাব প্রত্যাখ্যাত	৭৪০
২৯৬।	ইয়াহিয়ার সীমাহীন বর্বরতার বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিরোধের আবেদন	৭৪২
২৯৭।	স্বীকৃতির সময় এখনো আসেনি- প্রধানমন্ত্রী	৭৪৪
২৯৮।	শরণার্থীদের ৬ মাসে সাহায্য দিতে লাগবে ২০০ কোটি টাকা	৭৪৮
২৯৯।	সীমান্ত দেখতে প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী উদ্ধাস্তমন্ত্রী আসছেন	৭৪৯
৩০০।	ক্ষমতার ভারসাম্য	৭৫০
৩০১।	করিমগঞ্জ সীমান্তে পাকিস্তানী সৈন্য সমাবেশ	৭৫২
৩০২।	জঙ্গী শাহীর হাতে অন্ততঃ দশ লাখ নিহত	৭৫৩
৩০৩।	একটি নির্ভীক কণ্ঠ	৭৫৪
৩০৪।	১১ জুন দেশের শ্রমিক শ্রেণী ‘বাংলাদেশ দিবস’ পালন করবে	৭৫৬
৩০৫।	নির্যাতনের চিত্র	৭৫৭
৩০৬।	মেঘালয় সীমান্তে বাঙালী নিধন	৭৫৮
৩০৭।	শরণার্থী শিবিরে বাঙালী নিধন	৭৬১
৩০৮।	বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দানের প্রশ্নে ভারত সরকারের দ্বিধা কাটেনি	৭৬২
৩০৯।	অবিলম্বে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতির দাবিতে পৌরসভার প্রস্তাব	৭৬৪
৩১০।	পাকিস্তানে গোপন তথ্য পাচার রাজ্যসভায় সরকারী বিবৃতির দাবী	৭৬৫
৩১১।	বাংলাদেশে হস্তক্ষেপ ও সুদৃঢ় নীতির দাবীতে	৭৬৬
৩১২।	বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে ভারতের ভূমিকা	৭৭১
৩১৩।	লোকসভায় কমিউনিষ্ট সদস্যদের পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনার সম্পর্কে ভারতের আচরণের নিন্দা	৭৭৪
৩১৪।	বাংলাদেশে পাক ফৌজী বর্বরতা অবিশ্বাস্য কিন্তু সন্দেহাতীত	৭৭৬
৩১৫।	ভাসানী রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের সম্ভাবনা নাবচ করেছেন	৭৭৭
৩১৬।	বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে বিশ্বের হস্তক্ষেপ চাই	৭৭৯
৩১৭।	আশা ও বিভ্রান্তির মাঝখানে	৭৮২

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
৩১৮।	পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে সমঝোতার কোন অবকাশ নাই- তাজউদ্দীন	৭৮৫
৩১৯।	স্টেটসম্যান পত্রিকার একটি সম্পাদকীয়	৭৮৭
৩২০।	চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় ভি.সি, কর্তৃক যুব শিবির উদ্বোধন	৭৮৯
৩২১&	স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিন	৭৯০
৩২২।	মেহদী মাসুদের ওপর বিধিনিষেধ আরোপঃ ভারত সরকারের কড়া ব্যবস্থা	৭৯২
৩২৩।	বার্মিংহামে পাক ক্রিকেট দলের বিরুদ্ধে বৃহত্তম বিক্ষোভ সমাবেশ	৭৯৩
৩২৪।	দায়িত্ব পালনে মন্ত্রী শ্রী কেন্দ্রের গড়িমসি	৭৯৪
৩২৫।	বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে শুধু বিশ্ববিরেক নয় দেশের বিবেকও জাগাতে হবে	৭৯৬
৩২৬।	সোয়েলের কাছে বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতি প্রশ্রুতি ভাবাবেগজাতঃ সংখ্যালঘুদের জাতীয় কনভেনশনশনে বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গ।	৭৯৯
৩২৭।	রাজনৈতিক সামাধানের জন্য বাংলাদেশ সরকারের অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপ্রধানের চার দফা পূর্বশর্ত	৮০০
৩২৮।	অন্যহায়ে পথশ্রমে অবসন্ন মৃতপ্রায় শরণার্থী দল	৮০২
৩২৯।	চিকিৎসা সামগ্রী প্রেরণের জন্য জরুরি বিমান	৮০৪
৩৩০।	আই,পি, আই বৈঠকে বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্ন উঠতে পারে	৮০৬
৩৩১।	বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক সামাধান	৮০৭
৩৩২।	কলকাতার দূতাবাসগুলিতে বদলী ও নতুন নিয়োগের হিড়িক, কারণ রাজনৈতিক?	৮০৯
৩৩৩।	সাহায্যদাতাদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশের আবেদন	৮১১
৩৩৪।	ভারত ডুবতে বসেছে	৮১২
৩৩৫।	শরণার্থীদের চিকিৎসায় সরকারী ও বেসরকারী সংস্থার সমন্বয় দরকার	৮১৫
৩৩৬।	বাংলাদেশ মুক্তি আন্দোলনকে সমর্থন করলেন। ভারতীয় মুসলমান ভাইদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধিদের আহবান	৮১৬
৩৩৭।	ভারত সরকারের অনুরোধে বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের জন্য সেভিয়েত বিমানের আগমন	৮১৭
৩৩৮।	ইসলামী দেশ বিপন্ন বলে বাংলাদেশে জাতি হত্যা চাপা দেয়া যাবে না।	৮১৮
৩৩৯।	হিন্দুসত্ত্বান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড পত্রিকার একটি সম্পাদকীয়	৮১৯
৩৪০।	১৯ জুন 'বাংলাদেশ' দিবস পালন করুন	৮২০
৩৪১।	বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সমর্থনে বনগাঁও সুবৃহৎ সমাবেশ	৮২১
৩৪২।	মুক্তির দূত মুক্তিফৌজ	৮২২
৩৪৩।	বাংলাদেশ শরণার্থীদের জন্য 'মাষ্টার প্লান' চাই	৮২৩
৩৪৪।	ফুলবাড়ীয়া সীমান্তে পাকবাহিনীর গোলবর্ষণ	৮২৬
৩৪৫।	মার্কিন অস্ত্রে বাংলাদেশে রক্তঝরানো চলবে না	৮২৮
৩৪৬।	মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদের অপকৌশল ও বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রাম	৮২৯
৩৪৭।	মার্কিন সরকারকে সাফ জবাব দেওয়ার সাহস ভারত সরকারের নেই	৮৩০
৩৪৮।	বিষ্ফুর ভারতের দাবি। মার্কিন অস্ত্র বোঝাই পাক জাহাজ আর যেন না এগোয়	৮৩২
৩৪৯।	ধরা পড়েছে মার্কিন ফাঁকি (সম্পাদকীয়)	৮৩৪
৩৫০।	কোন সামাধান না হলে ভারত যে কোন ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে বাধ্য। উর্দু পত্রিকার সম্পাদকদের সভায় বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গে অভিমত	৮৩৬

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
৩৫১।	একটি রাজনৈতিক সমাধান (সম্পাদকীয়)	৮৩৭
৩৫২।	মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের আক্রমণে নিহত সাড়ে তিন হাজার পাক অফিসারের মৃতদেহ করাচীতে কবরস্থ	৮৩৮
৩৫৩।	পাকিস্তানকে অস্ত্র দেওয়া না দেওয়া	৮৪০
৩৫৪।	পাকিস্তানী প্রচারণার বিরুদ্ধে হুশিয়ারী	৮৪২
৩৫৫।	মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের জন্য অস্ত্র দাবি	৮৪৩
৩৫৬।	ব্রিটিশ সংসদীয় দলের বিবৃতি প্রচার করা যাবে না। পাক জঙ্গী সরকারের ফরমান	৮৪৫
৩৫৭।	পাকিস্তানের মিথ্যা কূটনৈতিক প্রচার	৮৪৬
৩৫৮।	পাকিস্তানে মার্কিন অস্ত্র সাহায্য বন্ধের জন্য ভারতের দাবি	৮৪৭
৩৫৯।	বাংলাদেশের হৃদয় হতে	৮৪৯
৩৬০।	মার্কিন কনসুলেট ভবনের সম্মুখে বিক্ষোভ	৮৫১
৩৬১।	কূটনৈতিক বিনিময়ের প্রস্তুতি	৮৫২
৩৬২।	মুক্তি সংগ্রাম কমিটি গঠিত	৮৫৩
৩৬৩।	পূর্বাঞ্চলে পাক-বাহিনীর আত্মরক্ষারমূলক তৎপরতা	৮৫৫
৩৬৪।	পাকিস্তানে ফিরে যেতে বাংলাদেশ মিশন কর্মচারীদের অস্বীকৃতি প্রকাশ	৮৫৭
৩৬৫।	পাক-বাহিনীর দলিলে লুট ও ধর্ষণের প্রমাণ	৮৬০
৩৬৬।	পাকিস্তানে অস্ত্র সরবরাহের প্রতিবাদে ছাত্রদের দ্বারা মার্কিন পতাকার অসম্মান	৮৬২
৩৬৭।	পূর্ববাংলার বিপন্ন বৌদ্ধেরা আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা (সম্পাদকীয়)	৮৬৩
৩৬৮।	মুজিবের নয়, ইয়াহিয়ার বিচার চাই। (সম্পাদকীয়)	৮৬৪
৩৬৯।	বাংলাদেশ ও জাতিসঙ্ঘ (সম্পাদকীয়)	৮৬৬
৩৭০।	কলকাতায় বাংলাদেশের প্রথম ফুটবল খেলা	৮৬৮
৩৭১।	মুজিবের বিচার শুরু: রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের প্রতি ভারতের আবেদন	৮৬৯
৩৭২।	বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধানে গুরুত্ব আরোপ : ভারত- সোভিয়েত যুক্ত বিবৃতি	৮৭৩
৩৭৩।	পাক বাহিনীর কৌশলগত পশ্চাদপসরণ	৮৭৫
৩৭৪।	বিদেশী সত্যাগ্রাহী দল বাংলাদেশে প্রবেশ করছেন	৮৭৭
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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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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
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 10 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 seconds 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 late 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.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সেনাবাহিনী কর্তৃক বিদেশী সাংবাদিক বহিষ্কার	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."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ট্যাকের 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 Sheikh Mujib win a significant measure of autonomy for East Pakistan. 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.

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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- coordinated 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 got 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.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বিস্ফুট 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.

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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.

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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.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

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.

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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.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১। দ্বন্দের 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.

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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 in 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. Chalbey, Chalbey." "The fight will go on. The fight will go on."

**-Sydney H. Schanberg**

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

THESUN, 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.

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

NEWSWEEK, APRIL 5, 1971

## PAKISTAN PLUNGES INTO CIVIL WAR

*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 modern, 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 starting 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 arid 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.

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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.

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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.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

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 Karnalaphuli 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."

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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 are 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**

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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.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১। হত্যাজ্ঞার 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.**

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

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".

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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.

The 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 and 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 army 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 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 bridges, 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 reprisal against British families still in East Pakistan.

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 percent of the people are left in such towns as Dacca, the capital, and 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 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 days" 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**

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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?**

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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 Bengalis 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**

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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 can, 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.

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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."

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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."*

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯। এই যুদ্ধে নারকীয় অবস্থা কেবল এক পক্ষেরই	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	.....এপ্রিল, 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**

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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 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.

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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."

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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 Vahya 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.

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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".

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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.**

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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 mote 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.

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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 toll 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."

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

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

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, MAY 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.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮। স্বর্ণ 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.

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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 sloshed 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.

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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.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪১। নির্বাসিত 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.

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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.*

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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.

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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.

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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."

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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.

The two senators will propose their amendment when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee takes up the foreign aid bill next week. The committee earlier approved a resolution-not yet acted upon by the Senate—which would bar further military aid to Pakistan. The South Asian country is basically armed with U.S. equipment, but only spare parts and ammunition have been sent to it since the 1965 Indo-Pakistani war.

Senator Church estimated that the current pending economic aid would total about \$80 million. He said he did not know how much military aid was in prospect. Sales of planes and armored personnel carriers authorized last October have not yet been completed.

Both senators complained that American aid to the government of Pakistan put it in opposition to the Bengalis of East Pakistan. Senator Saxbe complained that the Army had "crushed" Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his moderate, generally pro-Western Awami League, who had recently won national elections."

Senator Saxbe also put forward Dr. Jon E. Rohde, a physician who was in East Pakistan 'with the Agency for International Development. Dr. Rohde contended that relief had to be international because the Pakistan Army had shown during December's cyclone and flood that it was incapable of handling relief operations.

He said American aid-which the State Department has said has been held up since the civil war began-meant "the U.S. is currently supporting one side." He added that "it is documented that mass slaughter has gone on."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪৭। অনিশ্চিত আশ্রয়	নিউজ উইক	১৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, JUNE 14, 1971

### DUBIOUS HAVEN

By the millions, Bengali refugees from East Pakistan have been streaming across the border into India. Fleeing from the brutal repression that followed their region's attempt to declare itself independent, they have found a dubious haven amid disease and squalor. Last week, News week's Tony Clifton toured several refugee camps and filed this report:

Already, the skies over the Indian state of West Bengal are turning heavy and gray in forewarning of the coming monsoon, which is due to burst at any time. Always destructive, the monsoon is certain to wreak extra havoc this year, multiplying the terror and misery of some 4 million Pakistanis who now huddle in ramshackle refugee camps just across the border of their former homeland. Indian officials have performed miracles by feeding and housing the refugees, but .all their efforts could be wiped away by even "normal" monsoon rains. And if the downpour is heavy, the ensuing floods could cause a disaster that would rival the catastrophic cyclones that killed half a million people in East Pakistan only last year.

The monsoons, however, will only compound the tragedy of the refugees who, in the course of a few short weeks, have seen their entire way of life collapse. They are a pathetic sight straggling along the road, clutching bundles of clothes and an occasional black umbrella to ward off the blistering sun. There are tiny children by the thousands and a disproportionate number of young girls, special targets of the marauding Pakistani Army. There are clusters of people sitting forlornly under trees, exhausted by their march and the lack of food. "The situation is out of control here," moaned K.K. Nuskar, government administrator of the Bongaon area some 60 miles from Calcutta. "I cannot house or feed one more person, and they're coming in at the rate of 100,000 a day. All I can do is give them a little food and move them on."

**Stench:** Inside the overcrowded camps themselves, the scene is equally depressing. Scores of refugees-many with blistered feet, swollen legs, dysentery and other gastrointestinal diseases-are packed into crude shelters often made up of nothing more than tarpaulin roofs and bamboo poles. There are no sides to the shelters, no beds and no lighting. With garbage strewn about haphazardly and with open sewage facilities serving most of the camps, the stench is often overpowering, and the danger of widespread disease is great. Perhaps the only bright spot in the black picture is that the refugees are relatively well fed-at least by the standards of chronically undernourished India and Pakistan.

Despite the squalor of their existence, the Bengalis endure with a minimum of complaint. 'But they are both baffled and outraged by the persecution and the terror they have suffered at the hands of their longtime antagonists, Pakistan's ruling Punjabis. I spoke with one old woman, a widow named Rosimun Bibi who told me, "I came because

they killed my son. Tie was coming home from the seed store when the Punjabis came up to him and shot him dead. I don't know why. He had never done anything wrong in his life." Another refugee showed me his two sons, aged 6 and 7, both of whom were still bruised from beatings that Punjabi soldiers had given them. Some refugees said the Punjabis had begun to kidnap children and hold them for ransom. And Methodist missionary John Hastings added, "I talked to a man who raised all the money he could to ransom his child, but was 200 rupees about S26 short. So he said, "Beat me for the rest. And they beat him, gouged out one of his eyes and then gave him his child."

**Disease.** Even when they escape to India, the refugees are threatened by many perils, most notably cholera. When the first crowds, crossed the border, doctors inoculated them against cholera, but now the Bengalis are swarming into India in such numbers that they cannot all be immunised. "It takes so long to use syringes," said one doctor "and we don't have money for inoculation guns." Already the nut break of cholera is nearing epidemic proportions. Last week, some 2,000 refugees died, and an equal number are said to be near death in hospital or by the roadsides. The outlook for the future is even darker, for the monsoon floods are all but certain to spread this waterborne disease.

For all their suffering, the refugees are not alone in facing hardship. As a result of the enormous influx of Pakistanis, the price of vegetables and edible oils in West Bengal has soared. Concurrently, local residents are finding their wages undercut by refugees willing to work for less. "The refugees are getting free food from the government so they can afford to work for less money than a man who has to buy food," Nuskar explained. "The rate for a day's work for an agricultural laborer has been cut in half." Inevitably, such a situation plants the seeds of anger. "The people here are sympathetic to the refugees, Nuskar said, "but their sympathy is beginning to dry up. In two months, there will be nothing but resentment against the Pakistanis."

The refugee problem is also severely straining the already sickly Indian budget. The government has put the cost of caring for the next three months at a bare minimum of \$30 million, and it could go much higher. To date, the financial aid that India has received from other countries has been relatively trivial. Although the United States plans to add \$14 million it has already pledged to the refugee cause, other nations have remained largely indifferent. "It is going to take an enormous amount of international aid to stop a major disaster," warned Hastings, "yet no one seems to be stirring. West Germany has given \$140,000 and you feel like saying, "Thanks very much. You've just bought enough food to keep us going another half a day." Col P.N. Luthra, who is in charge of the refugee program, was equally downcast: "We have been managing, but things are getting far worse. We plan ten days ahead and find after three days that we have to start again because the number of refugees has suddenly doubled. We are doing our level best, we cannot do it on our own."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪৮। পূর্ব-পাকিস্তানে হত্যাকাণ্ড (সম্পাদকীয়)	ওয়াশিংটন ডেইলী নিউজ	১৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS. JUNE 15, 1971*

### Editorial

### SLAUGHTER IN EAST PAKISTAN

*Eyewitness reports, one more ghastly than another, continue to filter out of East Pakistan, telling of the massacre of the Bengali people by the Pakistani army.*

*Naturally, the military regime of President Yahya Khan denies it is committing selective genocide. But evidence mounts that it is cold bloodedly murdering minority Hindus, Bengali separatists, intellectuals, doctors, professors, students-in short those who could lead a self-governing East Pakistan.*

*The strongest evidence is that 5 million East Pakistanis have taken the terrible decision to abandon their homes and have fled on foot across the border into India. This starving, cholera-ridden mass is being augmented by 100,000 terrified refugees each day.*

*If things are now "normal" in East Pakistan, as Yahya Khan's Gauleiter claim, why are new refugees still inundating India and earlier ones refusing to go home?*

Along with other countries, the United States is sending medicine and supplies to the refugees. This is only fair, since India has massive problems of its own and should not have to pay for Yahya Khan's cruelty to his own citizens.

Our Government is also trying to get a U. N. relief operation going inside East Pakistan itself. The army crackdown prevented rice planting, and millions of Bengalis face starvation if outside food is not distributed. The United Nations must do it, since nobody trusts West Pakistan to hand out supplies to the Bengalis, whom it treats as colonial subjects.

Most importantly the United States is urging the Yahya Khan regime to reach "a peaceful political accommodation" with the East Pakistan. By this Washington means granting self-government to the Easterners-something a great majority of them have voted for.

Is it any of Washington's business? We think so. This country has poured billions of dollars in economic and military aid into Pakistan for two decades. (Most of the economic aid was appropriated by West Pakistan and the military aid used to crush the Bengalis.)

Now Pakistan needs at least \$450 million a year to stave off bankruptcy, and the United States heads an international consortium being asked to furnish it.

Should Washington continue to help? We say no-not until Yahya Khan calls off his army killers and agrees to autonomy for East Pakistan. Otherwise, by strengthening his regime, we become moral accomplices to genocide and enslavement of the Bengali people.

Such a stand, we admit, may complicate our foreign policy but that is a small price to pay for not acquiescing to mass murder.



বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪৯। ভয়ঙ্কর দুর্যোগ	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, JUNE 16, 1971*  
**APPALLING CATASTROPHE**

*By C. L. Sulzberger From Paris*

Hiroshima and Nagasaki are vividly remembered by the mind's eye primarily because of the novel means that brought holocaust to those cities. Statistically comparable disasters in Hamburg and Dresden are more easily forgotten; they were produced by what we already then conceived of as "conventional" methods.

Against this background one must view the appalling catastrophe of East Pakistan whose scale is so immense that it exceeds the colorimeter capacity by which human sympathy is measured. No one can hope to count the dead, wounded, missing, homeless or stricken whose number grows each day.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫০। স্বর্ণ হত্যাকাণ্ড	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২১ জুন, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, JUNE 21, 1971

### A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE

The flood of Bengali refugees from East Pakistan into India began to subside last week, but the battle being waged against the cholera epidemic they brought with them still went on. More than 5,000 refugees already had died of cholera; at the peak of the epidemic, gravediggers became so exhausted that they could not work, and the supply of wood for burning bodies in the traditional Hindu way was completely used up. Although chartered planes arrived daily bringing shipments of food, hospital equipment and medicines, India still had received barely one-tenth of the \$200 million in foreign aid that it needs to care for the estimated 5 million refugees. "What was claimed to be the internal problem of Pakistan," India's Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi told a deeply concerned Parliament in New Delhi last week, "has now become an internal problem for India."

For all the disheartening statistics, however, India's medical service is performing impressively. "I cannot say that the epidemic is diminishing," says R. N. Gupta, chief social-welfare officer at the Krishnanagar hospital in Nadia, among the hardest-hit provinces. "We still get from 50 to 100 cases every day. The difference is that, this week we are able to get almost everyone into the hospital for treatment. Last week, the numbers were so great that many people died on the road before they reached us."

But although the roads in Nadia are now almost clear of cholera victims, the hospitals still teem with helpless, retching patients. One treatment center, run by a Catholic nursing order, the Sisters of Mary. Immaculate, was built recently as a maternity hospital; it was opened prematurely two weeks ago to care for cholera cases and has yet to admit its first expectant mother. The building's corridors are lined with small children lying on cots and bottles suspended above them drip a life-giving saline solution into their gaunt bodies, "The effect is quite remarkable," cabled Newsweek's Tony Clifton last week. "They literally have life, pumped back into them, and you can see them gradually gaining strength as the bottle empties." Some of the patients are beyond any help at all. But by working almost around the clock, the hospital's beleaguered staff of two doctors and eight nurses has so far managed to save all but eighteen of the first 425 cholera cases to be admitted.

"We send our ambulances out to pick people off the roads," explains Sister Immaculate, the plump, thirtieth doctor who runs the hospital. "Some of them have been lying out in the mud and rain and are completely collapsed. Yet unless they are literally on the point of death we can cure most of them. That girl" she adds pointing to a peacefully sleeping teen-ager, "was brought in with no pulse and no sign of breathing. We poured saline solution into her, and now she is all right. Some of these people need a gallon of fluid before they recover, but with proper care, they can leave the hospital in two or three days." The treatment only works because of the dedication of the doctors and nurses. We are with them all the time," says Sister Immaculate, "and we spend a lot of money on each one -anything up to 60 rupees (\$ 7) per person."

The nulls' hospital is something of a special case, because it is new and has private funds; few hospitals in Nadia can afford to spend even 60 rupees on each patient. The Krishnanagar hospital is more typical. Normally equipped to handle 25 patients, it now accommodates more than 400, many of whom huddle with their families under a vast orange tent that has been set up next to the building itself. The supply of sheets ran out long ago, and most of the mattresses have been contaminated by body wastes. The patients lie on tin trays 6 feet long and 3 feet wide covered by thin strips of badly stained cheesecloth. Flies are everywhere, and the noise and smell are overpowering. The workload for the hollow-eyed doctors and nurses is so heavy that one of them collapsed and died last week from exhaustion. Yet despite the squalor, the hospital functions with surprising effectiveness, and only about 8 percent of its patients have died.

**Typhoid:** The refugees from Pakistan's civil war still face many perils in the Indian camps. "What we fear now is a typhoid epidemic," says Gupta of the Krishnanagar hospital. "There are nearly half a million people living in camps or along the roads around here. Many of them have been drinking contaminated water, and most of them are weakened by the very strenuous journeys they had to get here. The conditions for typhoid are ideal."

Perhaps in recognition of India's continuing predicament, the government of Pakistan is trying to lure the refugees home by offering them a general amnesty and by promising them food, shelter, medical care and transportation to their old homes. According to one estimate last week, several thousand Bengalis have already crossed the border back into Pakistan to accept the offer. But so far, most of the homeless 5 million seem to think that, even with all its problems, India is a better place to live right now.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫১। বাঙালী শরণার্থী : দুঃখের শেষ নেই	টাইম	২১ জুন, ১৯৭১

*TIME MAGAZINE. JUNE 21, 1971*

### **THE BENGALI REFUGEES: A SURFEIT OF WOE**

A cyclone that killed as many as 500,000 people. A civil war that claimed perhaps 200,000 more. An exodus that already totals 5,000,000 and is still growing. A cholera epidemic that has barely begun, yet has taken already some 5,000 lives. It is an almost biblical catalogue of woe, rivaling if not surpassing the plagues that visited upon the Egyptians of Mosaic days. As yet it is virtually certain that the list will grow even longer for the bedeviled people of East Pakistan. Last week, as fresh waves of refugees poured across the Indian border at the rate of 100,000 a day, they brought tales of a pogrom against Hindus by the predominantly Moslem Pakistan. And over the stinking, teeming refugee camps that scar the border areas of five Indian states hovered the growing threat of famine and pestilence.

The first onrush of refugees followed the outburst of civil war in March, when West Pakistan decided to crush East Pakistanis drive for Bangladesh (an independent Bengali State). Immediately after fighting broke out between the fierce Pathans and Punjabis of the Pakistani army and the Bengali liberation forces, 1,500,000 terrified East Pakistanis- Moslems and Hindus alike-crossed into the Indian states of West Bengal, Tripura, Assam, Meghalaya and Bihar. Now the escapees are mostly Hindus, and they bring tales of torture, rape and massacre. According to the new arrivals, the Pakistani Government is blaming the 10 million Hindus of East Pakistan (pop. 78 million) for being the principal supporters of the now outlawed Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The Hindus did in fact, overwhelmingly support "Mujib", who at last word was under house arrest in Karachi, the principal city of West Pakistan. But so did the Moslems, for the Awami League won 167 out of 169 seats at stake in East Pakistan during last December elections. But the Hindus, because they are minority, are an easier target.

#### **Battered To Death**

A Hindu building contractor told of how Pakistani troops at a tea estate asked people whom they voted for in the election. They shot 200 who admitted voting for the Awami League. In a hospital in Agartala, Indian doctors reported that number of the refugees came in badly burnt. The doctors explained that the refugees were shoved into huts by Pak. Army men, who then set the huts on fire. The hospital has also treated 370 men, women and children for bullet wounds 17 of whom died.

In the refugee camp at Petrapole on the West Bengal-East Pakistan border a 16 year old girl recalled how she and her parents were in bed, "when we heard the tread of feet outside. The door burst open and several soldiers entered. They pointed their bayonets at the throes of us and before my eyes killed my mother and father-battering to death with the butts of their rifles. They flung me on the floor and the three of them raped me.

Another teenage girl in a Tripura camp told how she was raped by thirteen West Pakistani soldiers before escaping. Other girls have reportedly taken from fleeing families to be sold as prostitutes to the soldiers particularly if their fathers could not pay a ransom for them.

According to an official who has toured the border, Pakistani troops and their anti-Hindu supporters are demanding 140 dollars a person before letting family members leave East Pakistan. Lacking only 25 dollars of the ransom for his wife one man pleaded: "beat me for the rest" They let his wife go after he was beaten on the temple with a bamboo stick until he lost an eye.

Those who escaped could be models for Goya's 'Disaster of War'. The lucky ones get into already over-filled tent camps that reek of caustic soda disinfectant, and human excretion and arc ankle deep in filthy water from the first monsoons. Most huddle under trees or bushes trying to avoid the heavy rains. Some find cramped quarters on the verandas of now closed school houses. Others near Calcutta have found large open drainpipes to live in. Around them is always the stench of garbage, polluted water, sickness and death.

### **Token Cremation**

The polluted drinking water, the lack of sanitation and the official's inability to inoculate the millions of refugees have contributed to the spread of cholera particularly in West Bengal. A bacterial disease, common to India and Pakistan, cholera causes severe vomiting and diarrhea, which bring dehydration and death. Those afflicted can usually be saved by replenishing the body fluids by intravenous injections or drinking large doses of a solution of salts, baking soda and glucose. But the flood of refugees is just too great to be handled by beleaguered, medical teams.

The roads the refugees travel are not only littered with clothes and discarded household goods but with bodies of cholera victims left by those too frightened of the disease to bury their own dead. Although Hindus practice cremation, many of the bodies were merely singed with two burning sticks and then left for the hovering vultures or wild dogs to pick apart. Even when the corpses are buried they are often dug up by carrion eaters. Police have their hands full trying to prevent refugees from tossing corpses into the rivers. In the overcrowded hospitals the sick and dying are jammed together on the floor, and the dead continue to lie among the living for hours before the overworked, hospital staffs can cart the bodies off.

At one of West Bengal's overflowing health centers a 45 year old rice farmer watched his infant son continue to suckle after his mother had died of cholera. "My wife is dead" the man said numbly. "Three of my children are dead. What else can happen?" With the refugees spreading through the Indian states carrying the disease with them, the epidemic could rapidly afflict hundreds of thousands of Indians. For this reason Indian authorities are trying to prevent the East Pakistanis from entering Calcutta, where uncounted million already live on the streets in squalid conditions that guarantee an annual cholera epidemic there.

### **Unbalanced Exchange**

While India has temporarily accepted the refugees and is doing its best to help them, the Government of Indira Gandhi sees only economic and political disaster in the massive influx of impoverished people. The refugee problem has chronically troubled India since the August 1947 partition of the sub-continent into India and Pakistan. In Northern

India there was fairly balanced exchange, with 6,000,000 Moslems fleeing to Pakistan 6,500,000 Hindus and Sikhs entering India. But since partition, 4,300,000 Hindus from East Pakistan have fled to India, for the most part into West Bengal, There has been no comparable flight of Moslems. This imbalance has created the social, political and economic problems that have plagued the state of West Bengal and turned its capital, Calcutta, into a sink-hole of human misery.

The cost of feeding and attempting to house the refugees is currently \$ 1,330,000 a day-an expense that Mrs. Gandhi's government can ill afford if it is going to fulfill the campaign promise of 'garibi hatao' (eradicate poverty) made last March. The food required by the refugees is rapidly depleting existing food stockpiles and threatens to create a famine for the Indians themselves. The refugees are also taking work away from the Indians; in West Bengal the refugee peasants are hiring out as agricultural laborer for a quarter of the wages local laborer is paid.

### **No Room**

Faced with these problems, the Indian government calls the refugees "evacuees" or "escapees" and hopes for their return to their homeland "Being poor country ourselves". Mrs. Gandhi told refugees at a camp in eastern India, "we cannot afford to keep you here forever, even if we wished to do so." Their return to their homeland is not likely in the foreseeable future, with the pogroms under way in East Pakistan and the probability of a protracted guerrilla war there. Moreover, because of the war and the exodus, the planting of crops in East Pakistan was at a disastrously low level before the rains began. Famine is almost certain to strike, and when it does, millions more will pack their belongings and seek refuge in a country that has no room for them.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫২। নিষেধাজ্ঞা সত্ত্বেও পাকিস্তানে মার্কিন অস্ত্র প্রেরণ	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২২ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, JUNE 22, 1971.*

**U. S. MILITARY GOODS SENT  
TO PAKISTAN DESPITE BAN**

*By Tad Szulc*

**Special to the New York Times**

Washington, June 21- A freighter flying the flag of Pakistan was preparing today to sail from New York for Karachi with a cargo of United States military equipment for Pakistan, apparently in violation of the Administration's officially proclaimed ban on such shipments.

Senior State Department officials, in response to inquiries, acknowledged that at least one other ship was now on the way from the United States to Pakistan carrying what they described as "foreign military sales" items.

These items, they indicated, came from Defense Department excess stocks and apparently were shipped as a result of confusion within the Administration as to how the three month-old ban on shipments of military equipment to Pakistan should be applied.

"There has evidently been some kind of slippage here," an official said.

**To Karachi In August**

The Padma, the ship that was preparing to sail from New York, is scheduled to arrive in Karachi 'in mid-August with eight aircraft, parachutes and a cargo that is said to include hundreds of thousands of pounds of spare parts and accessories for planes and military vehicles.

The Sunderbans, another ship of Pakistani registry, sailed from New York on May 8 with other items of military equipment for Pakistan, including parts for armed personnel carriers, according to the ship's manifesto and the accompanying State Department export license. She is due in Karachi Wednesday.

All this equipment has been sold to Pakistan by the United States Air Force under provisions of the Foreign Military Sales Act.

After troops of the Pakistani Army, mainly West Pakistanis were ordered to crush the self-rule movement in East Pakistan last March 25 the State Department announced that all sales of military equipment to Pakistan had been suspended and that the program, initiated in 1967 had been placed "under review."

Today, State Department officials, responding to queries about the sailings of the Padma and the Sunder bans, said that it remained the official policy of the Administration that sales of all types of military equipment to Pakistan were banned.

These officials explained that the ban was imposed shortly after the severe repression of the East Pakistani independence movement began in March. The State Department estimates that at least 200,000 East Pakistanis have died in the subsequent fighting and that about six million refugees have fled to India.

Senior State Department officials said in interviews today that they were not aware of shipments of military equipment to Pakistan after March 25.

They acknowledged that such shipments would constitute a violation of the proclaimed policy.

The State Department officials said they had been informed by the Defense Department that no military equipment under the foreign sales program had been delivered "to the Government of Pakistan or agents of the Government of Pakistan" since March 25.

### **No Explanation Offered**

They said the Defense Department "reaffirmed" this policy today in discussions with the State Department. They could not explain how this Pentagon statement could be reconciled with the fact that, according to the bills of lading submitted to the Pakistani Embassy here, the equipment to be loaded on the Sunderbans was received at the dock in New York on April 23 and the equipment for the Padma on May 21.

A communication from the shippers to Lieut. Col. M. Amram Raja at the defense procurement division of the Pakistani Embassy covering the dock receipts for the two ships was sent on May 21.

The Defense Department asked about the shipments last Saturday and again today, referred all inquiries to the State Department. Officials appeared to be at a loss to explain the shipments in the light of the official ban.

State Department sources quoted the Defense Department as saying that no sales or deliveries to Pakistan had been authorized since March 25 and that the equipment aboard the two freighters had been purchased prior to the official prohibition.

Rut they offered no comment as to why the dockside deliveries and actual shipments had been made after March 25.

The State Department has not yet replied to a letter sent on June 17 by Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, to Secretary of State William P. Rogers requesting information about "certain items of military equipment" being shipped to Pakistan under State Department licenses.

Senator Church, who is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, advised Mr. Rogers that he understood that the State Department had issued License No. 19242 for some of this equipment.



A check of the bill's loading of the cargo aboard the Sunderbans showed that this license covered an item described as "23 skids, parts," Weighing 11,895 pounds. No further description of these items was available.

But another license issued by the State Department for the Sunderbans's cargo specified "parts and accessories for military vehicles." The Sunderbans carries a total of 21 items, according to the dockside delivery listings, identified Oil these documents only as cases and cartons of "auto parts and accessories," "skids and parts," "boxes" and parts."

### **Planes and Parachutes Listed**

The dockside delivery listings for the Padma include two entries of "four aircraft" each, 113 parachutes and parts, and auto parts, accessories, skids and "wooden boxes."

An item described as "crates bundles and parts" is listed as weighing 14,133 pounds.

The program of military sales to Pakistan, begun in 1267, had been running at nearly \$10 million a year, according to Robert J. Mecloskey, the State Department spokesman. The United States agreed in that year to sell "nonlethal" equipment to both Pakistan and India, lifting in part the embargo placed on military deliveries after the 1965 Indian. Pakistani war.

In October, 1970, the Administration agreed, as an exception," to sell Pakistan an undisclosed number of F-104 fighter planes, B-57 bombers, and armored personnel carriers. However, the State Department said today that none of this "exception" equipment had been delivered.

But authoritative sources here, who cannot be identified, said that the flow of military equipment to Pakistan from Air Force sales alone had reached \$47,944,781 between 1967 and April 30, 1970.

A communication sent on May 28 to the defense procurement division, of the Pakistani Embassy in Washington by the headquarters of the Air Force accounting and finance center in Denver enclosed a "status report.. . listing all your open foreign military sales cases, showing case value, amounts collected, delivered and undelivered."

The letter signed by Elaine B. Loventhal, chief foreign military sales branch comptroller at the Denver headquarters - was headed "USAF statement of military sales transactions and detail delivery listings."

The "status report" noted that previous charges on Pakistani military purchases were \$25,679,654.10, that undelivered items totaled \$21,730,740.07 and that "cash received to date" was \$24,342,782.37.

State Department officials were unable to say precisely what period this report covered.

The Air Force report said however, that the Pakistani Government had to remit "on or before 31 May, 1971" the sum of \$3,376,253.51 for further "total cash requirements."

A notation on the report showed that a check from Pakistan for 5404,116.49 had been received "in May, 1971."

Authoritative sources here said that "in all likelihood" additional sales to Pakistan might have been made by the Army and the Navy.

Spokesmen for the East West Shipping Agency, the New York agents for the Padma and the Sunderbans, indicated that the Padma had carried military equipment to Pakistan on a number of recent voyages, most recently delivering it in Karachi on March 22. Three days before the troops action in East Pakistan.

The voyage for which the Padma is now preparing is her first to Karachi carrying military equipment since the ban was imposed after March 25. The current trip by the Sunderbans is also her first since the ban. But authoritative sources said that other ships with military equipment for Pakistan might have sailed since March 25 from East and West Coast ports.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫৩। অস্ত্র যখন ধর্মতাত্ত্বিক সমস্যা	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JUNE 27, 1971*

**U. S. AND PAKISTAN  
WHEN AMMUNITION  
IS A THEOLOGICAL QUESTION**

Washington-The Nixon Administration discovered from newspaper enclosures last week that it has been violating the ban it had imposed on shipments of American military equipment to Pakistan following the outbreak of civil strife in that country's Eastern region.

In finding out belatedly that at least three freighters laden with military equipment had sailed from New York for Karachi after the ban became effective on March 25, and that new export licenses had been illegally issued since that date, the Administration faced public embarrassment. Senatorial anger and political problems with India.

The incident also served to underscore Washington's ambiguous attitude toward the potentially explosive situation in East Pakistan, where Pakistan's military suppression of the Bengali independence movement is reported to have claimed nearly 200,000 Bengali lives and has sent six million refugees pouring across the Indian border.

Few observers believed that any deliberate official deception was involved. It was generally accepted that the arms shipments resulted from a breakdown in internal communications between those who make policy at the top and those executing it on the working level, a phenomenon that one harried bureaucrat described last week as "the price you pay for an elephantine government."

The bureaucratic confusion surrounding the shipments was monumental in every aspect. The State Department, which had assured a number of Senators only a few weeks earlier (in writing) that no arms shipments to Pakistan were scheduled, was surprised to learn of the sailing of two freighters (it later discovered the third one) and lured to the Defense Department for explanation.

The Pentagon checked its computers and produced the information, starting the State Department, that the March 25 ban on shipments took effect only on April 6. Then, the Administration explained that military equipment delivered to Pakistani officials in the United States before March 25 could be shipped anyway. It did not say why.

A special high-level task force was quickly formed to ascertain facts, but four days elapsed before the State Department learned that the Padilla, the Pakistani freighter loading in New York last weekend, had sailed with (1) \$12-million worth of ammunition, (2) spare parts for military aircraft, armored vehicles and jeeps and (3) small radio-controlled pilotless drones for antiaircraft gunners' practice.

For three days. State Department spokesmen and newsmen argued over the official claim that ammunition was not a "lethal" item. This stemmed from an earlier State Department admission that the military sales to Pakistan, confined to "non-lethal" items, included ammunition.

On the third, day, a reporter asked: "When does ammunition become lethal?" The State Department spokesmen replied: "This is a theological question."

Left unclear was the essence of United States policy toward the East Pakistani crisis against the background of what is recognized here as a very real threat of warfare between India and Pakistan unless a political solution is promptly found for the autonomy aspirations of the easterners.

This threat emanates from the severe strain that the refugee army has placed on India's resources, the mounting frictions between the refugees and the local Indian population and India's fear of political radicalization of the East Pakistan "freedom fighters." All these factors are seen by now Delhi as a direct menace to the political stability of the Indian state of West Bengal and to peace in the subcontinent.

Indian policy, strongly supported by Britain and Canada, is to bring enough international pressure to bear on President Yahya Khan to grant East Pakistan its demands for autonomy. India argues that this must be done if conditions are to be restored in East Pakistan for the return of the refugees. She insists that foreign economic aid must be denied Pakistan as an instrument of pressure.

The attitude of the United States on this point is ambiguous. The Administration's instincts, particularly at the Pentagon, are that reasonably good relations with Pakistan must be maintained at all costs so as to compensate for the close ties between India and the Soviet Union. This view is maintained even though Pakistan in recent years has drawn close to Communist China.

Although the State Department publicly counseled Pakistan earlier this month to seek "political accommodation" with the easterners-the first time it had done so after two months of bloody fighting-it rejects the argument that economic pressure should be applied.

However, a mission from the World Bank recommended last week, following a survey of the Pakistani situation, that 110 new funds be supplied by the international aid- to-Pakistan consortium until the Islamabad regime had turned to "political accommodation" in the East.

**-Tad Szulc**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫৪। পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের গ্রাম আক্রমণ	শিকাগো সান টাইমস	২৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

*CHICAGO SUN TIMES. MONDAY. JUNE 28. 1971*

**PAKISTANI PATROL PLUNDERS  
PART OF VILLAGE; SEVERAL DIE**

**Boliadi**, East Pakistan (AP)-A platoon of the Pakistani army smashed into the, Hindu section of this waterlogged village before dawn Sunday, shooting residents, ransacking homes and burning the market.

Twenty minutes after 24 West Pakistani soldiers and another dozen men in the uniform of the Frontier Corps, whose headquarters is more than 1, (MX) miles West of here, left the village, the commander, who identified himself as Maj. Omar, told a newsmen the troops had been on a "routine patrol."

The major, who said, "I should not have told you my name," wore a blue beret and was barefoot. His men carried automatic rifles and umbrellas to stay dry in the monsoon rain.

An inspection showed they left three dead men and a desolated village still burning so fiercely the heat drove witnesses away and bucked iron sheets.

A few old women and children mourned the dead on walled in Bengali, "They have taken everything."

The rest of the village, which local Moslem residents said once housed 100 families, had fled into the jute fields or across the creeks.

The body of a white-haired man was stretched across the mat in the ground-floor store of a two- story corrugated iron shack. A bullet had gone through his back.

Villagers said that besides the three visible bodies another five or six were killed in the five-hour attack.

The attack occurred an hour's drive northwest of Dacca where four British parliamentarians, investigating the situation in East Pakistan, slept on the final day of their visit. It also came at the same time ships, carrying U.S. ammunition and spares for the Pakistan army, were heading toward Karachi in West Pakistan.

The besieged town is the ancestral home of Justice B. K. Siddiky, Bengali chief justice who defied orders early in March and refugees to swear in Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan as the new military governor of the province.

He conducted the swearing-in after the army crushed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and banned the Awami League on March 25. He has been removed as head of the Pakistan Red Cross, and villagers said he has been deposed as chief justice.

Moslem villagers and many students who have fled Dacca since March 25 said that since Friday army patrols, some landing in small boats, have been striking at villages within a six mile radius of this part of Dacca district.

Smoke could be seen and shots could be heard through the morning from the direction of those villages.

Villagers said they believed the attacks were connected with reports of stepped-up activity by Bangladesh secessionists based 28 miles to the north near Tangail on the Brahmaputra River.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫৫। টিক্কাখানের পৈশাচিক রক্তক্ষান	নিউজ উইক	২৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, JUNE 28, 1971

### THE TERRIBLE BLOOD BATH OF TIKKA KHAN

Ever since the Pakistani civil war broke out last March, President Mohammad Yahya Khan has done his utmost to prevent reports on the ruthless behavior of the Pakistani Army in putting down the Bengali fight for independence from reaching the outside world. Most foreign journalists have been barred from East Pakistan, and only those West Pakistani newsmen who might be expected to produce "friendly accounts" have been invited to tour East Pakistan and tell their countrymen about the rebellion. In at least one instance, however, that policy backfired. Anthony Mascarenhas, a Karachi newsmen who also writes for the London Sunday Times was so horrified by the events he witnessed that he and his family fled to London to publish the full story. Last week, in the Times, Mascarenhas wrote that he was told repeatedly by Pakistani military and civil authorities in Dacca that the Government intends "to cleanse East Pakistan once and for all of the threat of secession, even if it means killing off 2 million people". And the federal army concluded Mascarenhas "is doing exactly that with terrifying thoroughness."

That the Pakistani army is visiting a dreadful blood bath upon the people of "East Pakistan is also affirmed by newsmen and others who have witnessed the flight of a 6 million terrified refugees into neighboring India. News week's Tony Clifton recently visited India's refugee-clogged border regions and cabled the following report:

Anyone who goes to the camps and hospitals along India's border with Pakistan comes away believing the Punjabi army capable of any atrocity, I have seen babies who have been shot, men who have had their backs whipped raw. I've seen people literally struck dumb by the horror of seeing their children murdered in front of them or their daughters dragged off into sexual slavery. I have no doubt at all that there have been a hundred "Mylais" and "Lidices" in East Pakistan-and I think, there will be more.

My personal reaction is one of wonder more than anything else. I've seen too many bodies to be horrified by anything much any more. But I find myself standing still again and again, wondering how any man can work himself into such a murderous frenzy.

#### Slaughter

The story of one shy little girl in a torn pink dress with red and green flowers has a peculiar horror. She could not have been a danger to anyone. Yet I, met her in a hospital at Krishnanagar, hanging nervously back among the other patients, her hand covering the livid scar on her neck where a Pakistani soldier had cut her throat with his bayonet. "I am Ismatara, the daughter of late Ishaque Ali," she told me formally. "My father was a businessman in Kushtia. About two months ago he left our house and went to his shop and I never saw him again. That same night, after I went to bed, I heard shouts and screaming, and when I went to see what was happening, the Punjabi soldiers were there.

My four sisters were lying dead on the floor, and I saw that they had killed my mother. While I was there they shot my brother—he was a bachelor of science. Then a soldier saw me and stopped me with his knife. I fell to the floor and played dead. When the soldiers left I ran, and a man picked me up on his bicycle and I was brought here."

Suddenly, as if she could no longer bear to think about her ordeal, the girl left the room. The hospital doctor was explaining to me that she was brought to the hospital literally soaked in her own blood, when she pushed her way back through the patients and stood directly in front of me. "What am I to do?" She asked. "Once I had five sisters and a brother and a father and a mother. Now I have no family. I am an orphan. Where can I go? What will happen to me?"

### Victims

"You'll be all right" I said, stupidly. "You're safe here." But what will happen to her and to the thousands of boys and girls and men and women who have managed to drag themselves away from the burning villages whose flames I saw lighting up the East Pakistani sky each night? The hospital in Agartala, the capital city of Tripura, is just half a mile from the border, and it is already overcrowded with the victims of the rampaging Pakistani army. There is a boy of 4 who survived a bullet through his stomach and a woman who listlessly relates how the soldiers murdered two of her children in front of her eyes, and then shot her as she held her youngest child in her arms. "The bullets passed through the baby's buttocks and then through her left arm," Dr. R. Datta, the medical superintendent, explains "But she regained consciousness and dragged herself and the baby to the border," Another woman, the bones in her upper leg shattered by bullets, cradles an infant in her arms. She had given birth prematurely in a paddy field after she was shot. Yet, holding her newborn child in one hand and pulling herself along with the other, she finally reached the border. "Although I know these people, I am continually amazed at how tough they are," says Datta. Still, there are some who cannot cope. I stepped over two, small boys lying on the floor, clinging to each other like monkey; "Refugees say their village was burnt about a week ago and everyone in it was killed except these two", the doctor says. "We have had them for three days and we don't know who they are. They are so terrified by what they saw they are unable to speak. They just lie there holding on to each other. It is almost impossible to get them apart even long enough to feed them. it is hard to say when they will regain their speech or be able live normal lives again".

**New Jersey Congressman Cornelius Gallagher**, who visited the Agartala hospital, says he came to India thinking the atrocity stories were exaggerated. But when he actually saw the wounded he began to believe that, if anything, the reports had been toned down. A much-decorated officer with Patton in Europe during World War II, Gallagher told me: "In the war, I saw the worst areas of France, the killing grounds in Normandy, but I never saw anything like that. It took all of my strength to keep from breaking down and crying."



### **Rape**

Other foreigners, too, were dubious about the atrocities at first, but the endless repetition of stories from different sources convinced them. "I am certain that troops have thrown babies into the air and caught them on their bayonets," says Briton, John Hastings, a Methodist missionary who have lived in Bengal for twenty years. "I am certain that troops have raped girls repeatedly, then killed them by pushing their bayonets up between their legs."

All this savagery suggests that the Pakistani army is either crazed by blood-lust or, more likely, is carrying out a calculated policy of terror amounting to genocide against the whole Bengali population. The architect appears to be Lt.-General Tikka Khan, the military governor of East Pakistan. Presumably, Pakistan's President knows something about what is going on, but he may not realize that babies are being burnt alive, girls sold into virtual slavery and whole families murdered. He told the military governor to put down a rebellion, and Tikka Khan has done it, efficiently and ruthlessly. As a result, East Pakistan is still a nominal part of Pakistan. But the brutality inflicted by West on East in the last three months has made it certain that it will only be a matter of time before Pakistan becomes two countries. And those two countries will be irreparably split-at least until the last of today's maimed and brutalized children grow old and die with their memories of what happened when Yahya Khan decided to preserve their Country.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫৬। মার্কিন সরকার পাকিস্তানে সাহায্যদান অব্যাহত রাখবে	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২৯ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES. TUESDAY, JUNE 29, 1971*  
**U. S. SAYS IT WILL CONTINUE AID TO PAKISTAN  
 DESPITE CUTOFF URGED BY OTHER NATIONS**  
*By Tad Szulc*

**Special to The New York Times**

Washington, June 28-The Nixon Administration reaffirmed today that it intended to provide economic aid to Pakistan despite international pressures to halt foreign assistance until the central Government reached a political accommodation with East Pakistan.

Most of the 11 nations forming the Aid to Pakistan Consortium have concluded that assistance, running at about \$500-million a year, should be withheld pending a political settlement of the crisis that resulted in the death of an estimated 200,000 East Pakistanis and the flight to India of about six million refugees.

The World Bank, which coordinates assistance to Pakistan has recommended against further aid. Britain, Canada and Belgium, among other members of the consortium, have taken a similar stance.

Their positions emerged at an informal meeting of the consortium held in Paris last Monday to receive the report of a World Bank mission that toured Pakistan. Robert S. McNamara, the president of the bank, was reported to have approved this policy last Thursday.

Administration officials reported at Senate hearings today that the United States said in Paris that it disapproved of the policy of denying economic aid to Pakistan as a political instrument of pressure. This view was reaffirmed here today.

Testifying today before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Christopher Van Hollen, said that by providing economic aid the United States would have "leverage in persuading President Yahya Khan to seek a "political accommodation" in East Pakistan on the basis of autonomy and to create conditions allowing the refugees to return.

He admitted, however, that such 'leverage' was not yet measurable and that few refugees had returned home.

Mr. Van Hollen also announced that the Administration had no plans for placing a full embargo on shipments of military equipment to Pakistan.

He told the subcommittee, headed by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, that it was "likely that additional military equipment will be shipped to Pakistan,"

He explained that while the Administration had halted the granting of export licenses military items under its four-year-old program of credit and cash sales after the outbreak of hostilities in East Pakistan last March 24, the permits issued before that date would not be revoked.

Other Administration sources had reported, however, that this decision was made last week by the National Security Council after newspaper disclosures showed that at least three Pakistani ships carried military equipment from New York to Karachi despite what the State Department had originally described as ban on all shipments.

### **Kennedy Protests**

The State Department later issued a clarification, saying that the ban did not apply to equipment purchased by the Pakistanis before March. Under questioning by Senator Kennedy. Mr. Van Hollen conceded that the State Department's earlier public statements on the matter were "confusing" and "misleading."

Later in the day, State Department officials confirmed reports that the Pakistani freighter Kaptai, due in New York today would sail for Karachi about July 2, "presumably with items on the munitions control list," and that between four and five other ships would sail with similar cargos before mid-August.

This information led Senator Kennedy late afternoon to telephone Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, to protest the new shipments.

Mr. Kennedy then issued a statement charging that the hearings before his subcommittee this morning had indicated that the Administration's policy on, military supplies to Pakistan was "misleading and contradictory. '

"In violation of the understanding conveyed to me and others in Congress, our Government has freely tolerated at least three shipments of military equipment to Pakistan over the past two months," he said.

"Today, after the hearings, we learned that still another ship, the Kaptai, is docking in New York to be loaded with still more military hardware for Pakistan and four to five more ships are expected to be loaded in the coming weeks.

"I've asked the Administration to stop the policy of shipping arms to Pakistan."

At the subcommittee hearing, Mr. Von Hollen justified the decision to continue economic aid to Pakistan and to maintain the validity of the military export licenses on the ground that to do otherwise in a situation of "civil strife" in East Pakistan would "be seen as sanctions and intrusion in internal problems."

He said that the United States had decided to keep selling "nonlethal" military items to Pakistan so that President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan would not turn to other sources of supply, such as Communist China.

He acknowledged, however, that China had been supplying arms to Pakistan all along.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫৭। পাকিস্তানকে সাহায্য দেয়া কেন?	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৩০ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1971*  
**WHY AID PAKISTAN?**

After months of equivocation and evasion, the State Department has finally made it clear that the Administration intends to keep on furnishing military and economic assistance to the Government of Pakistan despite continuing acts of repression in East Pakistan that have shocked the world. This incredible policy decision defies understanding.

The admission that aid is continuing as before undermines the credibility of the United States Government at home and abroad. The public, members of Congress and at least one vitally interested foreign government (India) had been led to believe—although always in evasive language—that all military assistance and any new development assistance for Pakistan would be held in abeyance until there was progress toward a political resolution of the crisis in East Pakistan. The exposure of this deception is likely to be particularly damaging to United States relations with India, whose foreign minister left Washington a few days ago with what he believed were firm assurances concerning American policy toward Pakistan that have now been thoroughly discredited.

The decision to continue economic aid puts the United States in defiance of the world Bank and the eleven-nation Aid to Pakistan Consortium, which has decided informally to refrain from making new aid commitments to Islamabad at this time. The Nixon Administration repeatedly in the past has indicated its policy would be to channel more and more United States aid through such international means in order to avoid the kind of unilateral decision it is now making in respect to Pakistan.

Administration officials say they opposed the consortium decision because it amounts to using aid as a political instrument. But at the same time they argue that the United States must continue aid in order to gain leverage to persuade President Yahya Khan to seek a political solution in the East. They can't have it both ways.

Perpetuation of American aid to Pakistan is not, in fact, likely to help persuade the military regime there to move toward restoration of genuine democratic government any more than continuing American support for the Athens junta has helped restore democratic rights to the Greek people. It will, however, put the United States in the untenable position of underwriting policies of repression, which have led to the ruthless and continuing slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Bengalis in East Pakistan. These policies have already driven more than six million East Pakistanis into exile in India where their presence creates grave political, social and economic tensions and a rising threat of domestic and even international conflict.

President' Yahya's recent proposals for restoration of civilian rule offer little hope for significant change since they continue to exclude the outlawed Awqmi league, the party which won an overwhelming majority of the votes in past Pakistan and an absolute majority of the seats in the unconverted National Assembly in last December's election. Under this circumstance, can anyone? Washington explains how additional military or developmental aid to Pakistan can be justified morally fu terms of (his country's pragmatic self-interest in peaceful, democratic development on the Indian subcontinent?

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫৮। বাঙালী নিধনে সাহায্য	ওয়াশিংটন ডেইলী নিউজ	৩০ জুন, ১৯৭১

*WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS-JUNE 30, 1971*

**HELPING TO KILL MOKE BENGALIS**

The Administration's decision to send more economic and military aid to the brutal, repressive regime in Pakistan is as shortsighted as it is inhumane.

The testimony before Congress, the State Department admitted its fear that shutting off the flow of arms to Pakistan would be resented "as sanctions and intrusion."

What, we ask, is so bad about sanctions against mass murder and genocide? For that is exactly what the West Pakistan-dominated army committed against the helpless Bengalis of East Pakistan.

In its treacherous attack starting March 25, the Pakistani army slaughtered 200,000 Bengalis and sent six million refugees fleeing for their lives into India. It is morally unjustified to send more weapons to such a regime.

With its talent for justifying the unjustifiable, the State Department explains that halting economic aid would remove our "leverage" with Pakistan-although we have almost no leverage now.

Also, stopping our arms shipments would cause Pakistan to turn to other suppliers, like communist China. However, the department admits that China has never stopped furnishing weapons to Pakistan.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass, has called all this "doubletalk, incompetence, or both"-and he's right.

Our partners in the International effort to prevent the Pakistani economy from collapsing are not as timid as the United States. The World Bank, Britain, Canada. Belgium and others favor withholding economic aid until the military regime reaches a political settlement with East Pakistan.

**But not the United States.**

Pakistan is. Of course, desperately poor and can use all the help it can get but the trouble with aid now is that it props up the government and helps it maintain the army of occupation in East Pakistan.

The Bengalis in the east voted overwhelmingly for home rule in the only, free election in Pakistan's history. Instead they got the genocidal assault by the western army, which is still shamefully going on.

History suggested, however, that West Pakistan from 1,000 miles away cannot forever subjugate the Bengali people. What we are doing by sending arms to Pakistan is to make sure the Bengalis will remember that American weapons murdered them during the birth pangs of their beloved Bangladesh (Bengali nation).

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৫৯। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের অর্থনীতি বিপুলভাবে ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	৩০ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1971*

**EAST PAKISTANI ECONOMY  
BADLY HURT AS MOST  
TRANSPORT IS CRIPPLED**

*By Sydney H. Schanberg*  
**Special to The New York Times**

Dacca, Pakistan, June 26—Food scarcities are becoming serious in parts of East Pakistan, cash is short in rural areas, jute factories are badly crippled and key road and rail communications continue to be disrupted by guerrillas.

Nonetheless, most foreign economic experts here are convinced that the government is willing, at least for the immediate future, to pay the severe economic price of supporting its army's occupation of the eastern region, which has been badly damaged during the effort to suppress the Bengali autonomy movement.

Informed foreign sources report that their field trips have turned up food shortages in some areas that could become grave unless the disrupted transportation system improved markedly.

One problem area is the northwest, normally a rice surplus region that supplies neighboring districts.

The foreign economists say the northwest is desolate, with few farmers visible. Most have apparently fled to India to escape the Pakistani Army, which has been trying to suppress the Bengalis since March 25.

**Destroyed, Looted, Removed**

Food stocks in the northwest have been destroyed, looted or taken out of the country, the foreign sources said. The situation has not reached the starvation level, they added, but people do not have enough to eat, and the meal problem will arise in two or three months.

"Right now" an economist said, "there are more likely a lot of hungry people than a lot of dead people."

The experts said that East Pakistan as a whole had a two month supply of food grains and that the problem was distributing it to the deficit areas.

The railroad from Chittagong, East Pakistan's major port, to Dacca is still cut and guerrilla activity in the area is reported to be fairly persistent. The line normally carries 70 per cent of the food grains imported by East Pakistan. Major road bridges have also been blown.

The region's usual rice deficit is about two million tons a year: this year it will probably be around three million.

### **Dock Laborers have tied**

Apart from the transport mess, ports such as Chittagong and Chalna are also severely hampered by a lack of warehouse space and by labor shortages because much of the work force has fled to the interior or to India.

Because of the port congestion, the United States, which normally supplies East Pakistan with up to a million tons of grains a year, has temporarily suspended shipments.

The other major food-scarce area is the delta region on the Bay of Bengal that was devastated by the cyclone last November that killed several hundred thousand people and destroyed most of the rich rice crop there. Food stocks are low on the islands and in the coastal areas, although conditions are not as critical as was originally feared because some relief food has been delivered.

Nevertheless, the foreign sources said, unless the distribution system improves, the region could become a famine area.

The Khulna district in the Ganges Delta also has a food problem, the sources said, because many Hindu farmers and farm laborers have fled. The minority Hindus have been particular targets of the army, which pictures them as agents of India and enemies of this Moslem nation-

Another unknown is the long-run impact of the exodus of the six million Bengalis who have fled to India. Their departure, which has cut food output and industrial production, has also reduced consumption.

Even in areas where rice is in reasonably good supply, cash is short and many villagers cannot afford to buy enough, even at the reduced prices at which the fleeing Hindu farmers are selling it.

The main reason for the shortage of money is that the Government's rural public works program has been almost halted. Laborers who used to make 60 cents a day building roads, irrigation canals and dikes are jobless.

All development work has stopped. Government agricultural technicians and private irrigation-well contractors are afraid to go into the interior. Foreign consultants and engineers are killing time in their Dacca offices. Government offices, though open, are short of staff and doing no planning work.

Jute factories are operating at a fraction of their former levels. The eastern region's jute, one of the mainstays of the national economy, is Pakistan's biggest export and earner of foreign exchange.

This was the economic picture found by the World Bank team that toured East Pakistan recently to study the prospects of peace and stability as a requisite to the resumption of full-scale aid.



The team, described by the foreign economists here as shocked, and disconsolate, was reported to have recommended that aid be withheld until a viable political solution was found and a realistic development plan was prepared by the martial-law government.

The World Bank coordinates an 11-nation consortium that has been supplying about \$500 million a year in aid on which Pakistan is heavily dependent. The United States channels most of its aid—about \$200 million a year—through the consortium.

How long Pakistan will continue to support army activities in East Pakistan without the foreign aid is a subject of widespread discussion in the foreign community here.

Although foreign-exchange reserves are low, the situation is not-quite as crippling as had been assumed. One reason is Pakistan's unilateral declaration of a moratorium on payments on her huge international debt. Another is that since the fighting began almost no imports have entered East Pakistan, so the government has saved foreign exchange. Finally" by coincidence, high inventories of raw materials for, manufacturing have been accumulated in West Pakistan before the trouble started.

In sum, the foreign economists feel, that though Pakistan's economic position verges on the desperate, it does not necessarily presage an early end of the occupation of the east.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬০। একটি বিদেশী সৈন্য বাহিনীর কর্তৃক আরাপ	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৪ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

***THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1971***  
**AN 'ALIEN ARMY' IMPOSES ITS WILL**

Dacca—"Doesn't the world realise that they're nothing hut butchers?" asked a foreigner who has lived in East Pakistan for many years. "That they killed-and are still killing-Bengalis just to intimidate them to make slaves out of them? That they wiped out whole villages, opening fire at first light and stopping only when they got tired?"

The foreigner, normally a calm man, was talking about the Pakistani Army and the bloodbath it has inflicted on East Pakistan in its effort to crush the Bengali independence movement.

Most of the foreign residents-diplomats, missionaries, businessmen also talk the way this man docs now. They arc bursting with three months of pent-up anger and outrage. And they are very eager to tell what they know to those foreign newsmen who were permitted to reenter East Pakistan in the past fortnight and travel around unescorted for the first time since March 25 when the army began its suppression campaign.

Pakistan's military regime considers the foreign press implacably hostile, but it is desperate to prove to the world its claim that order has been restored, that the army is in control and that normality is fast returning to East Pakistan.

The army is, indeed in control except for a few areas near the bonier with India where the Mukti Fouj, or "Liberation Army," is active and growing more so—with aid from India.

Yet, East Pakistan is anything but normal. For this is clearly and simply a military occupation by an alien army.

Bengali police have been replaced by police from West Pakistan, the country's dominant wing that has more than 1,000 miles away, with India in between. West Pakistanis arc also being flown in to replace officials in every Government department, in some cases even down to the level of typists.

Houses and shops of those Bengalis who were killed or fled to villages in the countryside have been turned over to Moslem non-Bengali residents of East Pakistan, who are collaborating with the army. The temples of the minority Hindus- the Army's special scapegoats—are being demolished for no other reason than to demonstrate that those who are not part of the army's design of "Islamic integrity" are not true Pakistanis and will not be tolerated.

Bengali youths, who just over three months ago were exultantly marching through the streets and shouting their slogans of defiance at the military regime, now talk in whispers, slipping up to foreign newsmen for a few seconds to murmur some information about a massacre, the murder of a family member or the destruction of a village. Anonymous letters containing such details find their way every day into newsmen's mailboxes at the Hotel Inter-Continental.

The effluvia of fear are over-whelming. But there is also a new spirit. Many of the Bengalis—a naive and romantic people—realize now that no other country is going to save them, that they will have to do it all themselves and that it will take a long time.

Significant numbers of young men are slipping off to join the Liberation Army, which operates from border areas and from sanctuaries just across the border in India. Bengali guerrilla terrorism is increasing. A number of army collaborators have been executed, and more and more homemade bombs explode in Dacca. The resistance is still sporadic peripheral and disorganized, but it is growing.

With each terrorist act, the army takes revenge, conducting reprisals against the nearest Bengali civilians. Several hundred civilians were reported to have been rounded up and mowed down by the Army in Noakhali District recently after the Mukti Foj executed a member of one of the army's "Peace Committees" and his wife and children.

The once widely held theory that the cost of the occupation would prove prohibitive and compel Pakistan to pull the army out fairly quickly has been discarded. Even without the World Bank consortium's massive annual aid, which has been suspended in censure of the repression the Islamabad regime seems determined to keep its grip on East Pakistan.

President Yahya Khan's speech to the nation last Monday was supposed to have unveiled his long-awaited plan for returning Pakistan—East and West—to civilian rule. It turned out to be exactly the opposite—a declaration that the military dictatorship would continue, with a hand-picked civilian government as camouflage.

In his speech, which Western diplomats here described as "a disaster," the President, who is also Army chief, heaped praise on the Army for rescuing the country from "the brink of disintegration... by the grace of Allah." He also extended his "fullest sympathy" to the six million Bengalis, most minority Hindus, who have fled to India—"because of false propaganda by rebels," he said. He appealed to them to "return to their homes and hearths" for "speedy rehabilitation."

Just the day before President Yahya's speech, an army platoon stormed into several predominantly Hindu villages 30 miles from Dacca, killing men and looting and burning homes. . Reports of similar pogroms come from other parts of the province. No one knows exactly how many Bengalis the army has killed, but reliable foreign sources here put the figure somewhere over 100,000—and possibly much higher.

The East Pakistani economy which used to provide the national treasury not only with half its exports and foreign exchange but also with a captive market for West Pakistan's manufactured goods has been badly crippled by the upheaval. However, the military regime seems willing - at least for the present-to pay the severe economic price of holding East Pakistan as a colony, no matter how sullen or resistant the population.

"It's a medieval army operating as if against serfs," said one Westerner here. "It will use any method just to own East Pakistan and keep milking it dry. Even if the Bengalis are serious about the resistance, it will take five to 10 years to make a dent."

**-Sydney H. Schanberg**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬১। দক্ষিণ এশিয়া : দুযোগের পদধ্বনি	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JULY 5, 1971*  
**SOUTH ASIA: THE APPROACH OF TRAGEDY**  
*By Chester Bowles*

Essex, Conn.-Unless two rather unlikely developments occur, South Asia is in imminent danger of erupting into a tragic, needless war.

These developments are: First, that the ruling West Pakistan Government turns away from the path of terror against its own subjects in East Pakistan and agrees to a settlement that will stem the flow of frightened, homeless refugees into India; and second, that the world community soon mounts a massive campaign to relieve India of the burden of supporting nearly six million refugees who have already crossed the border.

The Indian Government is making a Herculean effort to provide food, medical assistance and shelter to these destitute and frightened people. The cost which is estimated at more than \$10 million a week, is being assumed by India at a time when its economic assistance from the World Bank and the Consortium (the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Canada) has been sharply reduced and more than \$500 million in principal and interest on past debts is scheduled to be repaid this year alone.

These economic constraints are compounded by political factors. Prime Minister Gandhi has emphasized that the refugees belong to "every political persuasion - Moslem, Christian, Buddhist and Hindu." But reports are now spreading that the West Pakistan military has to focus its fury on the Hindu minorities throughout East Pakistan. If this is true it is bound to create credulous tension with India's 65 million Moslem minorities.

Finally, India fears that an independent East Bengal may encourage West Bengal, where the Communist party Marxists are the largest single element, to merge into a single Bengali nation and thereby create a target for Chinese intrigue and subversion.

In a recent speech in the Indian Parliament, Mrs. Gandhi asserted, "This is not as some say 'an internal problem' of Pakistan. It is a problem which threatens the peace of South Asia. Has Pakistan the right to compel at bayonet-point not thousands, not hundreds of thousands, but millions to flee their homes? This is an intolerable situation. This Government may have its faults, but it does not lack courage. It is not afraid to take a risk that is a necessary risk.

The possible sequence of events that may soon confront us is appalling: (1) India in a desperate effort to cut off the flow of refugees, return the present refugees to their own homes and prevent the establishment of an extreme left-wing government in East Pakistan may move troops into East Pakistan: (2) Pakistan may then be expected to reply

by attacking India in Kashmir and the Indian Punjab; (3) China may deliver an ultimatum to India' (similar to the one she delivered in October of 1965 toward the end of the East Pakistan war); (4) the Soviet Union then supports the Indian position and wards China off, and the escalation continues.

This scenario may be dismissed by many as a bed dream. In my opinion it is a very real possibility, and if the situation continues to drift, a probability.

Mrs., Gandhi's governments acted responsibly in its banding of the crisis on its northeast border, but the financial and political pressures are rapidly pushing India to the breaking point.

The world community through the United Nations channel, by direct initiative or any other means must act. What is happening in East Pakistan is an immoral and humanitarian outrage which must be condemned and stopped. At the same time India must be relieved of the responsibility for the care of the six million refugees. This long- suffering struggling, democratic country which a few months ago seemed about to achieve economic self-sufficiency must not be allowed to suffer, perhaps go under, because of a situation not of its own making.

It is reported in the press that members of the Consortium and the World Bank with the exception of the United States have agreed to stop economic aid to Pakistan until a political understanding is reached with East Pakistan and the East Pakistanis are assured their full share.

Since the outbreak of the struggle in East Pakistan in late March the United States - has shipped there cargoes of military equipment to Pakistan that can only be used against her own people in East Pakistan or against India. This step has been taken despite a solemn assurance to Congress that no arms would be sent. It was first accepted as just another bureaucratic blunder which did not represent United States policy. However, in the last few days there is evidence this was not an accident but a deliberate decision.

If this is in fact correct the United States, once again, has committed an abysmal error in Asia, one that historians may find even more difficult to condone or excuse than the debacle in Indochina.

*Chester Bowles, author of "promises to Keep" was Ambassador to India 1963-69.*

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬২। পাকিস্তানের জন্য মার্কিন অস্ত্র : একটি গ্লানির ইতিহাস	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE WASHINGTON POST, JULY 5, 1971*  
**U.S. ARMS FOR PAKISTAN: A SHAMEFUL RECORD**

The Pakistani army undertook to crush the autonomy movement in East Pakistan on March 25. Soon after, as word of the army's appalling and indiscriminate slaughter begins to seep out, the question was asked in Washington whether arms sold or given by the United States were being used and, further, whether the supply of these arms was continuing. Here is the record of the answers given in Washington.

April 2: The State Department said it could neither confirm nor deny reports from the scene that American equipment was being used.

On April 20, the fact no longer deniable, the Department informed Senator Kennedy that it had "expressed our concern over the use of American arms in East Pakistan"; it added that "arms required from a number of countries, including China, the U.S.S.R. and the U.K., also have been used."

Three days later: The Department specifically acknowledged to Senator Fulbright that "some M-24 tanks and F-86 aircraft have been observed in use East Pakistan in recent weeks." It did not acknowledge that these tanks and planes had been employed against ragged desperate men armed with little more than rifles, if that.

April 6: Mr. Fulbright had asked Secretary of State Rogers for information on the "status of any current Shipments" of military equipment to Pakistan. The following week a department spokesman, speaking to reporters, denied that the United States has "a large on-going military assistance program with Pakistan" and declared, "There is no repeat-no equipment in the pipeline and none has been delivered" under a one shot October, 1970, arms deal. Referring to a "modest" sales program dating from 1967 for "non-lethal military equipment, spare parts for equipment already in Pakistani hands and some ammunition," he said: "Insofar as shipments under these agreements are concerned, we have this matter under review."

April 14: An unattributed report appeared in The Washington Post saying that arms shipments were continuing but with minimum publicity. The next day, however, a department spokesman concluded a review of the subject this way: "In short, no arms have been provided to the Government of Pakistan since the beginning of this crisis, and the question of deliveries will be kept under review in light of developments."

April 20: The department told Senator Kennedy: "... none of these items (on the 1967 'non-lethal' list, including ammunition) has been provided to the Pakistan Government or its agents since the outbreak of fighting in East Pakistan March 25-26, and nothing is presently scheduled for such delivery."

May 6: Senator Fulbright was told: "In short, no arms have been provided since the beginning of the crisis and the question of deliveries is under review,"

May 8: The Sonderbans. a Pakistani ship carrying arms to Pakistan, sailed from New York, without public announcement or public knowledge.

June 17: The State Department told reporters, as reported in this newspaper the next day that "no deliveries of military equipment have been made to Pakistan since March 25, when the fighting began."

June 22: The department, responding to a story in the New York Times, acknowledged that two shiploads of arms were going to Pakistan and explained that they had been licensed before March 25. The same day the second ship, the Padma, sailed.

Six days later: The administration said it would allow further shipments of military material if licensed before March 25. The first reason cited was to apply "leverage" to induce the Pakistan Government (1) to bring about a political accommodation in East Pakistan (it has yet to do so) and (2) to take back the six million refugees who had fled to India (the flight continues, according to report, at a 40,000-a-day rate). . The second reason cited by the administration-which had earlier downgraded use of American arms in the carnage by saying Soviet, Chinese and British arms also were used-was to discourage Pakistan from shifting to other arms suppliers.

June 29: It was revealed that four or five more arms ships were scheduled. The Kaptai sailed July 2.

This is, we submit, an astonishing and shameful record, with two meanings. The first is that, for the shabbiest of political reasons, the United State is supplying military equipment to a brutal regime that has killed an estimated 200,000 of its citizens and driven some six million others out of their country. The second meaning must be read in the context of the current controversy over the Pentagon Papers, which turns on the public right to know and the government's right to conceal. Here we have a classic example of how the System really works; hidden from public scrutiny, administration officials have been supplying arms to Pakistan while plainly and persistently telling the public that such supplies were cut off. We assume that this deception is due to a combination of organizational confusion and bureaucratic dissimulation and not to deliberate deceit. The fact is: arms ships still sail. It is up to the President to stop them- assuming the government is serious about its proclaimed policy.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬৩। পাকিস্তান	নিউজ উইক	১২ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK JULY 12, 1971

## PAKISTAN

Almost from the moment President Md. Yahya Khan unleashed his army on Pakistan's eastern region three months ago, he has been under mounting pressure both at home and from abroad to seek a political rather than a military solution to the crisis. Thus, when Yahya announced that he would address the nation last week on his plans for the future of Pakistan, there was ripple of hope that he would finally offer an olive branch to the battered but still defiant Bengalis of East Pakistan. The speech, however, proved a stunning disappointment to those who longed for an end to the strife that has cost more than 200,000 Bengali lives and driven 6 million refugees into India. "That wasn't a speech" quipped one foreign diplomat, "It was a regimental order."

There was good reason for this view, for instead of seeking to convince the Bengalis that they still had a future within united Pakistan Yahya seemed bent on antagonizing them even further. He blamed the civil war on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the imprisoned political leader of the East claiming that the Mujib had plotted from the beginning to decided the nation "through physical violence". Banning the East Pakistan based Awami League, which won control of the National Assembly in last December elections, the President promised to revive National and Provincial Legislatures as soon as "Law and Order" is restored. But above all Yahya made it clear that even if such a "Transfer of Power" to civilians is achieved at a still unspecified date martial law would continue for sometime.

### Hostility

Small wonder, then, that Yahya's words, were received coolly in West Pakistan and with open hostility in the East. Said one high Bengali Civil Servant "Yahya has offered us nothing but the back of his hand, of course this is a boon to the liberation movement. If he had offered us something, there might have been some who would have given it a try. This way he has assured the undying opposition of Bengal."

The evidence last week was that such opposition was not to be taken lightly. For despite the fact that the West Pakistani army still controls East Pakistan, there are numerous indications, that the rebellion is far from over. The once disorganized Mukti Foj liberation fighters have recently shown impressive progress in guerrilla warfare. They have blown up dozens of bridges cutting major rail lines and highways. They have destroyed Electric Power Plants, and assassinated members of non-Bengali "Peace Committee" appointed by the military to provide local Government. As a result. Yahya's army is growing nervous, and two additional divisions have been requested to reinforce the four already, in the Eastern region. "This is the way it started in Vietnam," one foreign diplomat in the East Pakistan capital, Dacca, told Newsweek's Lawrence Jenkins last week. The army can hold on as long as it is willing to pay the price. But the Government cannot afford to fight a protracted guerrilla war.

A similar conclusion was reached last week by a team from the World Bank, which co-ordinates an eleven-nation consortium that supplies about \$ 500 million a year in aid to Pakistan. After touring the devastated Eastern region, the team recommended that aid be withheld in an effort to force Yahya to seek a political solution to the strife. The only opposition came from U.S., which announced that it would continue its aid to Islamabad in order to maintain its influence with Yahya, and presumably to enhance the possibility of persuading him to move toward peace. The fallacy in such thinking" of course, is that neither side in the conflict has shown any inclination to negotiate. Indeed it may well be, as one diplomat in Dacca noted last week, that there can be no reconciliation. "Pakistan died the day the army entered in the Eastern Region. "

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬৪। ভারত	টাইম	১২ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*TIME MAGAZINE, JULY 12, 1971*

### INDIA

When Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her new Congress party were returned to power last March, with a two-thirds majority in Parliament, she promised an ambitious development programme that would change the lives of India's almost 600 million people. By last week, however, it was clear that the country's economy never robust was bogging down for reasons that are not of Mi's. Gandhi's making. More than 60.00.000 refugees have fled to India since the Pakistan Government based in West Pakistan began a savage campaign of repression and terror in East Pakistan, last March. The cost of feeding and sheltering the refugees and caring for thousands of cholera victims will total at least \$400 million in the first six months.

About 80% of the refugees from predominantly Moslem East Pakistan are Hindus seeking sanctuary in West Bengal and the Eastern Indian States, where their co-religionists are in the vast majority. What particularly worries India is that their chances of even returning home are diminishing. Last week New Delhi said that the Pakistanis were destroying the title deeds of properties owned by the Hindus in East Pakistan, So the Indians may have to accept, on a permanent basis, a Pakistani refugee population that could eventually reach 10 millions.

### Little Success

The Indians are angry that they have received so little support on the refugee problem from either East or West. "The international community cannot run away from its responsibilities," Mrs. Gandhi declared two weeks ago. "It will suffer from the consequences of whatever happens in this part of the world".

The most fearful consequence could be war. Reckless as it may seem many Indians were seriously arguing that the only solution to the refugee problem is for the Indian Army to drive the West Pakistan Army out of East Pakistan so that the refugees could return home. Mrs. Gandhi has rejected such talk, but it is growing in volume, even among members of parliament.

In trying to persuade other countries to provide emergency aid and put pressure on the Government to ease its repression in East Pakistan, the Prime Minister has sent several of her colleagues abroad to explain India's predicament, so far with little success.

What the Indians really want is a political settlement between West and East Pakistan. This would amount to an acceptance by West Pakistan of last December's overwhelming victory by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League. In balloting for a constitutional congress, Mujib won 167 of the 169 seats allotted to East Pakistan. Since this showing would have given Mujib an absolute majority in the 313 seat

constituent assembly, it would have led to his designation as Prime Minister of all Pakistan, India was greatly pleased by Mujib's victory, since he has been conciliatory towards the Indians. This, in turn, would have enabled India to cut down on the heavy cost, of defending its borders with Pakistan.

But Pakistan's President Agha Mohd. Yahya Khan was loath, to let Mujib attain power, in the Central Government and he was even less inclined to grant greater autonomy to East Pakistan. The subsequent crackdown by Pakistan's army, resulting in the slaughtering of hundreds of thousands of East Pakistanis has made a political settlement even more remote.

### **Ideological Cousins**

In the long run the Indians fear that they could be faced on their Eastern Border with an even more threatening force than the Pakistani army. There is a real danger that leadership of the Guerrilla movement in East Pakistan could pass from the shattered Awami League into the hands of the Naxalite, the ideological cousins of the Maoist extremists who have terrorized Calcutta and other pockets of Pastern India. What the Indians fear is an attempt to reunite India's West Bengal with Pakistan's East Bengal which have strong cultural and linguistic ties that could some day transcend the religious differences.

### **Gun Power**

A tough young East Pakistani who calls himself a Naxalite told Time correspondent James Shepherd "For the moment common enemy (of both the Awami League and the East Bengali Naxalite) is the Pakistan army. The arms that India gives to the Awami League will find their way to the Naxalites, and eventually we will fight not only the army but also the bourgeois and feudal elements, contemptuous of democratic process." The Naxalite said scornfully: "Now the Awami League leaders are seeing the truth of the saying that the political power grows out of the barrel of the gun."

The problem is that many Indians, too, are thinking of gun power. Even Swaran Singh, India's normally pragmatic Sikh Foreign Minister felt compelled to warn M Ps. Of the ruling New Congress Party during a meeting at week's end. "Unless there is a political settlement, India will be compelled to take action on its own."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬৫। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের বাঙালী দমন অব্যাহত	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৪ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES. JULY 14, 1971*  
**WEST PAKISTAN PURSUES SUBJUGATION OF BENGALIS**

*The following dispatch was written by the New Delhi correspondent of The New York Times, who was expelled from East Pakistan on June 30. .*

Army trucks roll through the half-deserted streets of the capital of East Pakistan these days, carrying "anti-state" prisoners to work-sites for hard labor. Their heads are shaved and they wear no shoes and no clothes except for shorts-all making escape difficult.

Every day at the airport at Dacca, the capital, planes from West Pakistan, over a thousand miles across India, disgorge troops dressed in baggy pajama like tribal garb to appear less conspicuous.

Street designations are being engaged to remove all Hindu names as well as those of Bengali Moslem nationalists as part of campaign to stamp out Bengali culture. Shankari Bazar Road in Dacca is now Tikka Khan Road, after the lieutenant general who is the martial-law governor of East Pakistan and whom most Bengalis call "the Butcher."

Those are but a few of the countless evidences, seen by this correspondent during a recent visit to the eastern province, that Pakistan's military regime is determined to make its occupation stick and to subjugate the region of 75 million people. The West Pakistanis are doing so despite a crippled economy, the collapse of governmental administration, widening guerrilla activity by the Bengali separatists, mounting army casualties and an alienated, sullen population.

To insure troop strength in East Pakistan, the Government has leased two Boeing 707's for a year from private Irish-owned charter airline. World Airways, to carry reinforcements for an army put at 70,000 to 80,000 men and replacements for casualties.

In addition to the daily troop's arrivals, the Government is bringing in wave upon wave of Pakistanis to replace East Pakistanis in Government jobs. No Bengali is trusted with a responsible or sensitive post; even the man who cuts the grass at the Dacca airport is a non-Bengali.

Few Bengali taxi drivers remain. Their jobs have been given to non-Bengali Moslem migrants from India such as the Biharis, who have identified and sided with the West Pakistani-dominated Government and who are serving as the army's civilian arm. Informing and enforcing.

The West Pakistanis are discouraging the use of the Bengali language and trying to replace it with their own, Urdu. Soldiers tell the Bengalis disdainfully, that theirs is not really a civilized tongue and that they should start teaching their children Urdu if they want to get along. Merchants, out of fear, have replaced their signs with signs in English because they don't know Urdu.

### **'Peace Committees' formed**

Throughout East Pakistan the Army is training new paramilitary home guards or simply arming "loyal" civilians, some of whom are formed into peace committees. Besides Biharis and other non-Bengali, Urdu speaking Moslems the recruits include the small minority of Bengali Moslems who have long supported the army-adherents of the right-wing religious parties such as the Moslem League and Jamaat-e- Islami.

In the election last December those parties failed to win a single seat for East Pakistan in the National Assembly.

In a sense the election spawned the crisis, for the Awami League, an East Pakistani party campaigning for more self-rule for the province, unexpectedly won a national majority. With the previously suppressed Bengalis about to assume a strong national role, the leading political group of West Pakistan, the Pakistan People's party, refused to attend the coming session of the National Assembly, which was to have written a new constitution to restore civilian rule. President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan responded by postponing the session, set for March 3.

### **Negotiations and attack**

Protests and rioting erupted in East Pakistan, and the Bengalis answered the Awami League's call for a non co-operation movement in defiance of the military.

The President flew to Dacca to negotiate with the Awami League leader. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. During their negotiations, on the night of March 25, the army launched a surprise attack on the largely unarmed civilian population to try to crush the autonomy movement. The league was banned and Sheikh Mujib jailed as a traitor.

The initial Bengali resistance-led by men in the police and national army who had switched allegiance -was quickly routed, but it is now emerging from its Indian-border sanctuaries, with new recruits and supplies, to wage Vietnam-style guerilla warfare-and cause increasing torment to the army.

Since the offensive began the troops have killed countless thousands of Bengalis-foreign diplomats estimate at least 200,000 to 250,000-many in massacres. Although the targets were Bengali Moslems and the 10 million Hindus at first, the army is now concentrating on Hindus in what foreign observers characterise as a holy war.

The West Pakistani leaders have long considered the Hindus as subverters of Islam. They now view them as agents of Hindu India, which has been accused of engineering the autonomy movement to force Pakistan's disintegration.

Of the more than six million Bengalis who are believed to have fled to India to escape the army's terror, at least four million are Hindus. The troops are still killing Hindus and looting their villages.

West Pakistani officials insist, however, that normalcy is returning and have appealed to the Hindus to "return to their homes and hearths," assuring them that they have nothing to fear. Only a handful of refugees have returned and the reception centers the Government has erected to show foreign visitors remain largely deserted.

### **Seeking restoration of aid**

Army commanders recently spread the word that low-caste Hindus were welcome to return to their homes. Observers view the gesture cynically, pointing out that without the low-caste Hindus-menial laborers, sweepers and washer men-the army has no one to do its dirty work.

Apart from the refugee \$ in India, there are in East Pakistan millions of displaced Bengalis who fled their home when the army came and are still afraid to return.

Recently there have been signs that the troops have been ordered to carry out their operations more subtly and less in the public eye. The orders, according to foreign diplomats, are inspired by Pakistan's desire to persuade an 11-nation consortium to resume economic aid, temporarily suspended in censure of the army repression.

[A special mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which co-ordinates the aid programme, has reported that the ravages by the military in East Pakistan will require that development efforts be suspended for at least a year. The mission made a widespread survey of the province in May and June.]

Diplomats in Dacca attribute Pakistan's decision to allow foreigners to travel freely through East Pakistan and to readmit foreign newsmen -who had been barred since the offensive began except as participants in Government-guided tours-as part of the campaign to restore the aid.

Nonetheless the killing though it is more selective and less wholesale, has not stopped, and the outlook, most observers believe, is for a long and bloody struggle.

### **Bengalis pass the word**

Foreign missionaries who are posted even in the remotest parts of East Pakistan report new massacres almost daily. One missionary said that the army recently killed over 1,000 Hindus in a day in a section of Barisal District, in the south. Another reported that in Sylhet District, in the northeast, a peace committee called a meeting of all the residents of one area, ostensibly to work out a' reconciliation. When everyone had gathered troops arrived, picked out the 300 Hindus in the crowd, led them a way and shot them.

Whenever a Bengali talks to a foreigner in public he is running a risk. At ferry crossings Bengalis sidled up to this correspondent's car to whisper a few scraps of information about army terror or, with a quick smile, about a raid by the guerillas of the liberation army.

As soon as six or seven people gathered a West Pakistani soldier or policeman would saunter over, glowering at the Bengalis, and they would melt away.

The presence of the army and its civilian informers notwithstanding, the Bengalis somehow find a way to tell their stories to the foreign, visitor—by slipping notes into his car or arranging' clandestine meetings.

At one such meeting in a town not far from Dacca, a merchant related that a soldier arrested him one day for no reason, confiscated his money and watch and took him to the police station, where he was jailed for a night before being miraculously, he felt-released.

The merchant said he had spent the night praying and leading the messages that covered the walls of his cell-scrawled there-by previous prisoners. The messages, he said, were nearly all alike giving the name and address of the prisoner and the date of his arrest and saying: "I may not live. Please tell my family what happened to me."

Not one of them has been heard from since, the merchant added.

### **Property damage heavy**

The killings have been matched by the property damage the army has inflicted everywhere. In the countryside-for miles at a stretch sometimes-villages have been burned to the ground on both sides of the road, in the cities and towns large areas have been reduced to rubble by heavy gunfire.

The Bengalis say the troops were simply bent on Wanton destruction. The army says that it never fired unless fired upon, but field commanders boast that in most towns there was little or no resistance.

Why all the devastation? They are asked. It was all done by "miscreants," is the stock answer.

Though some Bengalis are trickling back to population centers, most towns still have only half or less of their original numbers, and parts of some areas, like the northwest region, are virtually deserted.

Fields of untended rice are choked with weeds. On Jute plots where dozens of farm laborers once toiled only a few bent backs can be seen. East Pakistan's jute, the tough fiber for gunny sacks, is the mainstay of the national economy, being the biggest single export and earner of foreign exchange. All signs indicate that the coming crop- will be a poor one.

Even if the crop were good, the jute factories, with much of their skilled labor gone, could not handle it. They are operating far below capacity.

### **River traffic harassed**

The insurgents continue to harass river traffic trying to disrupt military movements and prevent harvested jute from reaching the factories. They have already sunk several jute barges in the Jessore-Khulna region, a rice-jute area.

The East Pakistani tea industry has been even more badly crippled, and the Government has reportedly had to order two million pounds from foreign sources for West Pakistani consumers.

West Pakistan's economy is one of the roots of the bloodshed. Another is the wide ethnic gap between the light-skinned, Middle Eastern Punjabis who dominate in the western wing and the dark-skinned. Southeast Asian Bengalis of the east. Except for their common religion, Islam, the two peoples are as different as can be.



From Pakistan's formation 24 years ago, the more prosperous western wing with a minority (55 million) of the population, was looked down on and exploited the poorer Bengali majority. The Bengalis grew bitter as they watched the foreign exchange earned in the east go to pay for the West Pakistani-dominated army and built the industries and development projects of the west.

Even the few development projects in East Pakistan have been halted now because of the terror, insecurity and lack of civilian administration in the countryside.

### **Resistance seems to grow**

Nevertheless, the military, by rounding up laborers, has finally gotten the key ports of Chittagong and Chalna functioning again at a reasonably effective level, but there are goods to load onto outgoing ships except what was in warehouses before the fighting.

Food shortages are becoming serious in some areas and experts predict that the situation could reach famine proportions unless the army can restore the disrupted transport system and distribute available food.

Such restoration does not seem likely because the Bengali resistance, though still disorganized, appears to be gathering momentum-with increasing assistance and sanctuary, and sometimes covering fire, from India.

Thousands of young Bengalis are being trained in demolition and guerilla tactics-often on the Indian side of the border, with India providing many of the instructors. The first elements of the new guerillas are beginning to flow back into East Pakistan.

More and more road and railway bridges are being blown up and electrical power supplies knocked out. Some of the demolition work has been expert. Road mines are becoming common. Often the army, which is on combat alert, cannot get local contractors to repair the damage, so it uses forced labor, with meager results.

Outside Comilla not long ago the guerillas blew a rail bridge. A repair train was sent out with army guards. The guerillas attacked the repair train in broad daylight, killing the fireman and taking a hostage. The train sped back into town.

**-Sydney H. Schanberg**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬৬। পাকিস্তানের নিন্দা	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৪ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 14, 1971*

### **PAKISTAN CONDEMNED**

The report of a World Bank mission to East Pakistan last month is a devastating indictment of the West Pakistan military crackdown in Bengal. It strongly challenges the Administration's Policy of continuing both military and economic support for the Yahya Khan regime in Islamabad.

Excerpts from the report, published in this paper yesterday, tell of death and destruction throughout the region. A mission member describes the Bengali town of Kushtia, for example, as looking "like a World War II German town having undergone strategic bombing attacks" as a result of twelve days of "punitive action" by the West Pakistan Army. The Army, he reports, "terrorizes the population, particularly aiming at the Hindus and suspected members of the Awami League. "

This official confirmation of earlier widespread reports of barbaric action in East Pakistan renders inexcusable any further shipment of American military equipment to the Pakistani armed forces. Military supplies already on route to Pakistan can and should be promptly diverted, just as food shipments were diverted from Chittagong soon, after the outbreak of fighting. There are clear grounds for suspending all further military and economic aid to the Pakistani Government, excepting relief supplies, until the reign of terror in East Pakistan is ended and steps are taken to restore power to elected representatives of the people who are currently in prison or in hiding.

The World Bank also offers strong practical grounds for a moratorium on development assistance. Contrary to Pakistani Government claims, the mission reports that "the situation is very far indeed from normal, nor are there any signs that normality is being approached or that matters are even moving in that direction." Citing disruption in East Pakistan caused by "the general sense of fear and lack of confidence on the part of most of the population" and "the complete dislocation of the communications system," the report concludes that new international development efforts "will have to remain in a state of suspension for at least the next year or so."

Ten members of the eleven-nation Aid to Pakistan consortium apparently concurred with that finding when the group met in Paris last month. The United States inexplicably did not. Continuation of American development assistance to Pakistan is incomprehensible in the face of that international consensus and of the damning evidence contained in the World Bank report.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬৭। পাকিস্তানের উদ্দেশ্যে প্রেরিত অস্ত্র ভর্তি জাহাজ প্রতিরোধের কয়েকটি সংবাদ	বাল্টিমোর সান, ওয়াশিংটন স্টার, ফিলাডেলাফিয়া বুলেটিন	১৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE BALTIMORE SUN. JULY 16, 1971*

### **SHIPPING AGENT IS TARGET OF PAKISTAN ARMS PROTEST**

Thirteen demonstrators-only one of them from Pakistan-marched in front of a downtown office building here yesterday to protest an alleged shipment of military cargo to Pakistan.

All of the marchers carried signs during the peaceful 45 minute demonstration in front of the Keyser Building at Calvert and Redwood streets.

Two of the leaders later talked with a representative of the East West Shipping Agencies, whose offices are located in the building. The agency is handling arrangements for the scheduled arrival tomorrow afternoon of the Pakistani freighter Padma at the Port Covington Terminal on McComas street.

#### **Bound For Karachi**

The Pakistani freighter, which is ultimately bound for Karachi, has been the object of controversy over the past few weeks.

The United States reportedly has decided not to grant licenses for arms shipments to Pakistan but will allow previously approved shipments to be made. The Pakistan government has suppressed a revolt by East Pakistani separatists but guerrilla actions are continuing.

Bin Moyer, a spokesman for the protesters, claims that the Padma was loaded with eight Sabre jets, aircraft parts and accessories, spare vehicle parts and 2,000 rounds of ammunition.

#### **Spoke With Manager**

Jack Patterson, of the American Friends Service Committees and Diana Schramm left the march to talk with Walter Spieker manager of East-West Shipping Agencies about the Padma.

Mrs. Schramm explained to Mr. Spieker that her organization, the Friends of East Bengal, had many conflicting reports as to the location of the ship and the nature of its cargo.

Mr. Spieker said that "nobody called us" and promptly advised them of tomorrow's arrival. "The Padma is now at sea, somewhere between Montreal, the last port of call, and Baltimore," Mr. Spieker continued. "All I know is what happens at the dock here is no military cargo scheduled to go on board the Padma."

**"You Can Have It"**

The only cargo on board that Mr. Spieker knew of was 1.800 tons of general cargo consisting of steel, flour and glassware. "You can come down and watch us load" he concluded, "and if you find any military cargo being loaded, you can have it."

With this information, Mr. Patterson and Mrs. Schramm returned to the demonstrators who were still picketing. As the demonstrators gathered around their envoys for the announcement, the demonstration was officially ended for the day.

Mr. Moyer disclosed that his organization had been informed that ammunition is to be loaded tomorrow, although Mr. Spieker insisted that there would be no military cargo put aboard in Baltimore.

Charles Jones, first vice president of Local 829, International Longshoreman's Association, said that he was in contact with the agency concerning the Padma shipment. He said he was told that there would be no ammunition, no military cargo and no cargo whatsoever that had to do with the military loaded in Baltimore.

The protesters announced that they would meet in front of the Keyser Building today at 12.30 P.M. From there they plan to march to the United States Customs Office in the 100 block South Gay street and talk to officials there about the Padma. A blockade of the port Covington Terminal by their "non-violent navy" is still scheduled for tomorrow.

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**POLICE SEIZE 7 YOUTHS IN 1511) TO BLOCK SHIP***By Antero Pietila*

Seven water-borne demonstrators who were attempting to keep the Pakistani freighter Padma from docking at Port Covington were arrested by Baltimore city police in two boats last night. Six of them were charged.

Police picked the young demonstrators up from two canoes and a kayak which were moving close by the Padma. of Karachi, a freighter which is said to be carrying United States military equipment for Pakistan despite a ban on such shipments.

Those charged with interfering with naval passage and disobeying a policeman's order were identified by police as Wayne Lauser, Sally Willoughby, Richard Taylor, Mai Scott. Stephanie Hollyman and Charles Goodwin. All of them were said to be Philadelphia residents. A preliminary hearing was scheduled for 9 A.M. at the Southern District court.

**2 Others Stand By**

Two other canoes carrying five other demonstrators were allowed to stay by the ship as it docked at Pier 8 shortly before 8 P. M.

Earlier yesterday, the International Longshoremen's Association ordered one of its Baltimore locals not to work on the Padma. indicating that it wanted to stay "neutral" in the civil war that has devastated East Pakistan.

In New York, Allan Elia. vice president of the East West Shipping Agency, the ship's United States agents, denied that any military cargo was on board. He said that the company would seek an injunction against the longshoremen's union and the Federal Maritime Commission if the longshoremen fail to report to work this morning.

According to Mr. Elia three gangs of longshoremen were scheduled to start work at 7 A. M. today. Shipments scheduled to be loaded in Baltimore did not include military goods, he said.

"The whole thing is ridiculous," the agent said in a telephone interview. He indicated that he would be willing to let the cargo be inspected if the inspector would bear the cost in the event no military articles are found.

Local 829 received its boycott orders at about noon from Miami where its top officials are preparing for a convention next week.

According to Charles (Buck) Jones, first vice president of the union, no explanation for the order was given on the telephone. "William Hiale, our international vice president Just said that Thomas G. Gleason president of the union had instructed that no work be done on the cargo. He didn't have to give any explanation," Mr. Jones said.

### **A Revolution Going On**

He then added. "There is a revolution going on there [ in Pakistan], isn't there? We don't want to be involved in any way."

During the afternoon, while the Padma was in the Chesapeake and Delaware canal, a small flotilla of three canoes, two kayaks and a row boat were in the water near Port Covington.

The boats were manned by members and sympathizers of the Friends of East Bengal, a Philadelphia-based organization advocating the independence of East Pakistan. It reportedly has close ties to the American Friends Service Committee, the Quaker organization, and some of yesterday's demonstrators were also active in a protest last summer against biological warfare research at Edgewood Arsenal.

### **Group's Plans**

Charles Walker, a spokesman for the group, which numbered about 35, said that the demonstrators would attempt to keep the Padma from docking at Port Covington. If that effort should fail, he said, they would try to blockade it in the port.

The controversy surrounding the Padma began June 22, when the New York Times in a dispatch from Washington reported that the freighter was about to sail from New York. Scheduled to arrive in Karachi in mid-August, the ship was to carry eight aircraft, parachutes and "hundreds of thousands of pounds of spare parts and accessories for planes and military vehicles," the Times said.

### **Ban On Arms Sales**

Referring to a State Department ban on arms sales to Pakistan issued March 25-the paper quoted' an unidentified official as saying, "There has evidently been some kind of slippage here."

After leaving New York, the Padma sailed to Canada, where officials banned the loading of any further shipments, however.

### **Report Discounted**

He said that the Canadian officials had prohibited the loading of cargo that contained "46 cases of spare parts, include spare parts."

He also discounted the Times report, saying. "This is ridiculous. Somebody's been misinformed.

"We don't have any military cargo aboard, none whatsoever. We have 10 boxes of smoke signals. Now, if this is ammunition..." the agent said. He also dismissed the talk about air planes in the cargo and said that the only air-related cargo were altimeters, "plane spare parts, nuts and bolts."

The demonstrators-including about ten Pakistanis and Indians-continued to maintain that the Padma's cargo is mostly military material, however. They carried signs yesterday saying, "Stop Pakistan- Massacre -Don't Send arms."

The group praised the longshoremen's decision not to work on the Padma, although its Baltimore cargo was non-military.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

*THE BALTIMORE SUN. FRIDAY. JULY 16. 1971*

# **DOCK UNION REFUSES TO LOAD ARMS-LADEN PAKISTANI SHIP**

*By Am era Pietila*

The Pakistani freighter Padma is expected to leave Baltimore for Mobile, Ala, today after longshoremen here refused to load the ship, which is carrying an arms shipment to its homeland.

Members of Local 829 of the International Longshoremen's Association were instructed not to work on the ship at Port Covington by Thomas G. Gleason, the union president, who said the union wants to stay "neutral" on the Pakistani civil war.

That war, according to the State Department estimates, has caused the deaths of at least 200,000 East Pakistanis, while six million refugees have fled to India

In Washington, the East West Shipping Agency, the United States agents for the National Shipping Company of Karachi, Pakistan, sent a telegram to the Federal Maritime Commission, charging that the long shore men's action constituted 'direct interference with the commerce of the United States.'

The telegram asked Mrs. Helen Delich Bentely, the commission's chairman, to intervene in the dispute.

A spokesman said, however that the commission would not take any action immediately but would study the situation.

In its communication to the regulatory agency, the shipping agency said the Padma's cargo includes the following shipments by the Agency for International Development: pharmaceutical supplies, pesticides, firefighting equipment, and electric generators.

The State Department, however, confirmed that the cargo included an arms shipment for which an export license was issued before the March 25. ban on such shipments for Pakistan became effective.

The following is an enumeration and valuation of the military shipments in the Padma's cargo as given by the State Department: aircraft spare parts \$924, 329; spare parts for military vehicles, \$184, 187; electronic spare parts. \$25,417; spare parts for vessels, \$45,117 and artillery spare parts, \$2,830.

All the military material, which included 2,200 rounds of 22-caliber ammunition as part of the artillery supplies, was loaded on the Padma in New York late last month, the State Department said.

The ship then sailed for Montreal, where it was to receive 46 crates of spare parts for the United States-supplied Sabre jets. The loading of the crates was prevented by the Canadian government.



In Baltimore, the Padma, which is riding high and appears half-empty, was scheduled to load non-military goods, its shipping agents said.

These goods included an unknown amount of electrolytic tinplates, which now stand in a warehouse on the pier bearing the familiar AID symbol of crossed hands on their packages.

Another shipment of steel products awaits the ship in Mobile, maritime sources said

About 30 members and sympathizers of the Philadelphia-based Friends of East Bengal yesterday continued their protest of the arms shipment, picketing the gate of Port Covington and holding their signs from a small flotilla of canoes near the ship.

### **Night In Jail**

When the Padma arrived at Port Covington Wednesday night, city police in two boats arrested three canoes full of demonstrators.

After spending the night in a Southern district lockup, six of them-all of Philadelphia-received probation without verdict for interfering with naval passage and disobeying a policeman's order. One other demonstrator was not charged.

In a press conference near the gate to Port Covington yesterday" the demonstrators said they were planning to expand their protest action.

*WASHINGTON STAR. FRIDAY. JULY 16. 1971*

### **'ARMS SHIP' PROTESTS SET IN BALTIMORE**

BALTIMORE (AP) Demonstrations were to continue today to try to stop the docking in Baltimore of the Padma, a Pakistani freighter alleged to be carrying arms and other cargo to its war-torn homeland.

Police arrested six persons last night as they attempted to block the arrival of the ship using three canoes and a kayak.

All were charged with obstructing the free navigation of a vessel, an officer said. Me added that "they were arrested more for their own safety."

Meanwhile, the debate continued on whether cargo scheduled to be loaded on the Padma here would be placed aboard.

The International Longshoremen's Association reportedly ordered its Baltimore local not to load the freighter, which protesters claim is carrying U.S. military equipment to Pakistan despite a ban on such shipments.

An official of the ship's U.S. agents, East-West Shipping, denied that any military cargo was to go aboard.

**THE EVENING BULLETIN***PHILADELPHIA. FRIDAY. JULY 16. 1971***6 Freed in Blocking Of Ship for Pakistan**

Baltimore-Six Philadelphians, arrested here after they used canoes and kayaks to block the loading of a cargo ship with arms for Pakistan, were released with a warning yesterday.

Dr. Charles Kahn, a teacher at the University of Pennsylvania and leader of the group, said his followers would try again to prevent the loading of the ship, Padma. When it arrives in Philadelphia.

The other Philadelphians arrested with Dr. Kahn Tuesday were Richard Taylor, of Sedgwick st. near Greene; Malcolm Scott, of Horlter st. near Pelham; Sally Willoughby and Stephanie Hollyman, of Pine st. near 44th, Charles Goodwin, of Willows ave. near 50th, and Wayne Lauser. of Media. They were held in jail overnight.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬৮। বাঙালীরা রুখে দাঁড়িয়েছে	নিউজ উইক	১৯ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*NEWSWEEK. JULY 19. 1971*  
**THE BENGALIS STRIKE BACK**

"I am glad to be able to tell you," declared Pakistan President Mohammad Yahya Khan in a recent address to his nation "that the army is in full control of the situation in East Pakistan. It has crushed the mischief-mongers, saboteurs and infiltrators." Alas for Yahya, the facts told a different story. Throughout East Pakistan, the embattled Bengali resistance movement seemed more determined than ever to prove, that it was alive and well-and capable of making life extremely difficult for the heavily armed but thinly spread occupation forces of the Pakistani Army.

All across Pakistan's ravaged eastern province, revitalized rebel units made their presence felt last week in no uncertain terms. Taking advantage of a crash training program and of weapons, and ammunition supplied by India. Mukti Bahini (Liberation Army) went on the offensive. Factories were sabotaged. Key bridges were toppled by well-placed dynamic blasts. Vital barge traffic was attacked from concealed machine gun emplacements. And railroad locomotives operating on the relatively few remaining open routes were blown off the tracks by mines.

### Threat

Though the heaviest attacks were concentrated near the Indian border, even the East Pakistani capital of Dacca, 90 miles away, came under rebel fire. Exchanges of gunshots and occasional explosions reverberated through the city's streets. And in one daring, late night attack earlier this month, Bengali insurgents knocked out the Dacca Power Plants main transformer, plunging the capital into total darkness for more than six hours. "It may be too early to view the Mukti Bahini as a serious military threat." said one Western diplomat in Dacca last week. "But there is no doubt that what" we are witnessing is the first stage of bloody, long lasting guerrilla warfare".

Fuelling this mounting struggle was the Bengali rebels' outrage at the Pakistani Army's continued indiscriminate violence in dealing with their uprising. In retaliation, the rebels have escalated their guerrilla attacks to include random terrorism of their own. In a warning to the population, not to attend performances where a state tax is collected, a rebel grenade was tossed into the crowded Gulistan Cinema in Dacca, killing one person and injuring fourteen. Similarly, a small bomb exploded outside the suburban Dhanmondi residence of the U.S. Consul General in an apparent protest against American shipments of arms and supplies to Pakistan Government.

"In the countryside" cabled Newsweek's Loren Jenkins, who toured the eastern region last week, "things have gone much further. In the Ganges Delta town of Khulna. two pro-army officials-Ghulam Sarwar Mullah and Abdul Hamid Khan-recently

received 'red letters' from rebel groups marking them for assassination. Despite the fact that both men surrounded themselves with bodyguards of razakars (pro-government vigilant), both were dead within a week. Bengali rebels gunned down Hamid in broad daylight. And a fierce bund of black-masked guerrillas stormed Sarwar's home routed the corps of razakars, then lopped off Sarwar's head and took it with them."

### Message

The Pakistani Army under Lt.-Gen. Tikka Khan, the military governor of East Pakistan, has responded in kind. After guerrillas blew up a bridge north of Dacca. Punjabi soldiers put several neighboring villages to the torch, killing scores of residents and taking others into custody. In the case of the Khulna assassinations, Jenkins reported that the army's response was even more terrifying: "The morning after Sarwar was beheaded, workers traveling to Khulna's jute mills found seventeen dead bodies lined up neatly in front of the railroad station. Their hands had been tied behind their backs and each man had been shot. The army left the bodies in view for a full 24 hours to make sure the population got the message."

But just how successful the Pakistani Army's tactics would be in keeping an estimated 30,000 guerrillas in check remained very much in doubt. True, wherever Tikka Khan chose to concentrate his troops, the army seemed likely to maintain the upper hand. But elsewhere the outlook was bleak. The Mukti Bahini can draw on the teeming East Pakistan population of more than 70 million. And far from cowering that population into submission each new army atrocity has seemed to strengthen the Bengali resolve. "Yahya Khan and the military high command thought they could terrorise the Bengalis", a Western diplomat in Dacca told Jenkins last week. "The result has been just the opposite Sure the Bengali has been frightened. But he has also been made to hale as he never did before-and he realizes that it is only through violence that he has a chance to free himself."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৬৯। একটি বিভক্ত দেশ	ওয়াল স্ট্রিট জার্নাল	২৩ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*WALL STREET JOURNAL NEW YORK. JULY 23. 1971*

### **A NATION DIVIDED**

**East Pakistan Conflict Is Complicated By Race,**

**Religion And Poverty**

**No Immediate Solution Seen; Residents Barely Subsist:**

**Police State Grips Bengalis**

**'Problems? There Are None'**

The doctor sits behind a desk in his street-front office in an East Pakistani town, occasionally glancing out at the road lined with the charred debris and looted shells of shops and homes.

A vehicle with UNICEF markings on its doors but with armed West Pakistani soldiers inside cruises by. Otherwise, the street is all but deserted.

The doctor sits in his office only because he has been ordered to. His family is hiding in a village somewhere outside of town. He speaks in a whisper because any passerby could be an informer. At night, when the army goes knocking on doors, he lives with the fear that his name may be on one of its lists.

He whispers of recent events in this town; the streets littered bloated and decomposing bodies; the burning, looting and raping and the continuing terror. "We are afraid to speak the truth. Those who speak the truth are punished, and the only punishment is death," he says.

The doctor is an army veteran, which makes him a special target for his former colleagues. But his real crime is being a land 0 f Bengalis that also happens to be part of the map of Pakistan, It is now a land of death and fear..

### **Causes washed away by blood**

It is less than four months since the civil fighting in East Pakistan began, but already the causes of the conflict seem almost academic. Its geographical and historical roots, the legalities and moralities-all seems to have been washed away by blood. No one really knows how many people have been killed in East Pakistan since March 25. but Western diplomats say the minimum is 2(X).0(X). The maximum exceeds one million.

### **The events fall into three stages.**

The first was a Bengali political movement aimed at ending two decades of economic and political exploitation by the West Pakistanis. It culminated, in March elections in national political victory for the Bengali Awami League and its platform of greater East Pakistan autonomy. But on March 25 the Pakistan army (an almost entirely West Pakistani institution), fearing that East Pakistan was moving toward independence, cracked down in Dacca, the East Pakistan capital. Bengali students were massacred, politicians were arrested and the Awami League was outlawed.

The second stage was a fairy-tale few weeks in which the Bengalis proclaimed and celebrated their independence. Some thousands of East Pakistan's non-Bengali minority were killed during this period, in which the army, perhaps overly cautious, remained in the capital and in a number of military camps, but the illusion of independence ended in mid-April when the army emerged to crush the revolution. Tens of thousands of Bengalis were slain as town after town was retaken, burned and looted. There was little military opposition. Some six million Bengalis, most of them from the Hindu minority group that became a special army target, began fleeing into India.

### **Now the third stage**

The third and present stage is army occupation-a terrorized Bengali population being ruled by military force and crude police-state tactics. West Pakistan officials say everything is rapidly returning to normal. But the economy is woefully disrupted, factories are idle, school are closed, roads are mostly empty and towns are largely deserted. Millions of Bengalis, particularly Hindus and middleclass Moslems, are still hiding in the countryside. About 50,000 refugees are still fleeing to India each day. And army rule is being challenged by Bengali guerrilla forces (the Mukti Bahini, or Liberation Army) that seem to have massive support among the Bengali population. The guerrillas are still lacking in training and organization, but supplies and border sanctuaries are being provided by India.

Ten days of traveling across East Pakistan and talks with scores of diverse people here indicate that fourth stage eventually will be an independent East Pakistan. Bangladesh, or Bengal Nation. But clearly much more killing will take place before Bangladesh comes to pass.

No solution, including independence, holds any bright hopes for East Pakistan's predominantly peasant society, which, in accordance with the Mohammed's Prophet Instruction to "go forth and multiply," is propagating itself into starvation. Its 75 million people already are barely subsisting 1,600 to the square mile, and this population will double within 25 years. A half-million Bengalis were killed by a cyclone last fall. A half million more were born in 87 days. Perhaps only in East Pakistan could a disaster of the cyclones magnitude be overshadowed by a greater one-this civil war-only six months later.

### **Primitive conceptions of guilt**

Poverty, ignorance, and frustration have turned this conflict into Congo as well as an Algeria. Men are killing each other not only in the name of politics but also over race and religion. The Moslem philosophy of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is made more terrible by primitive conceptions of collective guilt's.

The army kills Bengalis. The non-Bengali minority of about two million (commonly called Biharis) backs the army. So Bengalis kill Biharis. The army and the Biharis see this as ample reason to butcher more Bengalis. The Hindu minority of about 10 million becomes a convenient army scapegoat and even some Bengali Moslems can be persuaded to join in their slaughter. Amid this chaos, various villages, gangs and individuals have been attacking each other for economic gain or to settle private scores.

These are the tales of some of the people encountered on a trip through East Pakistan. As with the doctor, the names of Bengalis and the towns in which they live are omitted. Bengalis in talking to a reporter fear for their lives. Most don't talk at all; in some towns not even beggars will approach a stranger. Normally among the world's most voluble people, the Bengalis now talk mostly with their eyes-eyes that look away in fear or that stare down in shame or that try to express meanings in furtive glances.

A lawyer and his sons have been fortunate. When one asks a Bengali how he is these days, he replies, "I am alive." The lawyer and his sons not only are alive but are living in their own home. They are also hiding in their own home, for they leave it only rarely. "It is too easy to be arrested on the street," the lawyer says. "A seven-year-old can point a finger at me and call me a miscreant, and I will be taken away."

Miscreant is the term the Pakistan army applies to all who oppose it. "All Bengalis are miscreants now," the lawyer's younger son says. He is a law student, but students are a special army target, and most are in hiding. The universities are closed. "What use would there be learning law anyway now that there is no law in our country?" the son asks.

It is evening, and the discussion is taking place in the lawyer's home. Before talking, he closes the wooden shutters on the windows. Then he has second thoughts-'someone who passes by may report a conspiracy' -and so the shutters are partly reopened.

They talk of "the troubles" of how, when word of the army's March 25 attack in Dacca reached this town, the Awami League took control. There was orderly rule under the Bangladesh flag until mid-April, when air-force planes strafed the town. People panicked. The Awami Leaguers and their military force, the Mukti Bahini, began to flee along with thousands of others. But it was several days before the army reached the town, and during that time angry Bengali mobs attacked and slaughtered hundreds of Biharis.

Relative to its actions elsewhere, the army, when it arrived, showed restraint. Most of the town remains undamaged, although much of it was looted by the army and its mobs. About half the population has returned and many shops have reopened, though not under former management. Hindu shopkeepers have disappeared, and Biharis and other army backers have taken over. And, as everywhere, the arrests continue.

Four Christian Bengalis are arrested by the army at a roadblock. Not many buses travel East Pakistan's roads these days and those that do are frequently stopped, and their passengers are lined up and searched. Few of the soldiers at these checkpoints speak any Bengali (Urdu is the language of West Pakistan), and so a common way of finding "miscreants" is to lift men's sarongs. Moslems are circumcised; Hindus aren't. Some West Pakistani soldiers came to East Pakistan thinking all Bengalis were Hindu. More sophisticated soldiers simply think that all Hindus are "miscreants," but then so are many Bengali Moslems. So it is all very confusing for the soldiers, and the four Christians are arrested..

### **For Christians, No Beatings**

They are taken to a military cantonment and beaten for several hours by interrogators who don't speak their language. A Westerner hears of their arrest and protests. So the matter comes to the attention of an army major, who summons the four Christians and offers apologies: "It is our policy not to beat Christians," he explains.

A shopkeeper, a thin Bengali with wire rimmed spectacles, glances out from his shop at two strangers walking down the deserted street. They enter the shop and inquire about "the troubles" in this town. The shopkeeper is visibly trembling "There is nothing I can say", he, replies Then he glances again at the flattened buildings lining the main streets and whispers, "Look around you." As the visitors leave, he adds, voice cracking, "I am ashamed I cannot...."

Further down the street a youth approaches. "The army destroyed our city. Many Bengalis are being arrested. They are being shot every night and thrown into the river. We no longer eat the fish from the river." he whispers.

The youth guides the strangers to the local hospital to talk to a surgeon." The surgeon is a Bengali but is employed by the government, which means he is particularly vulnerable. He is asked about killing in the city. "Killing? What killing? Killing by whom?" He is asked about general problems. "Problems? What problems? There are no problems."

### **Belaboring the obvious**

The visitors take their leave. Outside the hospital the youth whispers: "You have talked to the doctor, but I think he has concealed the truth. He is afraid." It is explaining the obvious.

A professor and his student are talking about the prospects of students returning to classes in early August, when the university is supposed to reopen. They are pessimistic. Some students are hiding in their homes, others have fled to outlying villages or to India. Some have joined the Mukti Bahini. The campus has been turned into a military camp, and troops are quartered in the dormitories, using books to fuel their cooking fires. "Would you come back?" the professor asks.

The student, a girl, has a room in a house that overlooks an army interrogation center. "All day the students, young boys, are brought in and beaten." she says. Three soldiers walk on them with boots. All night we hear the screams. I cannot sleep. We cannot stand to see and hear these things."

"Our army had a good reputation." the professor says. "We had a great army. But look what it has done. How can an army be great when it fights in an immoral cause?"

Two army majors are standing at a ferry landing on the east bank of the Ganges River. One is a frogman, the other one served in the camel corps. Both seem to be civilized and charming men. They explain that they are fighting a patriotic war to defend the integrity of their country against Indian agents, miscreants and misguided individuals. "We saw atrocities that made our blood boil. Had you seen them, even you would have wanted to kill," he says of a town where some Biharis were butchered by Bengalis. (The town was later leveled by the army and a far greater number of Bengalis were killed).

The majors are asked why so many Bengalis have fled, particularly Hindus. The answer is imaginative. They say that in April, before the army restored order. Hindus told Moslems that the "holy Koran is just an old book. So the Moslems came out of their



homes to defend the holy Koran and many Hindus fled." There has been much killing the camel-corps major grants. "The crocodiles have gotten fat, " says the frogman, glancing out at the Ganges.

But all is returning to normal, they say. and the Bengali people aren't afraid of the army. A ferry is landing, and a group of Bengali laborers, recruited by the army to reopen a jute mill, edges past the majors in single file. Each of them bows his head in a subservient salute as he passed the officers.

Not all army officers are as sympathetic as these majors. Western residents of one town tell of an army captain approaching a young Hindu girl and telling her to feel the barrel of his gun. "You feel it is still warms," he said. "From killing Hindus,1 he added, laughing -but not joking.

An old Bihari who served as a bearer in the British Indian army many years ago is now a waiter at a roadside hostel on the outskirts of a town more than half destroyed. He supports the army and thus isn't afraid to talk. He explains that for several April days, after the Awami League people fled but before the army arrived, things were bad for the Biharis. Mobs of Bengalis ran through the streets shouting (and he lapses into his old Indian-army English). "Kill the Bihari buggers, burn the Bihari buggers." Some Biharis were killed, he says, but most weren't. Then the army arrived. "The army kills many Bengali buggers." he says. "And the Hindu buggers, they run away to India. It is very bad days. Sahib."

A Hindu, one of the richest and most respected men in his community before the fighting, was a philanthropist who had built schools, hospitals and irrigation systems for the predominantly Moslem peasants in his area. He considered himself fully Pakistani. Although a Bengali, he hadn't backed the Awami League but rather had supported the more conservative and even anti-Hindu Moslem League.

### **The hunter becomes the hunted**

For nearly a month after the civil war began but before the army arrived in his area (and thus during the period Biharis were in danger from Bengalis), the Hindu sheltered two Biharis in his home. When mobs came looking for them, he protected them. But. with the arrival of the army, roles reversed, and Bengalis - particularly Hindu Bengali- became the hunted.

Hindu villages were burned by the army, and mobs were encouraged to plunder Hindu homes. Under army orders the local Hindu temple was smashed to the ground by men wielding sledgehammers'.

The Hindu and his family fled to the village hut of a friend, where they have been hiding for more than two months. His first daylight emergence from this hiding place was for a rendezvous with two reporters. He walked across the rice paddies in the late afternoon, dressed as a peasant and shielding his face with a black umbrella.

He hadn't fled to India like so many other Hindus because he hoped the army would move on and life might somehow return to what it had been before. But the army remains, Hindus are still being searched out and shot, and now it is too risky to try to reach the border from this area.

Only a few close friends know his hiding place. One of them is a Moslem League official, an influential man these days since many Moslem Leaguers are supporting the army. "He knows where I am hiding, but he dare not help me, the Hindu says. He believes that nearly all Moslem Bengalis sympathize with the Hindus. "But what can they do? They, too, are in danger and they are afraid."

All the Hindu's property is on an army list of "alien properties." In other areas it is called 'enemy properties,' but in either case it is scheduled to be confiscated and put up for auction. The Hindu talks much about losing his property- but the greater danger is losing his life.

"My Moslem friends tell me that Hindu bodies taken from the river are so disfigured from tortures that the faces cannot be identified," the Hindu says before picking up his umbrella and heading back across the fields to his hiding place.

### **A Headmaster Recites His Lesson**

The travelers visit a town near the India border. One of the last towns to be retaken by the army, it is heavily damaged and is still largely deserted. Here the local peace committee-a unit composed of some Bihari and conservative Bengali Moslem Leaguers who serve as the local eyes and ears of the army- assigns two youths to guide and shadow the visitors. 'Come to the school and talk to the Headmaster,' they say.

The headmaster, a middle-aged Bengali, sits behind his desk. The reporters sit facing him. And standing behind the reporters, also facing the Headmaster, are the young peace- committee shadows. In a faltering voice the Headmaster begins to recite statistics of school enrollment, dates when school house cornerstones were laid- anything uncontroversial. At the end of each sentence he glances up, past the reporters, to the shadows, like a schoolboy reciting his lessons to a teacher with a stick.

How was the school damaged? the reporters ask. "There was some strafing," he mumbles. Then, looking up at the teen-age shadows, he hurriedly adds, "and may be it was damaged by miscreants."

As the reporters and their shadows leave, the professor mumbles. "We are trying to hold together," and then he stares down at the ground.

**Peter R. Kami**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৭০। পাকিস্তানের ওপর একটি প্রস্তাব	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	৩০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

WASHINGTON POST, JULY 30, 1971

### Editorial

### A PROPOSAL ON PAKISTAN

In Pakistan the world is witnessing a holocaust unmatched since Hitler and "witnessing" the operative word. While hundreds of thousands have died and millions have fled, the world has done little but look on in paralyzed horror, sighing for the victims and offering the survivors among them alms but taking no effective measures to ameliorate even the incontrovertibly international aspect of the tragedy: the forced flight of terrorized Pakistan refugees to India. After the catastrophe of the Nigerian civil war, one might have hoped the international community would have been prepared in mental outlook, any way to prevent a repetition of it. But no.

The great nations with an interest in the sub-continent have been unwilling to halt their separate routine quests for national advantage merely of the sake of reducing the toll of human misery. The Russians are, perhaps, the least to be blamed; they did not have an important position in Pakistan and they have used its agony merely to consolidate their position in India. The Chinese on the other hand, have adopted a policy of totally craven expediency. They have rejected the Bengalis' cause of popular revolution against an unjust tyranny, and they have encouraged the oppression of the Bengalis by the Pakistani Government even to the point of offering to defend Pakistan against outside (meaning Indian) intervention.

*The American policy is for Americans even more regrettable for "strategic" reasons, which come down to on more than an outmoded habit of military alliance with Pakistan's the United States has kept up a flow of arms and has asked Congress for new economic- aid (so far denied) all this under the pro texts of gaining a friends leverage in order to steer the Pakistanis back on a moderate course.*

There has not been a whit of evidence, however, that the Pakistanis have paid any heed to whatever American urgings may have been privately conveyed. On the contrary the outpouring of refugees continues, at upwards of 20,000 a day and the United States is widely blamed for facilitating it.

What are the alternatives? One is an India-Pakistani war. This is far from unlikely, in view of the domestic pressures upon both Governments. Pakistan's policy of expelling its citizens across their border and India's policy of aiding Bengali insurgency movement could provide the spark for broader hostilities at practically any moment. Such a war would add new dimensions of despair to the sub-continent and it would intensify the political play on the Moscow Peking-Washington triangle.

But as well, a war would give U-Thant and the international community which he represents, an opening to deal with the basic problem of Pakistani cruelty. Everyone can see the death by starvation or cholera, in whatever numbers, and perhaps the greatest trans-border migration of peoples in modern history, and the imminent threat of war. Yet none of these has been adequate to mobilize Mr. Thant and the United Nations. But if a few people of one nationality were shot by a few soldiers of another, then the Security Council presumably would meet and the whole ponderous apparatus of international conciliation and problem-muffling might grind into gear.

The other alternative, as we see it, can only come either from an immediate joint appeal to Pakistan by the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China or from separate but parallel appeals from these three. They would have to ask and help Pakistan to take the steps necessary to restore normal conditions, difficult indeed impossible as that task may seem now. The mechanics of American-Soviet-Chinese pressure are hard for an outsider to imagine (hard for an insider, too, no doubt). Yet it is plain that together the three countries, and only they, have the requisite influence to induce Pakistan to change the course, and the problem is to find a way to bring it to bear.

There are, of course, a dozen reasons diplomats and politicians can give you why such a proposal is unrealistic, unworkable. Basically, it would require three extremely wary mutual rivals to collaborate, as they have never done, and to collaborate in an important arena of their rivalry. The argument for trying out the proposal though, is quite simple; it could spare 10 or 20 or 80 million people terrible additional suffering, not to say for many of them their lives. Forlorn or visionary as it truly be, on possibility for limiting the effects of the Pakistani tragedy ought to be abandoned out of hand. And if the United States is not to make a real and positive contribution, then at the least it ought to end its current policy of aid, however limited, to Pakistan.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৭১। যজ্ঞা এবং বিপদ (সম্পাদকীয়)	ক্রিস্টিয়ান সায়েন্স মনিটর	৩১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, JULY 31, 1971.*

### Editorial

## THE AGONY AND THE DANGER

We have been clinging as long as possible to the hope that somehow the government and people of Pakistan would grope their way back to a tolerable relationship between the two separate parts of their bleeding and burning country, but with the greatest regret we must face the prospect that it is now too late for reconciliation.

The official government of Pakistan four months ago unleashed a military fury upon the people of what was then known as East Pakistan. The results make up one of the horrors of history.

Some seven million people from East Pakistan have taken refuge in India from the ruthlessness of the West Pakistan Army. At least a quarter of a million people have died. Estimates range up to a million. Cholera has been rampant. Famine is now taking its toll both among refugees in India and among those still clinging to the wreckage of their homes and lives. The refugee problem in India is beyond the capacity of India.

One measure of the meaning what has happened is that people talking about the place where all this happened again call it Bengal, which is what it has been called down through the ages except for the few years from 1947 until now.

There was a theory, back in 1947, that because a majority of the people in the Punjab and in Bengal were Muslim these two segments of the subcontinent could be linked into a single nation although separated by 1,100 miles of territory under the Government of India.

It might have worked had the people of the two parts of the proposed new state of Pakistan been of the same language, race, and culture as they were of religion. It might have worked in practice had the fewer Punjabis been willing to let the more numerous Bengalis share fairly in the combined government and in the enjoyment of the two provinces.

But in practice the Punjabis have dominated the government and have taken the lion's share of the wealth of Bengal to the Punjab. The attempted union of the two-in-one state called Pakistan turned out in practice to mean the domination and the exploitation of the 75 million people of Bengal by the 56 million people of the Punjab, or West Pakistan.

The treatment of Bengal was a logical progression from history. The West Pakistanis of today descend from the Persian, Afghan, and Pathan hill tribes who came down from the mountains of the north-west some 800 years ago and imposed their rule and their Muslim religion on the physically smaller and less warlike peoples of the valley and delta of the Ganges.

But the two peoples never became one people in anything but religion. The Punjabis have always been the conquerors, the Bengalis the conquered.

Last March that status of conqueror and conquered was put to the test. The Bengalis won at the polls the right to take over the Government of Pakistan. They had the majority of the votes. But when it came to working out the constitutional consequences the Punjabis turned loose their Army in the middle of the night and being one of the great slaughters of history. It was an effort to reassert the conquest of 800 years ago.

Today, four months later, the Pakistan Army controls the main cities of Bengal, but not the countryside. Resistance is increasing. The guerrillas have been able twice to knock out the power stations serving Dacca, the capital. They frequently cut the rail lines from Dacca to other cities. The occupying Punjabi (West Pakistan) Army faces precisely the same prospect in Bengal that the Thieu regime in South Vietnam faced back before massive American intervention-the prospect of a pacification program stretching endlessly into the future.

This tragic and dreadful condition leaves everyone concerned with two problems. There is the immediate problem of how to put an end to the horror and misery in Bengal. The Punjabis must give up a military repression policy which is atavistic, self-defeating, and is bringing into being the very thing it was designed to prevent; the existence of a separate Bengal.

But it very much seems that this can happen only if some progress might be made toward the solution of the larger problem; the problem of the relations of the great powers to Pakistan.

There is no effective pressure on the official government of Pakistan as Islamabad to abate the terror in Bengal because China and the United States have chosen not to risk intervention whereas Russia is becoming the main outside friend of India. Washington refuses to do anything which might alienate Gen. Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan who was involved in the breakthrough in Sino-U.S. relations. The Chinese, naturally, cling to their advantage in Pakistan. And everyone is aware of how dangerous an apple of discord in independent Bengal would be. It could trigger a war between Russia and China.

The theoretical solution is easy. All it requires would be an agreement between Russia, China, the United States, and India that Bengal should be free and untroubled by either China or Russia.

That's "all" it would take, but getting it appears to be presently impossible, China must be greatly tempted at the possibility of acquiring control of the Ganges basin with an outlet on the Indian Ocean, Russia certainly would go to great lengths to prevent any such thing.

Meanwhile war could break out again between India and Pakistan at any moment. It is almost more than India can bear to have so many of its Hindu kinfolk being killed by Punjabi Muslims just over the border.

India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, deserves highest marks for her own restraint and the restraint she has imposed upon her generals.

But the fragile peace which still prevails among the surrounding powers is being bought at the price of the misery of the Bengal people.

The only faint hope we can see for a long-term settlement would be from a meeting of those countries with vital interests in the result. Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China has proposed to President Nixon a conference to consider the Vietnam problem. A conference which included China, Russia, India, and the United States could also do some quiet work on the side about Bengal and Pakistan.

The tragedy and the danger underline the need for a new "concert of the great powers". Nothing else has ever yet been invented which could manage a problem of such proportions and complexities.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৭২। মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের দায়িত্ব	সেন্ট লুই পোস্ট ডিসপ্যাচ বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস ১ম খণ্ড	১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH. AUGUST 1, 1971*  
**OBLIGATIONS IN PAKISTAN**

"It is the most incredible, calculated thing since the days of the Nazis in Poland," reports a high United States official on the situation in East Pakistan. The statistics are staggering: At least 200,000 and possibly as many as 700,000 dead; more than 6,500,000 refugees in India, with additional millions displaced within East Pakistan; more than 50,000 a day still crossing into India; thousands still dying, the victims of hunger, disease and the Bayonets of the West Pakistan army.

This has been going on four months, since the military forces of the dominant Western portion of the divided country moved with weapons, supplied over the years by the United States, to crush an uprising in the East. At first the rebels wanted little more than fair representation in the government. Now there is growing guerrilla resistance, with apparent help for the rebels by India and there is increasing doubt whether Pakistan can ever be reunited. It may be that in the end the Bengalis of East Pakistan and India will together create a new state of "Bangladesh".

The role of the United States in this Asian crisis leaves much to be desired, to say the least. As one observer put it, the U.S. seems to be doing enough to earn the enmity of the Bangalis but not enough to win West Pakistan's friendship. This is the result of a policy of equivocation by which we castigate the West Pakistanis for what they are doing in the East, withhold economic assistance even while the country is starving, and continue to send arms to the central government on the perverted assumption that it is in this country's "strategic interests" to do so.

If strategic interests are of primary concern, then the top priority is to bring the conflict to an end and to divert Washington's resources toward reconstruction of East Pakistan. Only destructive purposes will be served by continued dispatch of arms. Washington's excuse that the shipments (not actually on a decisive scale) are no more than fulfilling terms of agreements made between Pakistan and the United States before the hostilities simply won't stand up. As Senator Symington has said: "We have continued these shipments not because we were powerless to stop them, but because we decided not to stop them." The U.S. must decide otherwise.

The human misery being chronicled in the American press is a reminder that, contrary to Santayana's warning, man does not have to forget history in order to repeat it. Most of the world remembers the silence while millions of civilians perished at the hands of the Nazis. There was the excuse that no one knew what was going on in the concentration camps. The slaughter and torment of the East Pakistanis may not be comparable to the systematic extermination of the Jews, but it is bad enough. And no one can say, "I didn't know."



It seems to us the United States is obligated to give a great deal more assistance to the unfortunates in East Pakistan and across the border in India, and to insist that the West Pakistan army withdraw from the East. It is too late for constructive measures that could have been taken weeks ago; it may even be too late to prevent the conflict from developing into a wider struggle. But it surely cannot be too late to help the miserable.

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch-August I. 1971)

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৭৩। ভিয়েতনাম যুদ্ধের মত	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUN DA Y. AUGUST 1, 1961*

**East Pakistan:  
SHADES OF THE VIETNAM WAR**

Dacca. Pakistan-The Government's army is largely confined to the towns and roads. The guerrilla rebels in the countryside get help from across the border. A clandestine radio transmitter reports "liberation army" successes and predicts eventual victory.

A visitor to East Pakistan can drive" through much of the region without observing anything abnormal. Yet many foreign diplomatic observers have been tempted to compare the Bengali situation with the opening phase of the Vietnam war, and some of the parallels-such as those listed above-are unmistakable.

Neighboring India from the outset has provided a haven, training and material support for the Bengali rebels, as North Vietnam did for the Vietcong. Even the lush, rice growing terrain of the Ganges River Delta, making up most of East Pakistan, is similar to that of the Mekong River delta in Vietnam. Rebel posters blossom briefly in Dacca and other towns, warning civilians to leave before the Liberation Army (Mukti Bahini) opens a bloody new offensive.

But if a guerrilla war in East Pakistan is under way, it has a long way to go before reaching the level of effectiveness seen in East Asia during the past few decades. Behind the volume of propaganda on all sides, not very much seems to be happening.

Some kind of war is unfolding in East Pakistan. At least a few people are getting killed and many others are suffering. But in this passion-wrenched land it is as difficult to verify a fact as it is to find a dry place to stand in the current monsoon rains.

Along East Pakistan's eastern border, Pakistani and Indian artillery thunder away at each other, and both sides have augmented their forces in the region during the past week. Military men and ordinary people expect a surge in violence during the next few weeks, possibly timed to coincide with Pakistan's national day of August 15.

The 60-mile road between Dacca and the important frontier garrison of Comilla is open. There is little to show that the Government is having any difficulty maintaining this strategic link. One mine was planted on the road recently, and the rebels dynamited a key bridge on the road, but traffic was detoured over a rickety wooden bridge a few hundred yards away.

In Dacca, guerrillas have made their presence felt during the past two weeks by knocking out the city gas supply and damaging the electricity supply badly enough so that there are frequent blackouts. There are nightly sounds of explosions and gunfire. Neighborhoods that were blasted and burned out in March are still flat. But Dacca is again full of people, rickshaws and commerce and looks as though it is nearly back to normal.

In many populous areas in the countryside crops are growing, and It there are serious food shortages they are not evident.

The political background to this strife is easy enough to trace. East and West Pakistan, separated from each other by 900 miles of Indian territory, share a belief in the Muslim faith but little else. The Bengalis of the east speak a different language from the Urdu of the west they have different cultural and social traditions and even look different. The Bangalis have long regarded the Punjabi of West Pakistan as economic exploiters of the eastern region.

Latent Bengali yearning for autonomy from West Pakistan came to a head last March and some Bengali leaders called for outright secession and the creation of a new Bengali nation, Bangladesh. On March 25, West Pakistan's army-East Pakistani military units had joined the rebels-moved into Bengal as an invasion force. They have applied an iron hand to the administration of the region ever since.

Just how many persons were killed in the process remains one of the many persisting controversies. The Government forces have never disclosed their own estimates, saying only that "enemy dead are not counted; they are thrown into the river." Estimates range all the way from 10,000 to several hundred thousand killed. In any case. West Pakistan's three regular divisions now control every aspect of life in East Pakistan, apart from hinterland zones they do not take the trouble to occupy.

And the prevailing impression remains one of despair on the part of the Bengalis rather than challenge. For many observers here, the saddest and most significant fact is that somewhere near seven million people have fled to India, and the refugee flood continues.

**-Malcolm W. Browne**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৭৪। জাতিসংঘের সাহায্য দল	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1971*  
**U. N. TO SEND TEAM TO EAST PAKISTAN**  
**U. S. Wins Acceptance by Thant and Yahya on Plan for**  
**153-Man Relief Unit.**  
*By Benjamin Welles*  
**Special to The New York Times**

Washington. July 31- The United States, working behind the scenes, has won the agreement of both Pakistan and the United Nations to station an international group of 156 civilian relief and rehabilitation experts under United Nations sponsorship in East Pakistan, officials said today.

Moreover, they said. United States has notified U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, that it will contribute \$ 1 -million at once as an initial payment to help the group organize and fly necessary equipment to Dacca.

Among the United Nations staff will be 73 monitors, who will be stationed at four area offices in Dacca, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Khulna and at 69 other locations. Each monitor will be linked by radio with a United Nations headquarters in Dacca, qualified informants said.

"The presence of" 73 U. N. monitors, each reporting on conditions in his area, may cool off passions and damp down military reprisals," one informant said. "It's not the U. N. function to do this-but it will be an important side effect."

On March 25. President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan ordered the Pakistani Army- predominantly composed of troops from West Pakistan -to intervene in predominantly Bengali East Pakistan and suppress widespread demands for political autonomy. Since then, the army's actions have led to widespread loss of life, property damage and economic dislocation and the flight of some seven million refugees into adjoining India. One official today described the agreement of Mr. Thant and of President Yahya to the proposals for a United Nations group, in East Pakistan as "the only ray of sunshine in an otherwise gloomy situation."

Pakistan's agreement to the United Nations force is said to have been inspired largely by unrelenting but unpublicized United States pressure. In recent years the United States has contributed about \$200-million out of the \$450-million a year in economic aid to Pakistan by an international consortium headed by the World Bank.

*Request from Pakistan*

On May 24, President Yahya asked the United Nations for recommendations. His formal approval to the plan is expected momentarily.

World Bank and other sources said today that recruiting for the new group has been under way for several weeks. According to these sources, the first contingent will comprise 38 members of a headquarters staff to be sent to Dacca.

A second contingent will comprise 45 members of specialized agencies. Unicef, the United Nations children's agency, for example, will send 18; the food and agriculture organization. 2; the World Food Program will send 13 and the world health organization 12. The third contingent-the radio-equipped monitors-will be made up of what are being called the United Nations "field personnel" Ismet Kittani, an Iraqi national who is Assistant Secretary General for Inter-Agency Affairs, is Mr. Thant's deputy in charge of recruiting and dispatching the new force from United Nations headquarters in New York. Baghat el-Tawil, an Egyptian who is Mr. Thant's personal representative in Dacca, will direct the operations in East Pakistan.

### **Thant 'Out on a Limb'**

"The U.N. has no machinery and no budget for international disaster relief operations," one source said. "U Thant has gone out on 'a limb. That's why the U.S. has agreed to contribute an initial \$1-million to get this thing moving.'

Other sources said that the expenses for the group might reach \$3-million to \$4-million in its first six months of operation. The United States is hoping that other nations will contribute.

The Agency for International Development was said to have radios and other equipment on hand for dispatch by air once the Pakistani Government's formal approval is received. The agency has six staff members based in Dacca and is also reported ready to contribute technical assistance to the United Nations force.

Informants stressed that the United Nations force would concern itself primarily with helping the Pakistani authorities alleviate the threat of starvation and disease and with rehabilitating homes and shelter for millions who have either fled into the countryside to escape the army's reprisals or whose homes have been wrecked.

They will also help Pakistan restore communications and remobilize the province's private fleet of 40,000 river boats and 10,000 trucks.

"The U.N. itself won't operate anything, but it will provide coaching and technical assistance and help restore confidence in the East Pakistani administration," one informant said.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৭৫। একটি জাতিকে হত্যা করা হচ্ছে	নিউজ উইক	২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, AUGUST 2, 1971

### BENGAL: THE MURDER OF A PEOPLE

It seemed a routine enough request. Assembling the young men of the village of Haluaghat in East Pakistan, a Pakistan Army major informed them that his wounded soldiers urgently needed blood. Would they be donors? The young men lay down on makeshift cots, needles were inserted in their veins-and then slowly the blood was drained from their bodies until they died.

Govinda Chandra Mandal forgets who told him first, but when he heard that an amnesty had been pledged to all refugees, he immediately set off on the long walk home. With his two teenage daughters by his side, Chandra Mandal trudged through monsoon- drenched swamp lands and past burned-out villages. When he neared his scrap of land, soldiers stopped him. As he watched in helpless anguish, his daughters were raped-again and again.

He was about 2 years old, and mother was still in her teens. They sat on ground made muddy by the steady drizzle of the summer rains. The baby's stomach was grotesquely distended, his feet swollen, his arm no thicker than a man's finger. His mother tried to coax him to eat some rice and dried fish. Finally, the baby mouthed the food feebly, wheezed and died.

Few people seem more alien to Westerners than the Pakistanis. When thousands of them perish in various natural disasters that regularly plague their country, the newspaper accounts of their suffering have a curious unreality. And yet today, no one can escape the nightmare vision of Pakistan's civil war: a quarter of a million Bengalis dead, another 6 million or more driven into desperate exile as the result of a deliberate effort to terrorise an entire people. It is as if a city the size of Bonn (Germany), had been obliterated and the population of London made suddenly homeless. Even in a world jaded by war and atrocity, suffering on that scale still...as a sickening shock.

And there is more to it than that. Far more horrifying than the prospect that Pakistan may destroy itself are the signs that its brutal civil war could spark yet another, wider conflict between Moslem Pakistan and its arch enemy Hindu India. Last week, Pakistan's President Mohammed Yahya Khan angrily declared that if India expands its surreptitious support of Bangladesh, as the secessionist Bengal nation is known, "I shall declare a happen, Pakistan's ally. China, and India's ally. Russia, would be hard pressed to avoid involvement. And the United States could be faced with the dangerous necessity to choose sides.

Already, (the realities of geopolitics have confronted the U.S. with the thankless task of choosing between strategic and humanitarian considerations. Straining to preserve its influence with Yahya's government, yet anxious to help the suffering Bengalis, America has succeeded only in embroiling itself in a bitter controversy. Last week that controversy was intensified when Sen. Edward Kennedy disclosed the contents of confidential messages from U.S. diplomats in Pakistan. "Spectre Of Famine Hangs Over East Pakistan", read one cable. "Prospects For Averting Widespread Hunger. Suffering And Perhaps Starvation Not Repeat Not Good". Kennedy's clear implication was that Nixon Administration was seeking to cover up the magnitude of the Bengali tragedy. And. Not content with that, he went on to intimate that the U.S. had plans to send police teams to East Pakistan to help Yahya's Punjabi soldiers suppress Bengali resistance.

### **Two Divergent Cultures**

Such a cold-blooded move, should it overcome to pass, would ensnare the U.S. in one of the most intractable racial and cultural conflicts of modern times. Physically and politically, Pakistan is unique among the world's nations. Its populated eastern region is separated from the western region by more than 1000 miles of Indian territory. It is a nation of two radically divergent cultures, of two totally different peoples who have despised each other through history. The lighter skinned, aggressive Punjab is of West Pakistan scorn the Bengalis, whose rich rice land and lucrative jute crops have paid Pakistan's bills ever since the founding of the country in 1947. Bengalis regard the Punjabis as barbarians-and. to make matters worse, oppressive barbarians who have monopolized ' Pakistan's government and army. Snapped one Bengali leader, "We have never been anything but a colony of the west".

Chafing after decades of subjugation, the Bengalis responded with frenzied enthusiasm when their fiery, leonine hero. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, led them to the polls last December in Pakistan's free elections after twelve years of military rule. Spurred on by the flamboyant oratory of Mujib (as his worshipful call him), the Bengalis voted in such numbers that Mujib and his Awami League won an absolute majority of seats in the country's new National Assembly. Suddenly it seemed that Bengal's time had come. But as it turned out, Mujib's platform of economic and diplomatic autonomy for the east was too great a threat, to be endured by Punjabi leaders. Unwilling to play second fiddle to Mujib, West Pakistan's most popular politician, the left-leaning Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, refused to participate in the new Parliament. And in the end President Yahya abruptly postponed the opening of the assembly indefinitely.

### **Plans for Slaughter**

Within hours of Yahya's decree, Mujib proclaimed a general strike in East Pakistan. To this day, Pakistani officials maintain that Yahya personally appealed to Mujib for a compromise that would heal the nation's wounds. But most observers believe that Yahya had other plans all the while. Weeks before the Yahya-Mujib meeting actually took place, the President and his right-hand man, Lt.-Gen. Tikka Khan, were already mapping out plans for Mujib's arrest, the dissolution of the Awami League and the slaughter of nationalists.

Known as "the bomber of Baluchistan" for his indiscriminate use of air and artillery strikes in crushing a local tribal revolt in 1965, Tikka Khan, apparently persuaded Yahya to buy time for the army to build up its strength in Bengal. Accordingly, Yahya made his bid for discussions with Mujib. And while the two leaders talked-and Bengalis as well as the world at large looked for a compromise (that might save Pakistan-the army pulled off a logistics coup. Flying the long over-water route around southern India with Boeing- 707s commandeered from Pakistan International Airlines, the army doubled its troops strength in Bengal to 60,000 men. When Tikka gave the word that all was ready. Yahya flew out of Dacca. And that very night, the bomber of Baluchistan unleashed his troops.

Under instructions to strike brutally on the theory that a savage surprise attack would snuff out resistance quickly, the army obeyed its orders with a vengeance. Tanks crashed through the streets of East Pakistan's capital of Dacca, blasting indiscriminately at men and buildings. With cold ferocity, Punjabi soldiers machine-gunned clusters of citizens, while others set fire to slum 'busthes' throughout the city. Soon, the city was littered with bodies and the campus of Dacca University-a hot-bed of secessionism-was a bloody shambles.

Throughout that blood-drenched night and in the days and weeks that followed, the carnage continued. And the massacres were not limited to Dacca but were carried on throughout the country-side as well. After a desperate visit to his native village on the Indian border, a sobbing Bengali journalist told how the land had been devastated: "I passed through a dozen villages which had been burned and deserted, with bodies everywhere being eaten by crows. The smell! The horror! I kept praying it would not be like that at my village. But it was. The village was just a mass of charred rubble and corpses. My wife and child were missing. There was just one old lady alive and she could no longer talk. She just sat on the ground, shaking and moaning."

With the passing of time, the magnitude of the slaughter has diminished, but there has been no lessening in the brutality of the Pakistani army. Last week, Newsweek's Loren Jenkins, who was in Dacca the night that Gen. Tikka Khan's troops launched their campaign of murder, cabled the following report on conditions in East Pakistan now:

Four months after the first flush of bloodletting, East Pakistan still lives in fear. But instead of being the cowering, groveling fear that the army sought to instill, it is a sullen fear tinged with quiet defiance and hate. It is a fear based on the appreciation of a very harsh reality, not a fear that marks people of broken spirit. Walking along a Dacca street recently, I met a journalist I had known before. Our eyes met and he nodded, but he appeared embarrassed. Glancing nervously all around, he muttered, "My God, my God, civilized man cannot describe the horror that has been done". An hour later another friend explained: "We have been ordered not to talk to foreign journalists. We are scared. We live in terror of the mid-night knock 011 the door. So many people have been killed. So many more have disappeared. And more vanish every night".

One who vanished in the night was Mujib, who is now reportedly held in prison in the western garrison town of Mianwali. A hero before. Mujib has now become a martyr. For all his conspicuous faults, he has become the symbol of Bengali patriotism. Yet



Yahya, almost boastfully, told a recent visitor, "My generals are pushing for a military trial for Mujib and for his execution. I have agreed and the trial will be held soon". No policy could be more short-sighted or more likely to harden Bengali resistance. As one western diplomat told me, "Yahya is simply out of his mind. He still does not even understand what his army had done. He thinks they can kill off a couple of hundred thousand people, try Mujib for treason, force a return to order and all will be forgotten. This is utter nonsense. These people will not forget".

### **Guerrilla Resistance**

Indeed, the minds of Bengalis are emblazoned with the memories of these months of terror. Despite the terror signs of resistance to the army creep up everywhere. In Dacca, street urchins hawking the local papers slip mimeographed communiqués from the Government-in-exile into the newspapers. On ferry boats in the countryside, where all passengers are under the watchful eyes of the army, strangers slide up and whisper of massacres or point out areas in the dense Madhupur Jungle where the "Mukti Bahini" or Liberation Army, is hiding. All over the country, the resistance is rapidly taking on the earmarks of a classic guerrilla war. And East Pakistan is ideal guerrilla terrain reminiscent of South Vietnam's Mekong Delta—a labyrinth of sunken paddies, jute fields and banana groves.

That the Mukti Bahini are capitalizing on their few assets is brought home daily. They have cut the key railroad to Dacca from the port of Chittagong and have also severed the parallel road. More than 60 per cent of the interior food supplies move over those routes and there is virtually no prospect of restoring them until peace is also restored. The rebel's recent coup in blowing up three power stations in Dacca has underscored the point that no city or village is safe from their campaign to bring the economy to a halt. Most important, however, is the fact that the rebels now seem to be winning what every guerrilla needs—the support of the populace. Two months ago, villagers in Noakhali province pleaded with the Mukti Bahini not to blow up a bridge because it would bring army retaliation. Last week, those same villagers sought the guerrillas and asked them to destroy the bridge.

To be sure, the guerrillas are no match for the federal army. While they have rallied some 20,000 Bengali fighters to their cause (and expect another 10,000 recruits to join them next month after clandestine training in India), the inadequately armed rebels still face 60,000 well-equipped professional soldiers. And despite its coven aid, India has cautiously hesitated to recognize the Bangladesh government-in-exile. One reason for this restraint is the genuine and costly problem the New Delhi government faces in caring for the 6 million Bengali refugees now in India. NEWSWEEK'S Tony Clifton who has reported the anguish of the refugees since the beginning of Pakistan's civil war, filed this report last week from Calcutta:

The strain on India has become almost unbearable. The refugees are still swarming across the border in hordes ranging as high as 40,000 a day, and as P. N. Luthra. The former Indian Army Officer in charge of the refugee program told me, "I am now responsible for the care of a small country". It is costing India \$3 million a day to feed.

clothe, house and provide vital medicine for the Bengalis, a financial drain that is crippling to the already marginal Indian economy. Worse yet, lack of available funds has meant a shortage of virtually everything in the refugee camps-and the inevitable result has been suffering, disease and death. To Luthra, the only conceivable resolution of the tragedy is for the world to put the utmost pressure on Pakistan to stop the carnage so the Bengalis will feel safe in going home.

Yet for all their suffering, the Bengalis themselves maintain their stoicism. It is the monsoon season in India, but the monsoon here is not like the great monsoons of Hollywood. Instead of roaring and thundering, the rain falls softly and steadily, dribbling through the canvas tents to soak the refugees, turn earth floors to mud and flood inadequate drains. But the refugees stand patiently calf deep in stagnant water, eager to tell me their stories so I can tell others. I collect a notebook of horror-rape and murder and kidnapping. They tell me how they saw their children stabbed, their husbands or brothers executed, their wives collapse with fatigue or sickness. The stories are all new, and all the same. And I remember Luthra's plaintive question. "How can we think the human race is evolving to a higher level when it lets this go on?"

As the military repression and the guerrilla sabotage goes on, it poses ever-increasing threat to the future of Pakistan itself. Already, experts say, the country's economy is a shambles. Since the fighting began, exports have plummeted, the vital jute crops that are Pakistan's biggest foreign exchange earner rot unharvested, and the vast consumer market of the eastern region on which West Pakistan's factories lived has vanished along with the refugees and rebels. "In short, Yahya's government faces the genuine danger of bankruptcy," warns a Western economist in Dacca. Equally genuine is the danger of mass starvation. "Unless something is done soon," the same economist adds, "there is going to be a faming here that will make all the prior suffering look like nothing." "But in the end, the greatest threat to Pakistan is the flaring hatred that Yahya's army has spawned." "Pakistan died in March" says a Karachi editor. "The only way this land can be held together is by the bayonet and the torch. But that is not unity that is slavery. There can never be one nation in the future, only two enemies."

### **Threat Of War**

The area already has enemies enough. In recent weeks, Islamabad and New Delhi have traded insults and accusations at a dizzying rate and there is a real possibility that angry words may escalate into war. Indeed, some Indians even claim to see an economic motive for going to war; according to the Institute for Studies in New Delhi, it would be cheaper for India to fight Pakistan than to continue to care for millions of Bengali refugees. "It had not come to that yet" sighed one U.S. official last week. "But India has considered a military thrust apparently very seriously." And Pakistan, too, has weighed the use of force against its neighbor in retaliation for India's support of the Mukti Bahini.

The gravest danger from any such hostilities is the possibility that Communist China and Russia would become involved, Chinese Premier, Chou-En Lai has

denounced "Indian expansionists" and has promised Yahya that Peking would support the Pakistanis "in their just struggle to safeguard their state sovereignty" And Chou could hardly translate his pledge into action-by ordering Chinese troops stationed along the Indian border to provoke skirmishes, or by infiltrating "advisers" to reinforce the Pakistani army. Pakistan has some promises from Peking to take military action of its own should war begin, warns a U.S. diplomat and India is trying to extract some counterbalancing promise of military aid from Russia. That could lead to- catastrophe.

### **An Agonizing Choice**

Any such involvement by the two Communist superpowers would confront the United States with a cruel dilemma. Pakistan, despite the undeniable brutality of its policy toward the Bengalis, is a long-standing American ally and a country that the U.S. is desperately trying to keep out of Peking's sphere of influence. At the same time, India is Asia's biggest nation with a democratic tradition dating back to Gandhi and Nehru and, as such, occupies a special position in the U. S. portfolio of friendly nations. To choose between the two would be agonizing. One U.S. analyst of foreign affairs, drafting a scenario for U. S. actions should a subcontinent war break out, remarked: "Our first move obviously would be to try to play the peacemaker, much as Russia did at Tashkent in, 1966 during the last Indo-Pakistan war. If that failed, the U.S. might be able to sit it out, so long as Russia and China were involved only as suppliers of the two combatants. But if they got directly engaged, it would then be almost impossible for Washington to remain aloof. We would have to gamble on one side or the other, give them at least the logistical aid they needed and hope we had chosen the winner."

Rhetoric and contingency plans aside, none of the world's three great powers wants to embroil itself militarily in the Indian subcontinent. But that does not rule out the possibility that they could become involved against their will. In the meantime, the future of Pakistan and, possibly, the lives of millions of other Asians, depends on Yahya Khan. And at the moment the Pakistani President remains determined not to relent-ignoring the fact that he may be creating out of nationalist guerrillas the core of a potential Communist insurgency. "The tragedy of Pakistan really is that Yahya is oblivious to what he is doing, oblivious to the cost of the actions", a diplomat in Islamabad remarked somberly last week. "There is only one man alive who could save Pakistan now, and that is Mujib. Yahya vows that Mujib must die. But the day he hangs by the neck. Pakistan will hang with him."

### **The Politics Of Relief**

If some Americans are still only vaguely aware of the plight of the Bengali refugees. Beatles George Harrison and Ringo Starr intend to pound the message home this week. In their first public appearance together since the famous rock group split up, George and

Ringo plan a benefit performance at New York's Madison Square Garden, with all proceeds to go to homeless Bengali children. And theirs is only one of many efforts-by the International Rescue Committee, Catholic Relief Services, UNICEF and Americans for Children Relief among others-designed to stir the U.S. conscience over the genocidal civil war in Pakistan.

Many private citizens now involved in Bengali relief are veterans of similar operations during the Biafran tragedy two years ago. And most are dismayed that, unlike the rescue of Biafran children, which aroused such widespread sympathy, world reaction to the Bengali refugee emergency seems almost apathetic by comparison. Ironically, the sheer magnitude of the suffering in East Pakistan may, in itself, be partly to blame. "Bengali refugees must now form the largest group of displaced persons in the world", said Dr. Daniel L. Weiner, who recently returned from a fact-finding tour for the IRC. "It is a problem that has to be dealt with on an international scale, no private effort can possibly handle this load. Private agencies can only alleviate some aspects of the mess. But the very size of the problem seem to paralyze people-it's not so much a lack of interest as a feeling of helplessness."

### **Busy**

To the extent that any organized international effort has been mounted to alleviate Bengal's misery, the V.S. government can take credit. Washington has committed \$ 70.5 million to the aid of East Pakistani refugees in India as compared with \$ 11 million from the Soviet Union. More than 360.000 tons of U.S. food-grains are in the transport pipeline to East Pakistan. For the present according to V.S. specialists, the threat of mass starvation in the region is not due to any lack of supplies put to poor distribution. Though the U.S. has given Pakistan \$ 2 million to charter relief ships, the Pakistan Army has used most of them so far to transport troops and ammunition. "They are so damned busy trying to re-establish their control over East Pakistan," snapped a State Department aide, "that they haven't looked beyond their own noses."

Such complaints suggest that Washington has had little success in influencing President Mohammed Yahya Khan to moderate his policies. Yet the Nixon Administration has justified its aid to the Yahya regime mainly on the ground that such support will give Washington leverage over Islamabad. In the face of mounting domestic criticisms of that policy, however, the U.S. has recently begun to waffle. In requesting a total of \$ 131.5 million in aid to Pakistan next year, the State Department recently promised Congress that the money would be held back until Pakistan begins to minister to its homeless millions. But skeptical observers recalled that the U.S. slapped a similar ban on military aid to Pakistan last April-only to have it emerge later on that Pakistani freighters were still hauling V.S. supplied ammunition and spare parts, ordered before the ban took effect, back to Karachi. And last week Senator Stuart Symington charged that the ban was still full of holes. The Administration said Symington, was guilty of "semantics, ambiguous statements on the public records without clarification and no effort to present the actual facts until pressed to do so."

### Strategic

Privately, U.S. diplomats concede that, above all else, Washington is trying to maintain good relations with Pakistan out of strategic considerations. One diplomat warned against the end of an American influence on Pakistan. "Our influence has vanished" he argued, "the area could become a playground for the Soviet Union and china." Added a colleague with startling bluntness: "We are more interested in stability than morality at the moment ...Right now the chance for Stability, slim as it is seems to lie with Yahya".

Yet, the price of a cold geopolitical approach, to the problem may itself prove to be unacceptable in the end. For one thing. Washington's calculated reluctance to bring added pressures on Islamabad by openly cutting off aid put it at odds with the World Bank and the other members of an eleven-nation consortium, all of whom have deferred development programs in Pakistan until the government in Islamabad works out a "political accommodation" with the eastern region. (Even the World Bank, however, has not been able to escape the controversy swirling around Pakistan, after World Bank President Robert McNamara tried to suppress a critical report drafted by a team of investigators who recently visited Pakistan. The New York Times got hold of the documents and splashed it on its front page). Subsequently McNamara sent a letter to the Pakistani Government apologizing for the news leak.

Moreover, Washington's equivocation has already enraged India, where most officials are convinced that Yahya could not continue his policy of repression without outside help. "Supply of arms to Pakistan by any country in the present context amounts to condoning genocide in Bangladesh," charges India's Foreign Minister Swaran Singh. "It could have an impact on Indo-U.S. bilateral relations as well". Thus rightly or wrongly, the Administration's pragmatic stand on the Pakistani question has promoted an impression of official U. S. indifference to the human agony of a strife-torn-land-an impression that is at odds with the traditional image of a concerned and compassionate America.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সোনার বাংলা ধ্বংস অভিযান	টাইম	২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*TIME MAGAZINE, AUGUST 2, 1971*  
**THE RAVAGING OF GOLDEN BENGAL.**

Over the rivers and down the highways and along countless jungle paths, the population of East Pakistan continues to hemorrhage into India; an endless unorganized flow of refugees with a few tin kettles, cardboard boxes and ragged clothes piled on their heads, carrying their sick children and their old. They pad along barefooted, with the mud sucking at their heels in the wet parts. They are silent, except for a child whimpering now and then, but their faces tell the story. Many are sick and covered with sores. Others have cholera, and when they die by the roadside there is no one to bury them. The Hindus, when they can, put a hot coal in the mouths of their dead or singe the body in lieu of cremation. The dogs, the vultures and the crows do the rest. As the refugees pass the rotting corpses, some put pieces of cloth over their noses.

The column pushing into India never ends, day or night. It has been four months since civil war broke out between East and West Pakistan, and the refugees still pour in. No one can count them precisely, but Indian officials, by projecting camp registrations, calculate that they came at the rate of 50,000 a day. Last week the estimated total passed the 7,500,000 mark. Should widespread famine hit East Pakistan, as now seems likely. India fears that the number may double before the exodus ends.

Hundreds of thousands of these are still wandering about the countryside without food and shelter. Near the border, some have taken over schools to sleep in; others stay with villagers or sleep out in the fields and under the trees. Most are shepherded into refugee camps where they are given ration cards for food and housed in makeshift sheds of bamboo covered with thatched or plastic roofing. Though no one is actually starving in the camps, food is in short supply, particularly powdered milk and baby food.

### **No More Tears**

Life has been made even more miserable for the refugees by the monsoon rains, that have turned many camps into lagoons. Reports Dr. Methis Bromberger, a German physician working at a camp outside Calcutta, "There were thousands of people standing out in the open here all night in the rain. Women with babies in their arms. They could not lie down because the water came up to their knees in places. There was not enough shelter, and in the morning there were always many sick and dying of pneumonia. We could not get our serious cholera cases to the hospital. And there was no one to take away the dead. They just lay around on the ground or in the water. High pressure syringes have speeded vaccination and reduced the cholera threat, but camp health officials have already counted about 5,000 dead, and an estimated 35,000 have been stricken by the convulsive vomiting and diarrhea, that accompany the disease. Now officials fear that

pneumonia, diphtheria and tuberculosis will also begin to exact a toll among the weakened refugees. Says one doctor: The people are not even crying anymore."

Perhaps because what they flee from is even worse. Each has his own horror story of rape, murder or other atrocity committed by the Pakistani army in its effort to crush the Bengali independence movement. One couple tells how soldiers took their two grown-up sons outside the house, bayoneted them in the stomach and refused to allow anyone to go near the bleeding boys, who died hours later. Another woman says that when the soldiers came to her door, she hid her children in her bed; but seeing them beneath the blanket the soldiers opened fire, killing two and wounding another. According to one report from the Press Trust of India (P.T.I.). SO refugees recently fled into a jute field near the Indian border when they heard a Pakistani army patrol approaching. "Suddenly a six month old child in its mother's lap started crying," said the P.T.I. report. "Failing to make the child silent and apprehending that the refugees might be attacked, the woman throttled the infant to death".

### **Cordon of Fire**

The evidence of the bloodbath is all over East Pakistan. Whole sections of cities lie in ruins from shelling and aerial attacks. In Khalishpur, the northern suburb of Khulna, naked children and haggard women scavenge the rubble where their homes and shops once stood. Stretches of Chittagong's Hizari Lane and Maulana Showkat Ali Road have been wiped out. The central bazar in Jessore is reduced to twisted masses of corrugated tin and shattered walls. Kushtia a city of 40,CXW) now looks, as a World Bank team, reported, "like the morning after a nuclear attack". In Dacca, where soldiers set sections of the Old City ablaze with flame-throwers and then machine-gunned thousands as they tried to escape the cordon of fire, nearly 25 blocks have, been bulldozed clear, leaving open areas set incongruously amid jam-packed slums. For the benefit of foreign visitors, the army has patched up many shell holes in the walls of Dacca University, where hundreds of students were killed. But many signs remain. The tank blasted Rajarbagh Police Barracks, where nearly 1,000 surrounded Bengali cops fought to the last, is still in ruins.

Millions of acres have been abandoned. Much of the vital Jute export crop, due for harvest now, lies rotting in the fields; little of that already harvested is able to reach the mills. Only a small part of this year's tea crop is salvageable. More than 300,000 tons of imported grain sits in the clogged ports of Chittagong and Chalna. Food markets are still operating in Dacca and other cities, but rice prices have risen 20% in four months.

Fear and deep sullen hatred are everywhere evident among Bengalis. Few will talk to reporters in public, but letters telling of atrocities and destroyed villages are stuck in journalists' mailboxes at Dacca's Hotel Intercontinental. In the privacy of his home one night, a senior Bengali bureaucrat declared: "This will be bitter, protracted struggle, may be worse than Vietnam. But we will win in the end."

Estimates of the death toll in the army crackdown range from 200,000 all the way up to a million. The lower figure is more widely accepted, but the number may never, be

known. For one thing, countless corpses have been dumped in rivers, wells and mass graves. For another, statistics from East Pakistan are even more unreliable than statistics from most other places. That is inevitable in a place where before the refugee exodus began, 78 million people, 80% of them illiterate, were packed into an area no larger than Florida.

### **Harsh Reprisals**

The Hindus, who account for three-fourths of the refugees and a majority of the dead, have borne the brunt of the Moslem military's hatred. Even now, Moslem soldiers in East Pakistan will snatch away a man's lungi (sarong) to see if he is circumcised, obligatory for Moslems: if he is not, it usually means death. Others are simply rounded up and shot. Commented one high U.S. official last week: "It is the most incredible, calculated thing since the days of the Nazis in Poland".

In recent weeks, resistance has steadily mounted. The army response has been a pattern of harsh reprisals for guerrilla hit-and-run forays, sabotage and assassination of collaborators. But the Mukti Bahini, the Bengali liberation forces, have blasted hundreds of bridges and culverts, paralyzing road and rail traffic. The main thrust of the guerrilla movement is coming from across the Indian border, where the Bangladesh (Bengal Nation) provisional government has undertaken a massive recruitment and training program. Pakistani President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan last week charged that there were 24 such camps within India, and India no longer even bothers to deny the fact that locals and some border units are giving assistance to the rebels.

Half of the Mukti Bahini's reported 50,000 fighters came from the East Bengal Regiment, the paramilitary East Pakistan Rifles, and the Bengali Police, who defected in the early days of the fighting. Young recruits, many of them students, are being trained to blend in with the peasants, who feed them, and serve as lookouts, scouts and hit-and-run saboteurs. Twice the guerrillas have knocked out power in Dacca, and they have kept the Dacca-Chittagong railway line severed for weeks. Whatever possible they raise the green, red and gold Bangladesh flag. They claim to have killed 25,000 Pakistani troops, though the figure may well be closer to 2,500 plus 10,000 wounded (according to a reliable Western estimate). Resistance fighters already control the countryside at night and much of it in the daytime.

Only time and the test of fire will show whether or not the Mukti Bahini's leaders can forge them into a disciplined guerrilla force. The present commander-in-chief is a retired colonel named A.G. Osmani, a member of the East Pakistan Awami League. But many feel that before the conflict is over, the present moderate leadership will give way to more radical men. So far the conflict is non-ideological. But that could change "if the democracies do not put pressure on the Pakistanis to resolve this question in the near future", says a Bangladesh official, "I fear for the consequences. If the fight for liberation is prolonged too long, the democratic elements will be eliminated and the Communists will prevail. Up till now the Communists do not have a strong position. But if we fail to deliver the goods to our people, they will sweep up away".



By no means have all the reprisals been the work of the army. Bengalis also massacred some 500 suspected collaborators, such as members of the rightwing religious Jammāt-e-Islami and other minor parties. The Biharis, non-Bengali Moslems who fled from India to Pakistan after partition in 1947, were favorite and sometimes innocent targets. Suspected sympathizers have been hacked to death in their beds, or even beheaded by guerrillas as a warning to other villagers. More ominous is the growing confrontation along the 1,300 mile border, where many of the Pakistani army's 70,000 troops are trying to seal off raids by rebels based in India. With Indian Jawans facing them on the other side, a stray shot could start a new Indo-Pakistani war and on a much more devastating scale than their 17 days clash over Kashmir in 1965.

Embroidered in a developing if still disorganized guerrilla war. Pakistan faces even bleaker prospects as the conflict spreads. By now, in fact, chances of ever recovering voluntary national unity seem nil. But to Yahya Khan and the other tough West Pakistani generals who rule the world's fifth largest nation an East-West parting is out of the question. For the sake of Pakistan's unity, Yahya declared last month, "no sacrifice is too great". The unity he envisions, however, might well leave East Pakistan a cringing colony. In an effort to stamp out Bengali culture, even street names are being changed. Shākhari Bazar Road in Dacca is now called Tikka Khan Road after the hard-as-nails commander who now rules East Pakistan under martial law

### **Honeyed Smile.**

The proud Bengalis are unlikely to give in. A warm and friendly but volatile people whose twin passions are politics and poetry, they have nurtured a gentle and distinctive culture of their own. Conversation-adda- is the favorite pastime and it is carried on endlessly under the banyan trees in the villages or in the coffee-houses of Dacca.

Typically, Bangladesh chose as its national anthem not a revolutionary song but a poem by the Nobel prize-winning Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore's "Golden Bengal"

....come spring, O mother mine!

mango groves are heady  
with fragrance,  
The air intoxicates like wine.  
Come autumn. O mother mine!  
I see the honeyed smile of your  
harvest-laden fields.

It is indeed a land of unexpectedly lush and verdant beauty, whose emerald rice and jute fields stretching over the Ganges Delta as far as the eye can see belie the savage misfortunes that have befallen its people. The soil is so rich it sprouts vegetation at the drop of a seed, yet that has not prevented Bengal from becoming a festering wound of poverty. Nature can be as brutal as it is bountiful, lashing the land with vicious cyclones and flooding it annually with the spillover from the Ganges and the Brahmaputra rivers.

### **Improbable Wedding**

Even in less troubled times. Pakistanis were prone to observe that the only bonds between the diverse and distant wings of their Moslem nation were the Islamic faith and Pakistan International Airlines. Sharing neither borders nor cultures, separated by 1,100 miles of Indian territory. Pakistan is an improbable wedding of the Middle East and Southeast Asia. The tall, light skinned Punjab is, Pathans, Baluchis and Sindhis of West Pakistan are descendants of the Aryans who swept into the sub-continent in the second millennium B.C. East Pakistan's slight, dark Bengalis are more closely related to the Dravidian people they subjugated. The Westerners, who eat wheat and meat, speak Urdu, which is written in' Arabic but is a synthesis of Persian and Hindi. The Easterners eat rice and fish, and speak Bengali, a singsong language of Indo-Aryan origin.

The East "also has a much larger Hindu minority than the West. 10 million out of a population of 78 million compared with 800,000 Hindus out of a population of 58 million in the West. In British India days, the present West Pakistan formed the frontier of the empire, and the British trained the energetic Punjabis and Pathans as soldiers. They scorn the lungi, a southeast Asian-style sarong worn by the Bengalis "In the East," a West Pakistani saying has it. "the men wear the skirts and the women the pants. In the West, things are as they should be".

### **Twenty Families**

The West Pakistanis were also determined to "wear the pants" as far as running the country was concerned. Once, the Bengalis were proud to belong to Pakistan (an Urdu word meaning "land of the pure"). Like the Moslems from the West, they had been resentful of the dominance of the more numerous Hindus in India before partition. In 1940, Pakistan's founding father. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, called for a separate Islamic state. India hoped to prevent the split, but in self-determination elections in 1947 five predominantly Moslem provinces including East Bengal, voted" to break away. The result was a geographical curiosity and, as it sadly proved, a political absurdity.

Instead of bringing peace, independence and prosperity, partition brought horrible massacres, with Hindus killing Moslems and Moslems killing Hindus. Shortly before his assassination in 1948, Mahatma Gandhi undertook what proved to be his last fast to halt the bloodshed. "All the quarrels of the Hindus and the Mohammedans," he said, "have arisen from each wanting to force the other to his view".

From the beginning the East got the short end of the bargain in Pakistan. Though it has only one-sixth of the country's total land area, the East contains well over half the population (about 136 million), and in early years contributed as much as 70% of foreign- exchange earnings. But West Pakistan regularly devours three-quarters of all foreign aid and 60% of export earnings. With the Punjabi-Pathan elite in control for two decades. East Pakistan has been left a deprived agricultural backwater. Before the civil war, Bengalis held only 15% of government jobs and accounted for only 5% of the 275,000 man army. Twenty multimillionaire families, nearly all from the West, still control a shockingly disproportionate amount of the country's industry wealth (by an official study.

two-thirds of the nation's industry and four-fifths of its banking and insurance assets). Per capita income is miserably low throughout Pakistan, but in the West (\$ 48) it is more than half against that in the East (\$ 30).

To cap this long line of grievances came the devastating cyclone that roared in off the Bay of Bengal last November, claiming some 500,000 lives. The callousness of West toward East was never more shockingly apparent. Yahya waited 13 days before visiting the disaster scene, which some observers described as "a second Hiroshima". The Pakistani navy never bothered to search for victims. Aid distribution was lethargic where it existed at all, tons of grain remained on stockpiled in warehouses while Pakistani army helicopters sat on their pads in the West.

### **Supreme Sacrifice**

Three weeks later, Pakistan held its first national elections since becoming a nation 23 years before, the object was to choose a constituent assembly that would draft a new charter for the nation, and the would continue to sit as a national assembly. The East Pakistanis thronged the polls and gave an overwhelming endorsement to Sheikh Mujibur ("Mujib") Rahman, 51, the fiery head of the party known as the Awami League and a longtime spokesman for Eastern autonomy (he spent nearly ten years in jail for urging that Bengalis be given greater control of their destiny). Mujib's Awami League captured 167 of the 169 seats allotted to the East in the 313-member national assembly, giving it a clear majority. The victory meant that Mujib, as the leader of the majority party, would be Prime Minister of all Pakistan.

It was something that Yahya had simply not anticipated. He and his fellow generals expected that Mujib would capture no more than 60% of the East Pakistani seats, and that smaller parties in the East would form a coalition with West Pakistani parties leaving the real power in Islamabad. Mujib feared some sort of double-cross: "If the polls are frustrated," he declared in a statement that proved horribly prophetic, "the people of East Pakistan will owe it to the million who have died in the cyclone to make the supreme sacrifice of another million lives, if need be, so that we can live as a free people."

With the constitutional assembly scheduled to convene in March, Yahya began a covert troop buildup, flying soldiers dressed in civilian clothes to the East at night. Then he postponed the assembly, explaining that it could not meet until he could determine precisely how much power and autonomy Mujib wanted for the East. Mujib had not espoused full independence but a loosened semblance of national unity under which each wing would control its own taxation, trade and foreign aid. To Yahya and the generals, that was unacceptable. On March 25, Yahya broke off the meetings he had been holding and flew back to Islamabad. Five hours later, soldiers using howitzers, tanks, and rockets launched troop attacks in half a dozen sections of Dacca. The war was on. Swiftly, Yahya outlawed the Awami League and ordered the armed forces "to do their duty". Scores of Awami politicians were seized, including Mujib who now awaits trial in remote Sahiwal. 125 miles southwest of Islamabad, on charges of treason; the trial expected to begin in August, could lead to the death penalty.

### Out of touch

In the months since open conflict erupted, nothing has softened Yahyas stand. In fact, in the face of talk about protracted fighting, mounting dangers of war with India, and an already enormous cost in human suffering, the general has only stiffened. Should India step up its aid to the guerrillas, he warned last week, "I shall declare a general war-and let the world take note of it." Should the countries that have been funneling \$ 350 million a year in economic aid into Pakistan put on too much pressure, he also warned, he will do without it.

He has already lost some. After touring East Pakistan last month, a special World Bank mission recommended to its eleven nation consortium that further aid be withheld pending a "political accommodation." World Bank President Robert McNamara classified the report on the grounds that it might worsen an already difficult diplomatic situation. The report spoke bluntly of widespread fear of the Pakistani army and devastation on a scale reminiscent of World War II. It described Kushtia, which was 90% destroyed, as "the My Lai of the West Pakistani army". A middle level World Bank official leaked the study, and last week McNamara sent Yahya an apology, in his letter he reportedly said that he found the report "biased and provocative." Yet one Bank official insisted that though it was later revised and modified somewhat, its thrust remained the same. "We just had to put it on a less passionate basis" he said. "But it did not reduce its impact".

U.S. policy has been murky, to say the least. The Nixon Administration continues to oppose a complete cut-off of U.S. aid to Pakistan. The White House has asked Congress for \$ 118 million in economic assistance for Pakistan for fiscal year 1971-72, which it says will be held in abeyance. Despite intense pressure from within his official family, as well as from Congress, Nixon argues that a total cut-off might drive Pakistan closer to China, which has been one of its principal suppliers of military aid since 1965, and also destroy whatever leverage the U.S. has in the situation. In the light of Henry Kissinger's trip to China, however, it now seems clear that there may have been another motive for the administration's soft-pedaling. Pakistan, of course, was Kissinger's secret bridge to China.

Nonetheless, criticism has been mounting, particularly in the Senate, with its abundance of Democratic Presidential aspirants. Senator Edward, M. Kennedy charged that the World Bank report, together with a State Department survey predicting a famine of appalling proportions, "made a mockery of the Administration's policy." Two weeks ago, the House of Foreign Affairs Committee recommended cutting off both military and economic aid to Pakistan. The bill still must clear the House and the Senate, but its chances of passage are considered good.

Since 1952, when massive aid began, Pakistan has received \$ 4.3 billion from the U.S. in economic assistance. In addition the U.S. equipped and maintained the Pakistani armed forces up until 1965. Then, because of the Pakistani-Indian War, arms sales were dropped. Last October the Administration resumed military aid on a "one-time basis". After the East Pakistan conflict erupted, it was announced that arms shipments would be

suspended; but when three ships were discovered to be carrying U.S. military equipment to Pakistan any way, the State Department explained that it intended only to honor licenses already issued. Over the years, it is estimated that close to \$1 billion has been provided for military assistance alone.

The U.S. may well have to do some re-thinking of its Pakistan Policy. In a recent interview with Time, former French Culture Minister Andre Malraux warned that before long, "you in the United States will, have a big new problem in Asia: Bengal. It will be like Vietnam, except that there are 78 million Bengalees (in Pakistan). The Bengalees are nationalists, not Maoists. But the present serene attitude of the U.S. will have to change".

### **Condoning genocide**

India is particularly incensed over the present U.S. policy and Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi strongly protested to Henry Kissinger about U.S. military shipments when he visited New Delhi this month. The supply of arms by any country to Pakistan, Foreign Minister Swaran Singh charged last week, "amounts to condonation of genocide". Mrs. Gandhi is faced both with mounting pressure for military action, and an awesome cost that could set her own economy back for many years. India is feeding the refugees for a mere 1.10 rupees per person per day, but even that amounts to more than \$1,000,000 a day. The first six months alone, Indian officials say, will cost \$ 400 million. Contributions pledged by other countries (the U.S. leads with \$73 million) equal barely one-third of that-and much of that money has not yet actually been paid.

Still, it would hardly, be cheaper to launch a war and get it over with, as some high- level Indians openly suggest. Hours after Indian troops marched into East Pakistan, Pakistani tanks and troops could be expected roll over India's western border. Moreover, fighting could spread over the entire sub-continent. For all of India's commitment "to Bangladesh, democracy and those who are fighting for their rights", in the words of Mrs. Gandhi, New Delhi is not at all interested in taking on the burden of East Bengal's economic problems. The only answer, as New Delhi sees it, is a political solution that would enable refugees to return to their homes.

The impetus for that could conceivably come from West Pakistanis. It is still far from certain that they are really determined to go the distance in a prolonged war. Thus far, the war has been officially misrepresented to the people of the west as a mere "operation" against "miscreants." Tight censorship allows no foreign publication containing stories about the conflict to enter the country. Even so, as more and more soldiers return home badly maimed, and as younger officers are brought back in coffins (enlisted men are buried in the East), opposition could mount. The pinch is already being felt economically, and there have been massive layoffs in industries unable to obtain raw materials for lack of foreign exchange.

### **Immense suffering**

Meanwhile, the food supply in East Pakistan dwindles, and there is no prospect that enough will be harvested or imported to avert mass starvation. August is normally a big harvest month, but untold acres went unplanted in April, when the fighting was at its height. Already, peasants along the rain swept roads show the gaunt faces, vacant stares.

pencil limbs and distended stomachs of malnutrition. Millions of Bangalis have begun roaming the countryside in quest of food. In some hard-hit locals, people have been seen eating roots and dogs. The threat of starvation will drive many more into India. Unless a relief programme of heroic proportions is quickly launched, countless millions may die in the next few months. Yahya's regime is not about to sponsor such an effort. His latest federal budget, adopted last week, allocates \$ 6 out of every \$ 10 to the West, not the East; in fact, the level of funds for Bengal is the lowest in five years. The U.S. still fretful about driving Yahya deeper into Peking's embrace is seen unlikely to provide the impetus for such a programme.

Tagore once wrote: *Man's body is so small, His strength of suffering so immense.*

but in golden Bengal how much strength can man summon before the small body is crushed?

### Good Soldier Yahya Khan

Pakistan's General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan had been settled in President's House in Rawalpindi for a full year before he finally agreed to hold a press conference for foreign newsmen. When he entered the packed drawing room where the first conference was held 14 months ago, he immediately let loose a few choice expletives about the hot TV lights. A trembling technician quickly switched them off. Then Yahya started in on the journalists. "Don't play politics with me," he snapped in his characteristically gruff bass, "because I'll play politics with you."

Yahya, 54, runs his country pretty much the same way-with impatience, ill-disguised contempt for bungling civilians, and a cultivated air of resentment about having let himself get involved in the whole messy business in the first place. When Ayub Khan yielded the presidency to him two years ago. Yahya switched from Khaki to dark business suits, which he still wears with obvious discomfort. As if to emphasize his longing for the barracks, he occasionally carries a swagger stick and misses no chance to play the simple, straight-talking soldier.

**On The Slow Flow of Cyclones Aid to East Pakistan Last Winter:** "My government is not made up of angels."

**On Pakistan's Fiscal Problems:** "I inherited a bad economy and I'm going to pass it on."

**On His Mission:** "I'll be damned if I'll see Pakistan divided."

**On His Mandate:** "The people did not bring me to power. I came myself."

Few Pakistanis knew anything about Yahya Khan when he was vaulted into the presidency two years ago. The stock, bushy-browed Pathan had been army chief of staff since 1966. Half a dozen high-ranking generals were deeply disturbed about the avuncular Ayub Khan's willingness to permit a return of parliamentary democracy, despite his own comment that politicians behaved like "five cats tied by their tails." When a weary Ayub stepped aside in March 1969 in the wake of strike and student riots that focused on wages, educational reform and a host of other issues, the generals eagerly imposed martial law. In his first speech as President. Yahya delighted his military sponsors by declaring that the country was at "the edge of an abyss." What really

bothered the generals was that the country might be on the verge of a return to genuine civilian rule, posing grave dangers to the army's power and perks.

Yahya raised the minimum industrial wage by 30% to 26% a month, brought in several civilian ministers when soldiers proved unfit for the jobs, and sought to reduce official venality. He had no intention of allowing a sudden return to full civilian rule, yet he did not seem to hanker for power-despite the Pakistani saying that "a general galloping upon a stallion is slow to dismount." Eventually, he decided to press ahead not only with an election but a new constitution, even though, as he later said, 'some of my countrymen don't like the idea.' They say, "What the hell's going on? This will lead to chaos."

Yahya, however, had misread the political tempers. When East Pakistan's charismatic Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won his stunning majority in the December election, the hardliners began telling Yahya. "I told you so." Six leading generals-including General Abdul Hamid Khan, an old chum of Yahya who is the current army, chief of staff, and Tikka ("Red Hot") Khan, the cold-blooded commander in East Pakistan-helped persuade Yahya to deal harshly with the East's "treachery."

Yahya (pronounced Ya-hee-uh) Khan claims direct descent from warrior nobles who fought in the elite armies on Nadir Shah, the Persian adventurer who conquered Delhi in the 16th century. With his 'pukka sahib' manner, Yahya seems strictly Sandhurst, though he learned his trade not in England but at the British-run Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun. During World War II, he fought in the British Indian army in North Africa and Italy. After partition, like most of the sub-continent's best soldiers, he opted to become a Pakistani (India, the saying goes, got all the bureaucrats). He was an Ayub protege from the start, and his star rose swiftly.

Following Moslem practice, Yahya keeps his family-wife, Fakhra, and two married children-well out of the public eye. His only known interest, outside of the military is birds-all varieties. He keeps Australian parrots around President's House, and in a specially built pool, a number of cranes and swans. He remains fussy as ever about his wavy expanse of thick, white-streaked black hair ("My strength lies in it-like Samson's").

Westerners who know him well describe Yahya as a reasonable man but stubborn, proud and discipline-minded. He began a drive on corruption last year by summoning senior civil servants and telling them that were all "a bunch of thieves." The bureaucracy rose in protest, and Yahya soon gave up the effort. But he shows no sign of yielding with the Bengalis, whom he reportedly calls "machchar"-Urdu for mosquitoes.

"Yahya is not a brutal man," says an American acquaintance. "He is a good soldier. But he has been blinded by his intense nationalism, and his belief that the honor and security of his country have been betrayed." There is a case for Yahya's Lincolnesque attempt to hold the Pakistani house together; there is none for his methods. He might have succeeded had he tried to accommodate the East's justifiable demands for greater autonomy. But his tough crackdown virtually guarantees that the country's two halves, which have precious little in common, will never be successfully reunited.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের বিপর্যস্ত মানুষ	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৫ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*NEW YORK TIMES, AUGUST 5, 1971*  
**THE RAVAGED PEOPLE OF EAST PAKISTAN**

A planetary catastrophe is taking place in Asia, a human disaster so massive that it could bathe the future in blood, not just for Asians, but for those of us in the West as well. Yet the response of the global community has been minimal at best. In the United States, the official response has been worse than minimal and morally numb.

I have just returned from Calcutta and the border of East Pakistan, where I conducted interviews with refugees avalanching into India as a result of the West Pakistani's genocidal attack on them. Since March 25, West Pakistani troops have bombed, burned, looted and murdered the citizens of East Pakistan in what can only be a calculated campaign to decimate them or to drive them out of their villages and over the border into India.

Part of the time I travelled with a Canadian parliamentary delegation. We saw babies skin stretched tight, bones protruding, weeping women who told us they would rather die today in India than return to East Pakistan after the tragedies they had witnessed, total wretchedness of refugee camps, and the unbelievable magnitude of this forced human migration-6.7 million refugees pouring into India within a matter of four months.

I saw Indian villages deluged by masses of destitute refugees, every available inch crammed with bodies seeking shelter from the blistering sun and the torrential rain. I saw refugees still streaming along the roads unable to find even a resting place. I saw miserable Indian villagers sharing their meager food with the latest frightened and hungry arrivals. I saw thousands of men, women and babies lined up, waiting patiently under the sun for hours to get their rations. These pitiful few ounces of rice, wheat and dhal provide a level of nutrition so low that it will inevitably create protein breakdown, liver illness, and a variety of other diseases in addition to the cholera, pneumonia, bronchitis that are already rampant. I saw Indian relief officials struggling heroically, and with immense personal sympathy, to cope with the human tidal wave-and to do so on a budget of one rupee a day-about 13 cents per human.

It is now clear that famine will further devastate East Pakistan this fall, and that millions more will seek refuge in an India already staggering under the burden.

Under these circumstances, one is forced to protest the callousness and stupidity of American policy. On the one hand we promise India \$ 70 million in relief funds. On the other, we continue to supply arms to the same West Pakistani generals who launched the bloodbath, so that they can terrorize even more of their subjects into fleeing across the Indian border. The House votes this week to suspend aid, including military sales, to Pakistan is belated recognition of our sorry role.



In terms of *real politic*, the continuation of military aid to West Pakistan is supposed to buy us influence with the ruling junta, and help offset Red Chinese influence. (Ironically, the Red Chinese are also aiding the West Pakistani Generals.)

Yet the heaviest stream of refugees is pouring into West Bengal, which is not only India's poorest and most overcrowded State, but the most politically unstable. Between Calcutta and Bongaon on the border, some 50 miles distant, I saw scarcely a house that didn't have a hammer and sickle painted 011 it. Maoists, anarchists, and conventional Marxists attack each other and the less radical parties with violence as well as rhetoric. Strikes, demonstrations, and political assassinations are already a daily occurrence. West Bengal, even before the invasion of refugees, seemed about to explode.

By shipping arms to the West Pakistanis, we are partially responsible for pouring millions of hungry, sick and angry refugees directly into this tinder-box. This vastly increases the likelihood of a bloody upheaval on the Indian side of the border as well, in which the power of Maoist movements could only grow. Thus, even if one unquestioningly assumes the necessity to halt the spread of Chinese Communist influence, our policy seems idiotic. We hang on to the shreds of influence in West Pakistan at the cost of losing it in India. Worse, we pave the way for a bigger, bloodier and even more bitter Vietnam in Asia.

But there is a simpler, less political reason why our aid policy must be changed. On grounds of simple humanity, the failure of our Government to express official concern for the ravaged people of East Pakistan, its alliance with the undemocratic generals of Islamabad, and its cruel insistence on sending still more arms to the killers is morally repulsive.

The emergency in East Pakistan demands a more than minimal response. We need to pump immediate life-saving baby food, powdered milk, anti-biotic, ant cholera vaccines and similar supplies into India. But beyond that, decency and political realism both demand an immediate end to the arms shipments.

**-Alvin Toffler**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৭৮। কূটনীতিকদের পাকিস্তানী পক্ষ ত্যাগ	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৫ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1971*  
**14 PAKISTANI AIDES QUIT MISSIONS IN U.S.**  
**Bengalis Charge Crimes by the Yahya Government-Some**  
**Request Asylum**  
*By Benjamin Welles*  
**Special to The New York Times**

Washington, August 4-Fourteen Pakistani diplomats-all of Bengali origin-resigned today from their embassy here or from the mission to the United Nations in protest against what they caned, "crimes against humanity" in East Pakistan by the Government of President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan.

A spokesman for the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service said that some of the Pakistani diplomats who resigned had applied for permission to remain in the country under political asylum.

The spokesman said the State Department would be asked for its views as soon as personal data on the diplomats were collected. Although State Department spokesman declined comment on the matter, there were indications that the Bengali diplomats whose cause has strong support in Congress, would be permitted to remain.

A. M. A. Muhith, economic counselor of the Pakistani Embassy and leader of the group, said at a news conference at the National Press Club that he and his colleagues felt they could no longer remain silent while the Pakistan Government "violates elementary norms of civilized conduct and commits crimes against humanity."

The group announced that it would shift its allegiance to the "Government of Bangladesh," or "Bengal Nation," which it said represented the "hopes and aspirations" of the majority of the people of "what used to be Pakistan."

The Pakistan Army moved last March to crush a movement for political autonomy in East Pakistan. Some of the movement's leaders subsequently proclaimed independence for Bangladesh, and guerrilla resistance against the troops in the east has been reported.

East Pakistan, which is separated from West Pakistan by 1,000 miles of Indian territory has 72 million people, mostly of Bengali stock. West Pakistan has a population of 55 million, mostly Punjabis and Pathans.

The resignations appeared to reduce the Pakistani Embassy's staff here by half. Of 10 civilian attaches listed in the State Department's Diplomatic List, six have resigned.

### **Atrocities Are Alleged**

Mr. Muhith declared that Bengalis in East Pakistan are being hunted down by the army. Villages are being put to the torch, he said, women are being abducted and raped

and young people were being "bayoneted or bled to death."

"Not only has a reign of terror been established, but it is heightened every day." Mr. Muhith said, "Yahya's 'final solution' of the Bengali question has since taken on an added sinister dimension-denial of food to starve Bengalis into submission. A famine of unimaginable proportion is threatening Bangladesh which will leave at least 30 per cent of the population starving."

Among the other diplomats who resigned today were S. A. Karim, deputy permanent representative at the United Nations; E. Karim, a minister at the Embassy who is reported ill; A.M.S. Kibria, educational counselor; A.R. Chaudhury, embassy finance and accounts officer, and S.M. Ali, third secretary.

### **Favor Aid Ban**

The resigning diplomats alluded to yesterday's House of Representatives vote in favor of suspending aid to Pakistan and Greece as it authorized \$6.9-billion in total United States foreign economic and military aid for the next two years.

"They're absolutely cannot be any question of economic or military assistance to West Pakistan now," they said. 'Such assistance will only have the effect of perpetuating genocide."

Within an hour of the diplomats' news conference. President Nixon, after a meeting with Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Henry A. Kissinger, the President's national security adviser, criticized the proposed ban on aid to Pakistan which now goes to the Senate for action.

### **Rogers Flans Meetings**

Mr. Nixon said a suspension was likely to aggravate the problem of relief for East Pakistan refugees. He said it would hamper Pakistan's ability to work with the United Nations "as it presently has indicated it is willing to do in distributing the food supplies."

Calling for continuing economic aid to Pakistan as the way to "influence the course of events" in the Indian subcontinent, Mr. Nixon announced that Secretary Rogers would confer next week at the United Nations with Prince Sadruddin Khan, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and with other officials.

### **No Public Pressure**

Rejecting rising Congressional and public pressure for public condemnation of Pakistan's military actions in East Pakistan Mr. Nixon declared:

"We are not going to engage in public pressure on the Government of West Pakistan. That would be totally counterproductive. These are matters that we will discuss only in private channels."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৭৯। ভারতের সাথে চুক্তি সোভিয়েতের যুদ্ধ এড়াবার চেষ্টা	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৩ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, FR/DA Y, AUGUST 13, 1971*  
**SOVIET MOVE TO AVERT WAR IS SEEN IN PACT WITH INDIA**  
*By Tad Szulc*  
**Special to The New York Times**

Washington. August 12-Authoritative United States officials said today they understood that the Soviet Union succeeded in dissuading India from formally recognizing East Pakistan as an independent nation three days ago by quickly signing a friendship treaty with India.

They said the 20-year treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation signed in New Delhi on Monday by Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko appeared to be the price for an indefinite delay in India's plans to recognize East Pakistan, or Bangladesh. Mr. Gromyko rushed to the Indian capital during the weekend on two days' notice to sign the treaty.

According to intelligence reports submitted to President Nixon on Monday, the Soviet Union had warned the Indian Government that recognition of Bangladesh could precipitate a war between India and Pakistan.

**Suppression Began March 25**

Bangladesh is the name given to East Pakistan by its separatist Bengalis who have India's open support. Pakistan has sought to suppress the separatist movement since March 25 through military action, which, according to estimates accepted by the United States Government, has resulted in close to 200,000 deaths and more than seven million refugees,

The controversy over East Pakistan has created deep tensions between Pakistan and India, partly because the millions of refugees are a vast burden on India, and threats of a war have been exchanged between the two countries.

The reports received in Washington said that India had advised the Soviet Union early last week that she planned to recognize Bangladesh on August 9. There are Bangladesh leadership groups in East Pakistan and in India. Rebel guerrillas are known to be supported from the Indian side.

According to these reports, the message on the planned recognition was delivered in Moscow by Durga Prasad Dhar, former Indian ambassador to the Soviet Union, apparently acting as special envoy for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Mr. Dhar flew to Moscow on August 2.

American intelligence and diplomatic reports said that Mr. Gromyko had told Mr. Dhar that India should act with caution, warning that recognition of Bangladesh could provoke a war.

The next step, American sources reported, was for Mr. Gromyko to propose that he visit New Delhi as soon as possible for talks with Mrs. Gandhi and Foreign Minister Swaran Singh. The visit was officially announced last Friday and Mr. Gromyko arrived Sunday.

Mr. Gromyko was reported to have told Indian representative in Moscow that he would use "whatever pressure is necessary" to dissuade Mrs. Gandhi from recognizing Bangladesh now.

American sources said they understood Moscow was prepared to provide India with additional economic and military aid as a demonstration of support in her dispute with Pakistan.

At the same time, however, the Soviet Union was determined to discourage any drastic steps by India that might cause an India-Pakistan war.

Officials here recalled that President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan recently warned that war with India was "very near". He had said that if India helped the East Pakistani separatists to seize the state, it would be regarded as an Indian attack on Pakistan and the cause for a war.

In recent weeks, working independently, the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China have engaged in diplomatic efforts to cool the tempers in India and Pakistan and avert an outbreak of hostilities. Washington has publicly counseled restraint to both Governments.

China, which has close ties with Pakistan, was reported by diplomats last week to have been quietly advising President Yahya to proceed with caution.

American officials surmised that Mr. Gromyko was successful in Persuading India when he agreed to sign the friendship treaty immediately. The pact, it was understood had been under negotiation for a number of months but Moscow had not been prepared to sign so quickly.

Authoritative sources said, however, that India was eager to sign at once in the light of her mounting dispute with Pakistan. The two countries fought a brief war in 1965, and the Indians were believed to regard the Soviet pact as a guarantee of her present security. Soviet mediation helped to end the 1965 conflict.

It was not known here whether the Soviet Union had also agreed to provide India with new economic and military aid.

State Department officials said that India had not notified the United States in advance of a plan to recognize Bangladesh and that they were not aware of any Soviet effort to pass this information on to Washington.

Robert G. McCloskey, the department's spokesman, said today that the Soviet Union and the United States were not in touch over the Indian Pakistani dispute. He was asked the question at the regular daily news briefing without reference to the intelligence reports on the Soviet role in the controversy.

The Indian Government went out of its way yesterday to assure Secretary of State William P. Rogers that it's new treaty or its allies. The assurances were conveyed by Ambassador Lakshmi Kant Jha and were reported accepted by Mr. Rogers.

American officials cautioned, however that the Indian-Pakistani tensions were not likely to diminish in the foreseeable future even if New Delhi continued to withhold recognition from Bangladesh.

Intelligence specialists noted that Mrs. Gandhi was under pressure at home to recognize the rebel and to give the guerrillas even greater assistance in their efforts to end West Pakistani control of East Pakistan.

This pressure, they said is likely to increase with guerrilla activities and the problems posed by the refugees.

The United States agrees with India that the East Pakistani crisis can be solved only through a political accommodation under which President Yahya would grant the region autonomy. But it is recognized here that such an accommodation under which President possible in view of the mounting guerrilla war.

### **Betrayal of Rebels Charged**

New Delhi, August 12 (Reuters). An Indian political leader today accused his country and Soviet Union of stabbing Bangladesh.

Atal Behari Vajpayee, leader of the right-wing Jan Sangh party charged at a rally that there was no mention of Bangladesh in a Soviet-India issue yesterday.

"On the contrary, it discusses the interests of the entire people of Pakistan. Mr. Vajpayee declared. "This is a stab in the back of Bangladesh and amounts to support for the indivisibility of Pakistan."

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮০। সিদ্ধান্তের সময়	নিউজ উইক	১৬ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*NEWSWEEK, AUGUST 16, 1971*  
**PAKISTAN: MOMENT OF DECISION**

In an opening statement at his press conference last week, President Nixon argued for continued U.S. support of the Pakistani Government, despite its harsh attempts to suppress the Bangladesh Independence movement in the eastern portion of the country. "We feel", explained the President, "that the most constructive role we can play is to continue our economic assistance to West Pakistan and, thereby, to be able to influence the course of events." But even as Mr. Nixon spoke, fourteen Bengali diplomats were coming to a far different conclusion.

At a news conference held just three blocks from the White House, the diplomats announced their resignation from the Pakistani Embassy and United Nations mission. "It is no longer possible," said Sayid F. Karim deputy permanent representative to the U.N., "to remain silent spectators to the barbarous actions of the Pakistan Government, which has turned Bangladesh into a land of death and terror. This is our moment of decision." The decision will probably lead to political asylum in the U.S. for the fourteen Bengalis. And the defectors were hoping that their example would prompt similar resignations at other Pakistani missions around the world.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮১। বাংলায় কি 'চরম' সিদান্ত নেয়া হচ্ছে?	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৯ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1971*

**A FINAL SOLUTION IN BENGAL  
The U.S. Proposal Would Strengthen The  
Pakistan Army in Guise of Aid**

*By Alice Thorner*

Paris-Are we to understand that the United States has been exercising quiet but unremitting pressure upon Pakistan for a "final solution" in East Bengal?

The proposal made by the Nixon Administration calls for the stationing in East Bengal of a 156-man international relief and rehabilitation team! Pakistan's consent to this should not surprise us. The project to send in a United Nations group turns out to be a stratagem for salvaging the shaky regime of the West Pakistani generals under the guise of a humanitarian operation.

Let us look at the concrete nature of the relief proposed. The U.N. force would be charged with "helping the Pakistani authorities alleviate the threat of starvation and disease." Who are the Pakistani authorities with whom experts from UNICEF, F.A.O., the World Food Program and W.H.O are expected to cooperate? Precisely the martial law administration of General Tikka Khan, whose troops deliberately destroyed food stocks, burned down markets and drove away peasants from their villages, thereby ensuring that rice would not be sown.

The same soldiers, acting under the same military command, commandeered UNICEF jeeps for their own purposes and crippled the long-term field study on which the cholera research laboratory was engaged by seizing the riverboats the doctors used for visiting their villages.

Similarly, (he task set for the U.N. Group of "rehabilitating homes and shelter" is complicated by the policy followed from March 25 to the present day by the Pakistani Army. Not only have the soldiers razed thousands of village and town dwellings, but they have in numerous instances incited non-Bengalis or other collaborators to take over the houses and belongings of Hindus, Christians, Awami Leaguers, and intellectuals driven from their homes. Yet another aim of the U.N. "technical assistance," is to "help restore confidence in the Pakistani administration"!

But the most revealing of all the jobs assigned to the U.N. experts is their responsibility to "help Pakistan restore communications and remobilize the province's private fleet of 40,000 river boats and 10,000 trucks." It is precisely in the cutting of transport lines that the Bengali guerrillas have begun to score notable successes. Striking from their sanctuaries across the Indian border, from their tiny "liberated" enclaves, from



the jangly fastnesses of the delta, they have disrupted rail traffic, blown up road bridges, sunk river boats, blocked off channels, destroyed boatrepair yards. Transport is the lifeblood of the Army's occupation of East Bengal. If the Bangladesh Liberation Army can deny the West Pakistanis their lines of communication, they can eventually drive them out.

To the extent that the United States, acting in the name of a United Nations relief project, can restore the lines of communication, the grip of the Pakistan Army on East Bengal can be prolonged.

While the proposed rehabilitation team is carefully characterized as "international" and "under U.N. sponsorship," the preeminent role of the United States stands out clearly. The United States has offered to contribute an initial \$1 million to help the group organize and fly necessary equipment to Dacca. Radios and other items have been prepared for dispatch by air once the Pakistani Government's formal approval is received by the United States Agency for International Development. The agency had several hundreds of employees on its roster in East Bengal. A considerable number of the Americans were evacuated in March and April, on the ground that the United States Government could not guarantee their personal safety under the Pakistan Army occupation.

That the United States has been able to persuade President Yahya Khan to accept its proposal is explained by the circumstance that in recent years the U.S. has forked over almost half of the \$450 million a year of economic aid pumped into Pakistan by the so-called "consortium" of loan giving countries. Here the argument comes full circle. American action to shore up the unpopular ruling junta in Pakistan by massive injections of economic and military assistance ever since 1951, is justified *ex post facto*.

The mission dreamed up by the United States Government may serve to strengthen temporarily the Pakistan Army. In this case, the chances for restoring genuine order in East Bengal would be set back. No real relief and rehabilitation activities can be undertaken until the West Pakistan army withdraws from East Bengal, and the Bengalis become masters of their own destiny.

*[Alice Thorner is lecturer on India at the University Paris VII and author of many studies on the Indian subcontinent. She was at Dacca until March 19, 1971.]*

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮২। আমরা সাহায্য করতে পারি তবে অস্ত্র দিয়ে নয়	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৯ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1971*

**We Can Help-But Without Arms**

**A Total Solution, However, Is Not Without Our Grasp**

*By John Kenneth Galbraith*

Cambridge, Mass.-I have been reluctant in these last months to speak to the political problems of East Bengal. All of us who have served in India are thought to be partisans of that country as doubtless on occasions we have been.

Like others I have wondered if political discussion might divert attention from the terribly urgent problem of helping to provide sustenance for the refugees. But such is the component of disaster in our Present policy that I feel compelled to stress a few of the fundamentals in this ghastly situation.

In any considerations of the Bengal tragedy, four factors are controlling. I list them:

The immediate aspects of the refugee problem are urgent and grave and every effort at alleviation must be made. But there can be no tolerable solution which does not allow these people to return to their home villages and land. That this vast number of people- approaching in total the number displaced by World War II-should remain indefinitely in camps or in the crowded adjacent provinces of India is so cruel as to be unthinkable.

The refugees will return only to a peaceful and secure country. Both the overwhelming vote for autonomy earlier this year and the events since make it certain that East Pakistan cum East Bengal will only be peaceful if full autonomy and self-government are accorded to it. Continued administration from Islamabad will be under conditions of open or suppressed revolt and the refugees will not return.

Autonomy and self-government are also wanted as the vote showed by the people who have not fled and, a most important point, autonomy and self-government of East Pakistan are essential for West Pakistan as well. By itself West Pakistan is a highly viable community with a higher potential for economic growth than India. As military rulers of the more numerous Bengalis and with the associated expenditure it will be ruined. What is worse the armed forces of West Pakistan and the Punjabis, Pathans and the other communities that comprise them will continue to be featured in the world press as cruel and oppressive men. They are anything but that but this is the reputation that any pacifying army, not excluding our own in Vietnam, invariably acquires.

A military solution by India would further embitter relations between the two nations of the subcontinent. And it would be greatly disenchanting to all who, as friends of India, cherish the Gandhian dislike of such measures.

The conclusion for American policy follows:

It is to hope that the two great Islamic communities of the sub-continent can still find some relationship such as that between two parts of a commonwealth which will allow them to live in independent companionship. But there must be full autonomy and self- government for East Bengal Accordingly no action of ours should encourage or seem to discourage military domination of the East by the West.

This means no military assistance of any kind to West Pakistan. And it means that even small or symbolic assistance which seems to suggest support can be as damaging as substantial help. The foregoing factors also forbid any economic assistance so long as it could serve either directly or indirectly to pay for suppression of Bengali autonomy or independence.

And no arcane strategy involving the Chinese can be a justification for a different policy. These considerations of course mean a continuation of an embargo on arms for India and a clearly expressed disapproval of any possible Indian military initiative.

With all else, we must be completely generous in helping alleviate the suffering of the refugees.

One of the clear lessons of these last years is that our power in the third world is limited. It is not, within our competence to solve" the problem of East Bengal. But it is within our competence to be compassionate to urge (as evidently have the Soviets) against the use of force and above all to stop doing the wrong thing.

*[John Kenneth Galbraith is a former U.S. Ambassador to India.]*

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮৩। মার্কিন বিমানে বাংলায় সৈন্য পাঠানো হচ্ছে	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	১৯ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE WASHINGTON POST, AUGUST 19, 1971*  
**PAKISTAN USING U.S. JETLINERS TO HELP MOVE MEN  
 TO BENGAL**

Two jet airliners leased from an American company have been integrated into the Pakistani International Airlines fleet, which Pakistan's central government has been using to move troops and material in and out of its strife torn province of Bengal, it was learned from official sources.

The planes, both Boeing 707s, are under lease from World Airways, which describes itself as the largest U.S. charter airlines. It does half its business with the U.S. armed forces.

The lease was arranged with the knowledge and explicit authorization of the State Department, the Commerce Department and the Civil Aeronautics Board.

According to American sources recently returned from East Pakistan both U.S. officials and private individuals-PIA jetliners are used to carry wounded troops out to West Pakistan and to bring in replacements.

PIA, Pakistan's official flag carrier, has seven of its own Boeing 707s, plus the two leased craft. The airline flies commercial routes between Pakistan's east and west wings, as well as extensive international routes.

The two leased planes, for which PIA is paying the Oakland, Calif., based World Airways \$ 170,000 a month, have enabled the Pakistanis to continue commercial service as well as diverting other for military duty in the campaign to crush the Bangladesh independence movement.

World Airways is under contract to the U.S. Military Airlift Command, and is a prime charter carrier of American troops to and from Vietnam.

World Airways had U.S. military contracts for nearly \$26 million last year and over \$51 million in 1969, a company official said.

The two planes which World provided to Pakistan in June were replacements for two similar 707s leased last summer. They are equipped to handle passengers as well as freight, according to CAB sources.

PIA used the planes last summer to augment their normal commercial services. Application for renewal of the arrangement was made at about the beginning of June. The Commerce Department issued a new license on June 18 nearly two months after the Pakistani army crackdown against the Bengalis. It was clear by then that the extra planes

enabled the Pakistanis to use commercial liners for military transport.

A Commerce Department source said the licenses were subject to revocation and that the leases would be invalid without license.

As to whether the leased, American-owned planes were being used by the Pakistanis for military purposes, the company official said only that he is personally sure that they are not.

He said American crewmen of other World Airways planes periodically meet Pakistani crewmen of the leased aircraft in various Asian countries. "They tell our people they don't fly troops," the official said.

However, he added, "I can understand why they'd say that, no matter what."

The Pakistani airline's air traffic rights entitle it to fly between East and West Pakistan, as well as overseas. A World official said that by flying the leased planes into a "war zone," PIA would be breaking the terms of their contracts.

"Whether East Pakistan is in fact a war zone I really couldn't say," he added.

Two U.S. government sources who recently left Dacca, capital of East Pakistan, said they had seen armed Pakistani soldiers disembarking from PIA Boeing 707s and wounded troops being placed aboard.

Neither was able to say whether the planes they saw were the leased aircraft. A World officer noted that the company's markings were removed and replaced by PIA identification.

"But it's really a moot point," one of the sources slated. "The fact is that because they've got those two American-owned planes they're able to divert jets from commercial use to military use, and no matter how you slice it, we're helping them."

A State Department source said the U.S. government viewed the deal "as a commercial matter." He said there were no U.S. government restrictions on the use of the planes.

"We did not anticipate that these planes would be used for other than commercial purposes," the source said. "If we get other information, we will have to re-examine the matter. But I don't know what, in fact, we'd do."

**-Lewis M. Simons**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮৪। ঘনিষ্ঠ বন্ধু	নিউজ উইক	২৩ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, AUGUST 23, 1971)  
**THE VERY BEST OF FRIENDS**

When Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko flew into New Delhi last week, the local diplomatic corps hardly took notice. Some of the foreign envoys had been assured by Indian officials that nothing very exciting would come from the Gromyko visit, and many of them repaired to the northern hill stations to escape the sweltering summer heat and rain. But only a day after his arrival Russia's No. 1 diplomatic troubleshooter made it plain that he had come to India's capital on urgent and momentous business. Seated at flag-bedecked table in New Delhi's Foreign Ministry; Gromyko triumphantly set his signature to a precedent-shattering, twenty-year treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and India.

On the face of it, the treaty was so vaguely worded that, as one Western analyst observed, "it could mean practically anything." But the impact of document lay less in what it said than in what it implied. By entering into a formal agreement with another power, India took a long step away from its cherished policy of nonalignment. By coming down solidly in support of India, Russia served up a warning to Pakistan against any rash moves (and thus, for the moment, seemed to reduce the threat of war between the subcontinent's bitter enemies). In doing this, however, Moscow openly declared its opposition to China, Pakistan's staunchest backer of late, and abruptly changed the balance of power in South Asia. In the same vein, the treaty reflected America's plummeting prestige and influence in the region at a time when many Indians have come to view Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger as arch villains. And in the sense, that Indo-Soviet pact could be regarded as the most important diplomatic fallout so far from Washington's current courtship of Peking.

Despite appearances, the treaty was not an instant creation, for Moscow and New Delhi had batted the idea around for at least two years. Until recently, however, neither government felt a pressing need to pursue the matter further. Then the outbreak of civil war in Pakistan this spring drastically altered the picture. As millions of Bengali refugees poured out of East Pakistan into India, and as border incidents mounted, relation between the two countries reached a flashpoint. Reports circulated that the government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, under mounting pressure from right-wingers in Parliament, was on the verge of extending diplomatic relations to the Bangladesh rebels in East Pakistan, a move that Pakistani President Mohammed Yahya Khan warned would be tantamount to a declaration of war. In that emergency, interest in a Moscow-New Delhi agreement suddenly revived. And after secret negotiations in Moscow that lasted less than two weeks, Andrei Gromyko was on his way to New Delhi to do the honors.

Much of the twelve-article treaty devoted itself to innocuous promises of technological cooperation and cultural exchanges. But the key passage. Article IX.

pledged immediate "mutual consultations" in the event of hostile acts against the signatory countries by a third party (publicly, the signers insisted that they did not have any specific third party in mind, but hardly anyone doubted that the description was aimed directly at Pakistan and, just slightly less directly, at China). Despite its vague wording, the article strongly implied that the promised "consultations" would inevitably lead to arms aid. India, said one observer, "wanted to make certain that she would have a supply of guns and ammunition if a war came."

Price: Bolstered by this reassuring prospect, India slipped into euphoric rejoicing. "This could be a new era for us," rhapsodized one Indian official. "Japan became a great power because the Americans protected her and she didn't have to waste her resources on arming herself. The same might happen as we shelter under the Russian umbrella." But should that be so. will India's policy of nonalignment be the price? Despite Mrs. Gandhi's public assurances that India's neutralist stance would not be affected by the new treaty, the fact remained that for the first time India and a major world power had come to an agreement on a treaty with distinct military overtones. "What is important is that India has always prided itself on being nonaligned," observed a Western diplomat in New Delhi. "And now that the Russians have made this breakthrough, they might get a lot more new friends around here."

But clearly, Moscow is not interested solely in India's goodwill. As Gromyko himself suggested in a speech last week to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, China was a main reason for concluding, the Indo-Soviet treaty. In the opinion of Western diplomats in Moscow, the Russians were taken aback at the Ping Pong diplomacy between China and the U.S., and they were shocked by President Nixon's plans to visit Peking. It meant that all bets were off in Asia, and, it raised the prospect of Washington-Peking deals that could freeze out the Russians in a region that they have assiduously cultivated. Thus, by going to India's side in its hour of need, the Russians made their bid to become the dominant power on the subcontinent. Such a move, moreover, will probably help the Soviets to expand their naval penetration into the Indian Ocean.

Loser: With the Soviet Union the big winner last week, the U.S. was looking more and more like a loser. India was driven toward the Russian camp partly by the recent U.S. moves to improve its relations with China. Noting that Kissinger had stopped off in India last month before his secret mission to Peking, one New Delhi official complained: "We thought that he had come to the area to look at the gravest crisis this subcontinent has faced since independence. He listened carefully to what we said. But all the time he had China on his mind. His very trip here was a ruse."

In addition, continuing U.S. aid and arms deliveries to Pakistan have stirred fury in India. "If you want to know why the treaty was signed," said an Indian diplomat in Moscow, "I'll tell you: the Americans drove us to it with their arms shipments." Indeed, India figures less importantly than Pakistan in current U.S. strategic calculations. But although the Nixon Administration has gone out of its way to stay on speaking terms with Yahya Khan, the Pakistani President is obviously not an attentive listener.

Despite U.S. urging to postpone or forgo the trial of Bengali leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Yahya last week went ahead with a secret trial before a three man military court in a prison complex near the textile town of Lyallpur in southern Punjab. Yahya has already stated in public that Mujib is guilty of treason. "When the man who holds the post of President and chief martial-law administrator says that someone is guilty, you can hardly expect a group of army officers to find him innocent; remarked a Pakistani editor. It is widely assumed that the court will condemn Mujib to death, giving Yahya the option of letting the sentence stand or magnanimously sparing his rival.

But Mujib's sympathizers were not optimistic. "It would be reasonable not to execute this man-to keep him around in case there's a change of heart," said a Western diplomat in Islamabad. "But it also would have been reasonable not to bring him to trial. And it would have been, reasonable not to have arrested him in the first place. But this government has shown a remarkable ability for rejecting the logical, reasonable option, and it may very well do so again."

Yahya's course of action prompted one U.S. diplomat to fume: "Yahya is a god dam fool!" Still reportedly on order from the White House, the U.S. has decided to stick to its present course come what may. "We are the only Western government with any hope of influencing Yahya," argues one State Department official, "and frankly, I think we have a pretty sophisticated policy for a change." Then he added ruefully: "But it sure is hard to live with."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮৫। শরণার্থীরা বলেন সৈন্যরা হত্যাকাণ্ড চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, SEPTEMBER 23, 1971,*  
**BENGALI REFUGEES SAY SOLDIERS CONTINUE TO KILL. LOOT  
AND BURN**

*By Sydney H. Schanberg*

Kutibari, India, September 21- The latest refugees from East Pakistan, report that the Pakistani Army and its civilian collaborators are continuing to kill, loot and burn despite the central Government's public avowals that it is bent on restoring normalcy and winning the confidence of the Bengali people.

The dozens of refugees interviewed by this correspondent today, all of whom fled into India from East Pakistan in the past week, describe the killing of civilians, rape and other acts of repression by the soldiers, most of them West Pakistanis.

As the refugees talked in their overcrowded, half-flooded camps in and around this Indian village about four miles from the border and 60 miles' northeast of Calcutta, the sound of shelling could be heard from the frontier. It was impossible to tell whether the shells came from the Pakistani Army, the Indian border forces or the so-called liberation forces of Bangladesh (Bengal Nation), the name the Bengali separatist movement has given to East Pakistan since the attempt to repress 'the movement began in March.

Most of the refugees interviewed came from the region of Faridpur, the family home of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, jailed leader of the Bengalis.

**Nearly All Are Hindus**

The refugees said that although general living conditions were very difficult in East Pakistan, they would have stayed had it not been for killings. Nearly all the latest arrivals are Hindus, who, said that, the military regime still making the Hindu minority its particular target.

They said the guerrillas were active in their areas and that the army carried out massive reprisals against civilians after every guerrilla raid.

Nira Pada Saha, a jute trader in Faridpur District told of a reprisal against a village near his that had sheltered and fed the guerrillas. Just before he fled five days ago. he related, the army struck the village, first shelling it and then burning the huts.

"Some of the villagers didn't run away fast enough," he said. The soldiers caught them, tied their hands and feet and threw them into the flames."

There were about 5,000 people in the village, most of them Hindus; Mr. Saha said, and not a hut is left.

### **Others Do Dirty Work'**

" According to the refugee, the army leaves much of the "Dirty work" to its civilian collaborators-the razakars, or home guards-it has armed and to the supporters of rightwing religious political parties such as the Moslem League and Jamat-I-Islami. which have usually backed the military regime.

The collaborators act as intelligence agents and enforcers for the army, the refugees say. by pointing out homes and villages and people who have helped the guerrillas. Often, the refugees added, the collaborators make arrests at random and for no reason.

"The razakars and the others come into a village and pick just any house." said Dipak Kumar Biswas, a radio repair from Barisal District. "Then they arrest whatever able-bodied young man is in that house and hand him over to the army. We don't know what the army does to them. They never come back."

The refugees said that despite reprisals and police-state activities, local people were continuing to provide food, shelter and information to, the guerrillas.

Makhan Lid Talukdar, a rice farmer, said he fled a few days ago after some razakars swooped down on the crowd gathered at the weekly bazaar and opened fire. Six people were killed, he said, and many wounded.

### **Refugee Flow Goes On**

Mr. Talukdar crossed into India with his family of eight but had to, leave his father behind in hiding because he was too old to make the trek.

About 15,000 people from his area fled to India after the bazar incident, Mr. Talukdar said. Some 20,000 to 30,000 refugees pour into India every day. joining the millions-the latest estimate is 8.6 million -already here.

The Pakistani President, Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, has urged the refugees to return promising them assistance, and he has offered amnesty to the guerrillas.

The promises only evoke bitter laughter from the refugees. "We fled to save our lives," said Rajendra Das, another farmer. "They are still killing us. We will not go back until there is complete in dependence."

Though rice is somewhat short in the refugee areas, with the price up 40 percent as a result, other foods are said to be plentiful. However many people are going hungry, the refugees said, because they lack money and jobs.

Economic life has been badly disrupted since the army began its assault. Particularly hard hit have been the farm laborers and those who do menial labor on Government public works projects, most of which have been halted.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮৬। পাকিস্তানের অভ্যন্তরীণ সমস্যা	বাল্টিমোর সান	২৯ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*BALTIMORE SUN, SEPTEMBER 29, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**PAKISTAN INTERNAL**

Six months after the West Pakistan government and army struck out at East Pakistan, the effects of that action still felt, and grown worse. Now the chaos of Pakistan has been brought to the attention of the United Nations; not as an item on the agenda but in the general debate as the statements of position with which the session of the General Assembly ordinarily open.

They seldom open with so vehement an exchange of charges as those expressed on Monday between Swaran Singh, Indian Foreign Minister on the one side, and Agha Shahi and Mohammad Ali of Pakistan on the other. Swaran Singh's attack was bitter. He accused West Pakistan of having set off a reign of terror in East Bengal, which is East Pakistan, and of continuing its 'deadly activities'. He called the "civilian government" lately set up in East Bengal a group of figure-heads, and West Pakistan's repeated proclamation of amnesty a fraud, since Mujibur Rahman, leader of the outlawed Awami League and others elected to National Assembly in the voting. West Pakistan refused to accept, are On trial for treason.

Agha Shahi's demand that Swaran Singh be ruled out of order, assigning it the internal affairs of another country, was denied Mohammad Ali's more orderly reply in procedural terms was devoted to a charge that India has instigated and was abetting the East Bengalis in a "well planned military effort" to break up Pakistan.

In this West Pakistan once again reveals the weakness of its case. It is true that after the events of March some in India were for open belligerency against Pakistan, and it is obviously true that in the subsequent months India has made contingency military plans. But to call India a conspirator in a revolt against the government is simply absurd. India is involved because it is in India that the refugees from the terror, now numbering some 8 million, have sought safety.

This is why to India and to many outside India, the situation is hardly an. internal Pakistani affair and why the West Pakistan government, unless it altogether changes its course cannot make it seem so.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮৭। পাকিস্তান-ভারত যুদ্ধ	ইভনিং স্টার	৩০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE EVENING STAR (WASHINGTON), SEPTEMBER 30, 1971*

**PAKISTANI CHAOS EDGES INDIA NEARER TO WAR**

By Crosby S. Noyes

With each day that passes, the chances of reaching a political settlement, between East and West Pakistan decrease and the danger of war between Pakistan and India grows. Despite the claims of the government in Islamabad, the military situation in East Pakistan is anything but under control. The repressive efforts of the army which began on March 25 to crush the Bengali movement toward autonomy go on. Today, according to reports, whole villages are being systematically destroyed. And each time they are. Other whole villages are abandoned, their inhabitants joining the flood of refugees fleeing toward India. Again, despite the claims of West Pakistani officials, government administration in the eastern province has virtually ceased to exist. In theory, an appointed Civilian government has been installed for several weeks under the leadership of Dr. A.M. Malik. In fact, the army is the only authority that exists, with martial law in force throughout the whole country.

Meanwhile, the guerrilla resistance movement is growing in size and effectiveness. With India supplying sanctuary and support, the "Mukti Bahini" or Liberation Forces, of the Free Bengal movement are stepping up their harassment of government forces and inflicting growing casualties. Reprisals inflicted on unarmed" civilians only make matters worse, creating now freedom fighters along with refugees.

In India the situation is rapidly becoming intolerable. It is now estimated that more than 8 million East Pakistanis, most of them Hindus, are jammed into refugee camps along the border, adding enormously to the problems of India's normally unstable and restive eastern frontier region. The sheer number of these refugees increasing at a rate of about 50,000 a week imposes a hopeless burden in India. And with the possibility of wide-spread famine in East Pakistan, the refugees' flood, if anything, is expected to increase in the months to come.

Inevitably, the pressure on the Indian government to take some decisive action is building up. Until now, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has moved with restraint, carefully avoiding any move, such as the recognition of Bangladesh (Bengal Nation) that might provoke a third round of fighting between India and Pakistan. The Indians are confident enough of their military capability if war with Pakistan should erupt, they believe they would win it and they also believe that the major powers with interests in the area-Russia, China and the United States would have the good sense not to get involved. But when it comes to what might result from such a war in either East or West Pakistan they are a good deal less confident. The Indians are taking no comfort in the clear signs of a

deteriorating political situation in West Pakistan. The government in Islamabad, having failed to put down the Bengali rebellion with a quick, over-whelming show of military force, now seems very uncertain how to deal with the situation from here. Criticism of the military government of Mohammad Yahya Khan is increasing. And the leading civilian political figure in West Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, is talking openly about the possibility of a revolution or a coup d'etat against the military junta that "inns the country. In this complicated and very dangerous situation, there is one man who conceivably could bring about a settlement which would be less than disastrous for the major parties concerned. He is Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, head of the now outlawed Awami League of Hast Pakistan whose party won a clear majority in the country's national elections last December.

Since the army crackdown on March 25. Sheikh Mujibur has been under arrest in West Pakistan. Charged with treason, he has been tried in secret by a military court. The verdict, which carries the threat of a death sentence, has not been announced.

Sheikh Mujibur is believed to be the only Bengali leader, with his prestige and personal following, who might be able to reverse, the ruinous trend toward chaos in East Pakistan. Even he would have great difficulty in selling any political solution to his followers that aimed at anything less than full independence. But without him, no solution is even conceivable.

It is doubtful, to be sure, that the government of West Pakistan is rational enough at this point to acquit the Sheikh of the charges against him and enter into serious negotiations. The essential thing is that the possibility should not before closed by the conviction and possible execution of the Bengali leader. The United States, which has continued to supply aid to Pakistan in the hope of exerting some restraining influence 011 the government in Islamabad, should use whatever leverage it has to prevent that ultimate tragedy.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮৮। নীরব দর্শকের ভূমিকা	ওয়াশিংটন ডেইলী নিউজ	২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS, OCTOBER 2, 1971*

### Editorial

### THE INNOCENT BYSTANDER

By now, the world has a clear picture of the Pakistani army's six-month campaign to crush the Bangali independence movement in East Pakistan.

The picture is a genocidal horror: the murder of countless thousands of helpless Bengalis, the burning of their villages, the fight of the incredible number of nine million starving refugees into neighboring India.

Not enough is known, however, of the devastating effect of the refugees on India, which, even before they came, was one of the poorest and most overpopulated countries on earth.

A recent study by the World Bank says the refugees will cost India: \$700 million in its 1971-72 fiscal year. Foreign nations have proposed \$200 million in relief aid. Even if all is delivered - India, the innocent bystander-will be out \$500 million this year and more in the future.

India's own population grows by 13 million a year, and the \$ 500 million loss is one-fifth of its economic development programme, which is designed to provide food and work for these new people.

The \$ 500 million loss is also greater than the \$ 400 million net in foreign aid for development that India will receive this year. These figures show the setback to India's economic progress that Pakistan has provoked.

By the grimmest of ironies, Pakistan's military rulers have done more, damage to enemy India by slaughtering part of their own people than if they had openly declared war on India, which they would lose.

Bad as it is, India's situation is only getting worse. The Pakistani army continues its depredations, and close to one million refugees famished, disease-ridden and exhausted- continue to pour into India each month.

The so-called civilized world is clearly unwilling to interfere with Pakistan's "sovereign right" to butcher its Bengalis. That being the shameful case, the international community should at least help India bear the burden unfairly thrust upon it.

What can be done? To start with, the United States, the United Nations, the World Bank and other aid-giving agencies should halt all assistance to Pakistan. All of the withheld aid should be re-channeled to India.

This would be a penalty for genocide and justice to those who give refuge to its victims.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮৯। তারা কি থাকবে না ফিরে যাবে?	সানডে স্টার	৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE SUNDAY STAR (WASHINGTON) OCTOBER 3, 1971*

**IN INDIA, THEY'RE SAFE AND STAYING  
WILL THEY GO BACK OR STAY?**

*By John E. Frazer From New Delhi*

It is now six months since the first column of frightened refugees from East Pakistan trudged into India. After six months, said Indira in March, they will go back—"they must go back." But the reality now is different. The 8.3 million refugees, except for 150,000 of them, are not going back, and they are unlikely to go back for another six months or far longer.

In fact, still others are crossing by land and water into India at the current rate of 14,000 a day, as hunger, fear, and guerrilla warfare drive them out.

Recently I watched from a rise of land in India overlooking a little river in East Pakistan as new arrivals came in.

From a grassy marsh, not 300 yards away, a long country boat moved on the water paddled by a Pakistani boatman. In the unpainted craft huddled a Hindu household of 10 or 12- women, children, two men, their clothes in tin trunks, few utensils dangling, and the saris of the women wet almost to the waist from walking in marshes while escaping.

"We are not thinking of keeping a single one." Siddhartha Sankar Ray, Union Minister for Education and West Bengal Affairs, had said in an interview a few days earlier in Calcutta.

But that Hindu household and millions of other refugees lodged in thatched huts alongside verdant rice fields or in tents shielded from rain by polyethylene sheets, are thinking otherwise; they will stay.

They are hardly comfortable; they are packed in camps like sardiness: sanitation is deplorable. But they have enough to eat (except the protein-hungry babies and nursing mothers)-more food, actually, than 50 million Indians eat- and they are safe.

This is really, why they will stay: in India, they are safe.

But India scarcely dares to face the consequences of 8.3 million foreigners living indefinitely under such conditions. The money cost alone (though shared in part by the United States, the United Nations, and other sources) will be roughly \$1 billion a year simply beyond India's resources. And government work almost everywhere in the four invaded states, West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and Meghalaya, has come to a halt.

"Our 1971-72 development has not started at all, said N.C. Gupta, chief secretary of the West Bengal government. "Everybody is working on the refugees."

Sooner or later, therefore, India must make a hard choice.

The first is to accept the shirk, unwelcome fact that Pakistan has succeeded in forcing up on India some 8 million people, 90 percent of them Hindus; that most of them will never go back, and like the Poles and the White Russians of years past in Europe, they had best be absorbed and dispersed throughout India's 28 states and federal territories.

Publicly, India refuses even to entertain this solution.

A second possibility is for India covertly to help the Mukti Bahini-the Liberation Army-to overthrow the Pakistan army in East Pakistan, establish an independent nation, and thus clear the way for the prompt return of the refugees.

Again, publicly no one will state that this is India's objective. Nevertheless, signs are not wanting that India is turning to such a solution.

It is an open secret that arms and training for the Mukti Bahini comes, in part, from India. In New Delhi, on September 3, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said that it is, not possible for any power to crush or suppress the movement for Bangladesh (the Bengal nation).

Private voices are bolder. Said R.K. Nehru, vice-chancellor of Alahabad University and former secretary-general of the Ministry of External Affairs, early this month, "the situation in Bangladesh provides an ideal opportunity for us to bring about a break-up of Pakistan."

Naturally, Pakistan will not sit still for such an alternative. The greater the thrust of the Mukti Bahini, the greater the chance of a Vietnam-type guerrilla war, and the larger the influx of new refugees into India.

There is still a third possibility. "I could see a settlement short of total independence." an official in India's External Affairs Ministry, said quietly two months ago.

Sometime, perhaps before chaos, it may come to this. But even then, will the refugees go back? At this point, no one knows.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯০। পাক-ভারতের উপর যুদ্ধের ছায়া	নিউজ ডে	১০ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

NEWSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1971

## WAR CLOUDS DARKEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA

It has been nearly six months since civil war flared in Pakistan, and the results to date are a pan of history: several hundred thousand Bengali civilians are dead, massive destruction and dislocation has taken place in East Pakistan and some 8 million refugees from that country are posing an economic and physical drain on India. The threat of war between Pakistan and India is real.

Pakistan has taken the matter to the United Nations General Assembly, pleading for the UN to agree to direct negotiations or talks under impartial auspices on the refugee problem, and it appears likely that the United States, the Soviet Union and tran all will play a mediating role if the leaders of the two feuding countries cannot otherwise be brought together.

Mahmud Ali. Pakistan's chief UN delegate, charged Wednesday that India already has been conducting a clandestine war against his country; India returned the charge accusing Pakistan of shelling Indian border areas;

Indian forces, he charged, had fired "nearly 1000 sheils" into border villages in the Sylhet district, killing 28 persons and wounding 13. And Indian frogmen, he added, have been placing explosive charges on ships carrying food to East Pakistan, where he said 70 million persons were facing famine.

In leveling his charges against India, which is faced now with the problem of Pakistani refugees, Ali did not comment on the role West Pakistan played in the crisis, except to defend the use of force to keep the divided Pakistani nation together.

East and West Pakistan, divided by 1,000 miles of Indian territory, were bound by a common Moslem religion when the country was given independence from Britain in 1947. But East Pakistanis, the majority of whom are Bengali, are ethnically different from West Pakistanis. And although more than half the 137 million population lives in East Pakistan, it is West Pakistan that has dominated the country's political life. And it is West Pakistan that has been fighting to put down an independence drive by the East's Awami League.

That civil war, reportedly of staggering butchery, has left Pakistan on the brink of economic and political ruin. And the resultant refugee problem imposed on India has created an incredible burden on that nation, which is troubled enough just caring for its own repressed masses. This is where Iran and possibly the U.S. and the Soviet Union come in.

Pakistani President Yahya Khan made a recent one-day trip to Teheran to seek the good offices of Shah Riza Pahlevi in mediating his dispute with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who, Yahya said, has refused to meet with him. Some sources say the U.S. and Russia are already assisting Iran in efforts at mediating the squabble and it is assumed that should Iran fall in its peacemaking role, it will fall to the big powers to try their own mediating efforts.

Meanwhile, Yahya's government, in seeking to repress the independence struggle of East Pakistan's 75 million Bengalis, has several options, none of them good.

It can continue its policy of repression, which most foreign observers believe is doomed to fail. It can cause, or be egged into, war with India—a war it almost surely would lose. Or it can about the hopelessness of its quest to refuse Bengali independence, thus discrediting its own army and angering West Pakistan's ethnic minorities. The only good alternative settling peacefully with the rival forces in East Pakistan—is considered by now impossible; too much blood has been spilled, too much anger has been exposed.

Observers of the grim scene are speculating that, of all the options, the first is most likely to be followed by Yahya's government. The third is considered least likely. But the second, a war with India which would inflame the entire Asian subcontinent, is a real threat. Such a conflict could involve not only India and Pakistan, but the world powers lined up behind them.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯১। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের বিভঃস অবস্থা সব আশা ধ্বংস করেছে	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*NEW YORK TIMES, OCTOBER 11, 1971*  
**HORRORS OF EAST PAKISTAN TURNING HOPE  
 INTO DESPAIR**  
 By Malcom M. Browne

Dacca, October 10 -The horror of life in East Pakistan shows every sign of becoming permanently institutionalized, and most, if not all, the foreigners who came hoping to help are on the verge of despair.

In particular, the chances of reversing the tide of millions of destitute refugees who have fled to India seem remote. Most governments consider the refugee problem the main catalyst in the atmosphere of war prevailing on the subcontinent.

India charges that military terror in East Pakistan since the central government moved against the Bengali separatists on March 25, has driven nine million refugees across her borders. Those people, the Indians say, are an intolerable drain on already vastly overtaxed economic resources and a force that could result in a political catastrophe or internal warfare.

The New Delhi Government has hinted that as a last resort it might try to change the situation in East Pakistan by force to induce the refugees, whom Pakistan numbers at less than a third of the Indian figure, to leave India. Pakistan has hastened her own preparations for war. Major troop movements have been reported here and in India in the past few weeks.

The Soviet Union, China and the United States, among other nations, are deeply entangled in the tangle. The United Nations and other international organisations have been working with great urgency to alleviate the misery and especially to prevent a war.

Dozens of governments have teams of experts, technicians and diplomats working in East Pakistan. The United Nations in East Pakistan Relief Operation alone has 75 officials here.

There is some disagreement among the hundreds of foreign officials about the techniques by which the refugees could be repatriated. But there is apparent unanimity on one subject that East Pakistan should overcome its reputation as a place of endless horror and suffering.

To that end many governments, including that of the United States, have pressed the Pakistani Government at Islamabad for fundamental changes in East Pakistan, among them these:

### **No Real Progress Discerned**

The end of police and military terror directed against thousands of political suspects and millions of non-Moslem members of ethnic and religious minorities.

A reasonably representative government in Dacca, capable of restoring the faith of East Pakistan's predominantly in the future of democracy.

A much more convincing effort by the central government to relieve the physical suffering wrought on East Pakistan's predominately Bengali population by flood, cyclone and war in the last year.

The consensus among the foreigners working here is that there has been no real progress in any of these areas.

Whispered conversations with Bengalis still have to do largely with alleged atrocities by the occupation army, which is largely made up of West Pakistanis and is hated by most of the population.

One tale that is widely believed and seems to come from many different sources is that 563 women picked up by the army in March and April and held in military brothels are not being released because they are pregnant beyond the point at which abortions are possible.

A Government spokesman denied the report and challenged any accuser to name the place where the women are supposed to be held. On the other hand, a number of Bengali gynecologists are known to have been performing many abortions girls held at army installations and released.

### **Two or Three Released**

In a clandestine meeting elaborately arranged to elude military surveillance, a Bengali farmer told this correspondent about one such experience. Talking with great reticence and glancing around in fear that he had been led into a police trap, he said.

"The army came to the village on the night of April 11. One patrol led me away from my house to identify something, and when I got back I found my sister was missing. Another girl, the daughter of a neighbor was gone, and there was a Hindu family whose girl was missing."

"In the middle of May they released my sister and the neighbor's daughter, but the Hindu girl the gone. The two girls who came back are both pregnant and will have their babies. At tile place where they were kept there were 2(X) or 300 girls doing the same thing. They had to wash clothing and to make love to soldiers two or three times a day".

"My sister does not know where she was kept", the farmer added.

Many Dacca residents, including foreigners tell of having seen young women taken away by military policemen without even identification check.

Other people, obscure and prominent are also subject to arbitrary arrest although President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan proclaimed a general amnesty for political prisoners last month and his action was warmly applauded by foreign diplomats seeking political accommodation in East Pakistan. The diplomats who now say that the amnesty was purely cosmetic, report that the Government not only has failed to release any important prisoners but also has continued arresting politicians, professors, lawyers and others by the hundreds.

According to a number of reports, some from foreign observers, a number of persons under amnesty have been arrested and shot.

### **The Most Prominent Prisoner**

The most prominent prisoner in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman universally acknowledged as the political and spiritual leader of East Bengal. Sheikh Mujib's Awami League party won a sweeping election victory last December for National Assembly seats allocated to East Pakistan and he had been scheduled to become Prime Minister of all of Pakistan.

Most diplomats and other foreigners believe that a resolution of the East Pakistani crisis can be found only if Sheikh Mujib's permitted to exercise the role of leadership in East Pakistan to which he was elected. But he remains a Prisoner undergoing a secret military trial and facing a possible death sentence.

Members of his family while not accused of any crime are held as virtual prisoners here.

Such political repression was extended not only to Awami League but to any politician or group likely to embarrass the military regime.

The effect was dramatically underscored last week by a former chief of the Air Force, who decided to try running for public office in view of the government's announced intention of moving toward democratic processes.

The officer, Mohammad Asghar Khan, a retired Air Marshal, is known throughout Pakistan as a patriot and political moderate. He commanded the Air force in 1965 during Pakistan's brief but bloody war with India and has always insisted that Pakistan remain one country.

### **Programme Was Censored**

Mr. Asghar Khan, a West Pakistani and a leader of the movement that brought about the collapse of President Mohammad Ayub Khan's government in 1968 offered a conciliatory programme calling for major developmental efforts in East Pakistan and genuine political freedom for its people, but it has been completely censored. On Friday he announced that no candidate could run unless he could reach the public through the press, so he has withdrawn.

"Today is a black day for the democracy in Pakistan", he said, "when even I, with a mild programme breaking martial law regulations, am frozen out."

When the army occupied East Pakistan and banned the Awami League the election was in effect annulled. Some elected assemblymen were cleared by the army to take their seats but most had fled to India or joined guerrillas.

In July President Yahya Khan announced that bye-election would be held to fill the seats. Government approved candidates and parties, most of them strongly rightwing and fundamentalist. Moslems and all heavily escorted by troops, have begun giving speeches in East Pakistan, and are reported on at length in the "CONTROLLED PRESS All have advocated a war to finish against miscreants and Indian agents-words invariably used by the Government to describe the Bengali guerrillas.

Meanwhile the anguish of war continues in the countryside. The guerrillas are taking an increasing toll of the occupation army and medical circles report growing numbers of bodies of soldiers. The guerrillas are, also said to be assassinating members of the local "peace committees", civilian groups made up mostly of non-Bengalis and assigned to carry out army administration of occupied areas.

When troops or peace committees are attacked the army burns hamlets to the ground in reprisal, and local reports usually tell of heavy losses of life.

In the prevailing circumstances according to most foreign observers stationed here, the refugee crisis and the other major problems are not susceptible of solution however, much foreign assistance is poured in. It is susceptibly unlikely they say, that East Pakistan's Hindu minority, about 10 per cent of the March population of 75 million, will ever return in any number.

The Hindus were particular targets of the soldiers. Hindu communities and shops burned out by the army stand deserted, their temples smashed.

The Government have made it plain that Hinduism will no longer be tolerated in East Pakistan; to reinforce the point the new civilian governor, Dr. A. M. Malik did not appoint a Hindu to his interim cabinet

#### Centers No Longer Visited

A foreign relief worker, reflecting the failure of government's amnesty, said, "we no longer bother to visit the government's 60 or so refugee reception centers. It is obvious they are coming back in more than a tiny trickle-none in some areas".

"At one place," he added, "we discovered that the government had a staff of Professional refugees that they brought out whenever visitor came to show that something was going on".

"The army authorities tell you there are 2000 refugees at some camps, another expert related, you go there and find a handful of people wandering around, and under continued questioning the authorities agree - maybe there are only 200".

There are universal complaints that even in the matter of humanitarian relief the army has commandeered all available trucks, cars, motor-launches and boats-The only

Available means of moving food or supplies until foreign relief vehicles can be brought in.

### **Blame put on India**

The government insists that all or most of the troubles would disappear if India would end her "provocation's" and stop infiltrating men and arms into East Pakistan.

The Pakistanis say India's warlike action are demonstrated by her unwillingness to allow United Nations of a military peace keeping force between East Pakistan and India through which refugees could move if they choose. It seems unlikely that either country would agree to such a move.

The pessimism among foreign observers are formidable.

"There is really nothing anyone with any amount of money can do for East Pakistan," a relief expert commented. "It seems the population of the sub-continent doubles every generation it will only get worse".

"My own feeling", he added, "and I know lots of 'us share it, is that the outside world might, just as well, pull out now AND LET THING HERE TAKE THEIR INEVITABLE COURSE".

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯২। সিনেট কর্তৃক পাকিস্তানে সাহায্য বন্ধের প্রস্তাব	বাল্টিমোর সান	১৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*BALTIMORE SUN, OCTOBER 15, 1971*  
**SENATE PANEL CUTS MILLIONS IN AID,  
 PLANS TO SUSPEND PAKISTAN HELP**

Washington. Trimming millions of dollars in across-the-board cuts from president Nixon's foreign aid requests, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee agreed yesterday to suspend all assistance to Pakistan.

The committee also remarked a special \$85 million aid fund for Israel but postponed Final work on the \$35 billion authorization measure until the House votes next week on an end to war amendment.

Individual members gave the data to newsmen. But Senator J. W. Fulbright (D.. Ark.), the chairman, and committee aides refused to confirm Figures until a final markup session, sometime next week.

As related by senators, the committee voted 20 per cent across -the board cuts in the Military Assistance Program, in development loans and in supporting assistance.

Senator Jacob Javits (R.N.Y.) reported the committee added an \$85 million supporting assistance loan for Israel after it had made its general cut.

He and Senator Frank Church (D.. Idaho) said the committee also voted a 15 per cent reduction in funds for the Alliance for progress in Latin America.

Church said the provision on Pakistan would close down aid of every kind-military, economic, grants, loans and sales-until such time as the president certifies to Congress that Pakistan is co-operating in bringing peace to the Indian subcontinent and is allowing refugees now in India to return peacefully to their homes in East Pakistan.

Mr. Church said the cutoff would apply to aid now in the pipeline to Pakistan as well as that scheduled for the future.

The Pakistan aid involves \$118 million for economic development assistance programs and \$5 million in arms.

The voting came a day after the committee voted to put a ceiling on aid to Cambodia, an action that the State Department said could seriously threaten the ability of that South- East Asian nation to defend itself.

**Series of tie votes**

Yesterday's action, cutting the U. S. military aid to other nation from \$705 million to \$565 million, was taken after efforts to reduce the program even further failed on a series of 6-to-6 tie votes.



The tiebreaker, Senator Clifford Case (R., N. J.), said the cut actually represented a 'victory of sorts for the hawks.'

"There were people who wanted to cut more," Mr. Case said.

"I think this represented a moderate reaction to the feeling in the country, that were trying to do too much around the world," Mr. Case said.

The percentage cut will force the pentagon to decide where to make the reductions in the list of foreign beneficiaries.

The only exceptions will be a number of specific reductions made earlier by the committee.

At the state Department, the press officer, Robert J. McCloskey. said the administration should not have its hands tied by congressionally imposed ceilings on aid funds or on the number of American officials in Cambodia.

Tie was reacting to the committee vote Wednesday imposing a \$250 million limit on military and economic aid to Cambodia for this fiscal year.

The committee also voted to limit the American civilian and military personnel in Cambodia to 200.

Referring to a letter sent Wednesday to the Committee by the acting Secretary of state. John Irwin, Mr. McCloskey said the administration feels the minimum amount of aid necessary is \$330 million.

This figure, Mr. McCloskey said, "is essential to help Cambodia consolidate its independence."

Mr. McCloskey said Mr. Irwin pointed out in his letter that the president must retain as well his authority to provide more aid if an emergency arises.

The pentagon had asked for the authorization of funds for military aid to a total of 46 nations.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯৩। পাকিস্তানের অবস্থা সংকটজনক	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	১৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

WASHINGTON POST, OCTOBER 17, 1971

# PAKISTANI PLIGHT 'DESPERATE'

By Anthony Astrachan

United Nations, October 16. There has been some Progress on humanitarian relief in the East Pakistan crisis but none on the political and military sides, according to U. N. sources, and the situation remains "desperate."

Forty-seven speakers in the annual U. N. general debate that ended this week called for political reconciliation, but none moved to put the problem on the agenda of the General Assembly or the Security Council.

U. N. officials suggested two causes. One was collective fatigue from involvement in Chinese representation, the Middle East conflict and other was fear of involvement in a great-power conflict. Secretary General U Thant urged the Security Council to take action on this "potential threat to peace and security" last August. Private consultations showed soviet backing for India and American leanings toward Pakistan, and the council refused even to endorse Thant's expression of concern.

India estimates that 9.3 million refugees had fled from East Pakistan to India as of October 11 Pakistan puts the refugee figure at 2 million U. N. officials are reckoning relief supplies in terms of 6.5 to 8.5 million refugees, with thousands more crossing the border every day.

According to diplomats here and foreigners in Dacca, prerequisites for the return of refugees are a representative government in Dacca, an end to police and military terror in East Pakistan, and more effective efforts by the Pakistan government to repair the damage of the crisis.

The same sources say these prerequisites have not been met despite promises of amnesty and the revival of political life by president Yahya Khan.

In these circumstances, the return of refugees is too small to be called a trickle, according to sources here.

Observers here recently repeated fears that general war would break out between the two countries. At the same time they point out that India has so far refused to do either of the things most likely to precipitate a war, perhaps because of restraint from the Soviet Union. It has refused to give de jure recognition to the Bangladesh government in Calcutta on Indian soil, and it has refused to give the guerrillas the logistic support and air cover that would enable them to seize a piece of East Pakistan territory.

The Indians have apparently armed and trained the guerrillas. The guerrillas mukti bahini have severed the main rail line in East Pakistan. Every week they blow up roads and bridges. Frogmen have damaged foreign ships in East Pakistan harbors and craft that ply the Province's waterways.

This prevents relief supplies from reaching needy Pakistanis. The guerrillas have not attacked U. N. personnel or facilities, but appear determined that relief activities should not appear to support the Pakistan government, according to U.N. officials on the scene. Since food is often distributed through schools; this may soon make local food and education authorities prime targets.

U. N. reports emphasize the cooperation of the Pakistan government in relief programs. Yet when the U. N. East Pakistan Relief Operation (UNEPRO) wanted to bring portable radios in to make it possible to communicate with field agents and keep track of relief supplies, both civil and refused permission. They expressed fear that the mukti bahini would capture the radios.

U. N. officials have had to take over transport dispatching and supervision of vehicle maintenance themselves, but UNEPRO has been able to put only 14, of the 90 U. N. personnel in East Pakistan permanently in the field.

Martin Woolacott of the Manchester Guardian reported from Dacca that only 30 of the 100 trucks UNEPRO had brought in to carry food had left the part of Chittagong because roads to most areas were not usable. He reported that only five out of 17 coastal vessels and seven out of nine "minibulders" had arrived but U.N. officials here claim all have reached East Pakistan.

The Indian government insists it can manage its own relief efforts without foreign help-except for funds. U.N. officials report that in refugee camps they were allowed to visit food, and shelter materials were getting to, the people though sanitation was terrible.

Officials are suspicious, however that things are worse in areas they were not allowed to visit. Some cite examples to show that the problems are the same in west Bengal as in East Pakistan. For instance, the Indians failed to provide the drivers and maintenance men promised to keep. 1,000 U.N. supplied trucks operating.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯৪। বাংলাদেশের জন্য যুদ্ধ	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*NEW YORK TIMES, OCTOBER 17, 1971*  
**THE GRIM FIGHT FOR BANGLADESH**

New Delhi-"If the Vietcong had been doing this well for six months, they would have considered it a remarkably good start" The foreign diplomat was talking about the Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces), the Bengali insurgents who are fighting for the independence of East Pakistan, which they have named Bangladesh (Bengal nation).

From a disorganized, confused band of freedom fighters that moved into action when the Pakistani Army struck in late March to try to crush the Bengali autonomy movement, the Mukti Bahini has become, if not a well-oiled fighting machine, at least a reasonably coordinated and more than reasonably effective guerrilla force.

India has helped with arms training and sanctuary-and, clearly, without the Indian aid, the level of insurgent activity could never have reached its present pit. But the men and the motivation are East Pakistani, and, even if they were on their own, it is doubtful whether the Bengali resistance could be totally crushed by the troops from West Pakistan.

An estimated 80,000 West Pakistani troops have been moved into East Pakistan, plus several thousand West Pakistani police. They have hastily trained about 10,000 non-Bengali home guards known as Razakars.

Estimates of the number of Mukti Bahini pitted against this force range from 80,000 to 100,000; foreign observers think the lower number is probably the more realistic. The hard core of professional soldiers and some of these are not highly trained, consists of no more than 15,000-Bengalis who defected to the Bangladesh movement from the East Pakistan Rifles, a paramilitary border patrol Force, and the East Bengal Regiment, a better-trained regular army unit. In addition, an estimated 30,000 to 40,000 new recruits- mostly between the ages of 18 to 25 and mostly college students but including many village boys-have been trained.

Many Bangladesh training camps and base areas are on the Indian side of the border, but a growing number of the Bengali troops have been operating from "liberated areas" just inside East Pakistan. These areas, though not-large, have been expanding.

Some of the new recruits are being trained as regular troops and others as guerrillas. The latter adopt village dress and mix with the local population. There are many more volunteers, however, than the Mukti Bahini can absorb, primarily because of a shortage of weapons and a large number of boys simply mark time after getting their rudimentary basic training-which is hardly more than physical exercises and elementary driving.

The Mukti Bahini's weapons are a motley lot. There are some Stenguns, light machine guns and other automatic weapons, and many ancient single-shot rifles. The

heaviest weapons in the around are light and medium mortars and not too many of them. These arms are of varying makes and age some captured from the Pakistani troops and some-though far from enough, the Bengalis complain-provided by the Indians.

Yet with all these problems the Mukti Bahini has effectively harassed the Pakistani Army pinned it down in some areas and stretched its lines thin all over East Pakistan. Reliable reports indicate that Pakistani casualties are increasing. The guerrillas also continue to assassinate members of the local "peace committees," made up of non- Bengalis and other collaborators assigned to carry out administration of areas under army occupation. No figures are available on guerrilla casualties, hut they are believed to be low. However, with every guerrilla raid, the army burns hamlets and kills villagers in reprisal.

The guerrillas' greatest success has been their ability to reduce the army's mobility by keeping East Pakistan's communications system in chaos-blowing up bridges, roads and rail lines. Guerrilla frogmen have also damaged or sunk at least a dozen sea-going ships- including several foreign ones -at anchor in harbors. Seven British shipping lines have suspended all traffic to East Pakistan.

Although the Mukti Bahini is much better coordinated than it was six months ago, it is not a monolithic fighting force. Splinter groups have started operations on their own, including some pro-Peking Communists. One group, led by non-Communist militant students from Dacca, is said to have established a base in the Indian border slate of Tripura with a band of 1,500 men. Still, there is no sign at this point either of any serious division within the Bangladesh movement or of the movement swinging to the left.

With the monsoon rains over, it is expected that both the Mukti Bahini and the Pakistani troops will step up their activities in East Pakistan. Heavily, guarded freight trains have been rail-into-Calcutta, carrying military supplies reportedly destined for the Mukti Bahini. This seems to indicate that the Indian Government has agreed to increase in arms aid to the guerrillas.

But Mukti Bahini commanders, straining at the bite continue to press for even more- Indian logistic support and air cover for a frontal offensive to seize a sizable piece of East Pakistan, where the Bangladesh Government, now based in Calcutta, could be established. The Indians, have, so far balked, because they feel this would immediately provoke a general war with Pakistan. The Bangladesh leaders argue that for all the effectiveness of guerrilla warfare, its hit-and-run nature will eventually sap the independence movement of popular support because of the Pakistani reprisals against the civilian population.

"We will lose the sympathy of many villagers," said one high-Bengali officer. "They tell us 'if you want our support you must come in full force and stay and protect us."

**Sydney H. Schanberg**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯৫। মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র পাকিস্তান ও ভারতকে সংযত হতে বলেছে	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৯ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES. OCTOBER 19, 1971*  
**U.S. URGING INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO SHOW RESTRAINT  
 AT FRONTIERS  
 PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY'**  
*By Bernard Gwerizmam*  
**Special To The New York Times**

Washington, October, 18- The United States expressed concern today over the heightened tensions and build-up of opposing forces along the Indian- Pakistani border.

Charles W. Bray 3d. a State Department spokesman, said that the United States was urging both India and Pakistan to show restraint in the situation and was practicing "a form of preventive diplomacy" with other nations as well.

Among the nations reached by American diplomats, officials said, were the Soviet Union, France and Britain.

The United States Government acted a day after it was reported that the President of Pakistan Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, had proposed that forces be withdrawn from both sides of the borders between his country and India.

According to the official Associated Press of Pakistan, President Yahya Khan offered to pull his troops back from defensive positions along the borders if India would withdraw her forces and cease what he termed infiltration and other hostile acts. Pakistan has accused the Indians of assisting the Bengali separatist guerrillas in East Pakistan.

The report said that the Pakistani leader made his proposal during a meeting in Iran last week with the Soviet President, Nikolai V. Podgorny.

Through the officials in the Washington refused to disclose the size of the military buildings along India with East and West Pakistan, they indicated that they were sizable and exacerbated the situation.

"We've been concerned over the reports of heightened tensions in the subcontinent including what appears to be build-up of forces on both sides in the border area" Mr. Bray said.

"We have been and continue to be in touch with both Governments with a view to urging restraint by both sides in the situation." He said "we are also in touch with other Governments on this matter as well."

**Yahya's Proposal Underlined**

Mr. Bray, indicating that the United States had no specific peace plan for the area, said that "We would support any measures that would have the effect of reducing tensions."

The other officials drew attention to the report of President Yahya Khan's 'withdrawal proposal

They also noted a statement attributed to the Indians 'Defense Minister, Jagjivan Ram, who said that If India were attacked, she would not withdraw from any Pakistani territory her army occupied.

"If war is thrust on us by the Pakistani military junta, our forces will march forward and occupy their cities, and this time we will not withdraw from the occupied territory come what may," Mr. Ram was quoted as saying.

Asserting that India would not pull back from the border until the dispute in East Pakistan had been resolved, he said.

"India will not submit to world pressure in this regard."

Spokesmen on both sides have warned of the possibility of war growing out of the Pakistani efforts to crush the autonomy Government.

Millions of refugees have crossed into northeastern India and put strains on her resources. So far the Indian Government has refrained from giving formal recognition to the East Pakistan secessionists-but Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is believed to be under heavy pressure from Hindu nationalists to do so.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯৬। এশিয়ার নাজুক পরিস্থিতি	বাল্টিমোর সান	১৯ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*BALTIMORE SUN, OCTOBER 19, 1971*  
TENSE IN ASIA

We may hope that the appearance of tragic inevitability in relations between India and Pakistan will turn out to have been appearance only, and that the two nations will not again find, themselves in a war neither wants and neither could profit from. But the signs do grow ominous, as New Delhi and Rawalpindi take measures of mounting military preparation they feel to be required by the circumstances.

India does not want war because war would add new costs and new human suffering to a burden of both already almost intolerable. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's statement (to visitor Tito of Yugoslavia) that Indira does not want war but still must be prepared to defend itself is not only the official but also the real position, though it must be noted that there are some in India who think war cannot be avoided, and since unavoidable should be sought. This view is hardly tempered by the remark of Jagjivan Ram, the Indian defense minister, that "if war is thrust upon us: by the Pakistan military junta, our forces will march forward and occupy those cities (Sialkot and Lahore, near the Western frontier) and this time we will not withdraw from the occupied Pakistan territory, come what may."

In any case, Mr. Ram said. Indian forces would remain, on the western and eastern borders so long as Bangladesh, or East Bengal, is threatened. This comes to the heart of the real cause of today's tension, the brutal West Pakistani suppression of East Pakistan last March, and raises the, central present problem, the existence in India of some 9 million refugees, with others arriving at a reported rate of 40,000 a day.

India, insists that Pakistan is obligated to reach a political settlement under which the refugees could safely, return. Any such settlement is remote. For one thing only, the great majority of the refugees are Bengali Hindus and it is more than possible that the West Pakistan regime considers their departure good riddance. Nor does a tone of compromising very convincingly in. the offer, of President Yahya Khan of Pakistan to withdraw Pakistani forces from positions along, the borders if India withdraws its own forces and ceases infiltration and other hostile acts: the hostile acts obviously to be judged by West Pakistan.

For its part Pakistan cannot want war. Even should war come before winter seals off the Himalayas, thus giving India the additional worry of frontiers with China, the leaders of Pakistan must know how superior militarily India is, and how good a chance its troops would actually have of seizing and even holding Lahore, the great city of West Pakistan, actual and symbolic. The fall of Lahore would be simple disaster. Only in desperation could West Pakistan be willing to invite that.

At a guess the prospects are that war will not come now; but the buildup of military postures, and the increasingly belligerent temper of too much talk on both sides, are creating an atmosphere in which war by accident is impossible to rule out.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯৭। সাহায্য কমিয়ে দেয়া একটি নিষ্ঠুর সিদ্ধান্ত	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	২০ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*NEW YORK TIMES, OCTOBER 20, 1971*  
**THE CRUELEST CUT**

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee today begins final action in its task of "marking up" the foreign aid authorization bill—a hatchet job that might more appropriately be described as cutting down foreign aid. The committee already has chopped 25 per cent from the Administration's \$3.3-billion military and economic assistance request.

The crudest cut of all is a provision in the tentative committee bill which would, in effect, take nearly 10 per cent more out of total funds available for foreign aid in the current fiscal year. This is a requirement that \$250 million in emergency relief for Pakistani refugees requested by the President after submission of the regular aid will be deducted from other foreign assistance programs.

Congress has good reason to be angry and alarmed over the Administration's handling of the Pakistani situation. There are good grounds for another committee amendment which orders suspension of military and development aid to the Government of Pakistan pending resolution of the political crisis in East Pakistan and return of the refugees.

But the humanitarian needs created by the unprecedented flow of 9 million Bengali refugees into India and by the ravages of internal strife in East Pakistan transcend politics. This extraordinary human tragedy demands an extraordinary response from all nations. The American response should be straightforward and generous. It should not be compromised by this insidious linkage with the on-going quarrel between Congress and the Administration over the dimensions and directions of long term foreign aid. "

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯৮। পাকিস্তান ও ভারতের সৈন্য মুখোমুখি	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২০ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*NEW YORK TIMES, OCTOBER 20, 1971*  
**INDIA AND PAKISTAN ARMIES CONFRONT EACH  
 OTHER ALONG BORDERS**  
*By Sydney H. Schanberg*  
**Special To The New York Times**

New Delhi, October 19- The armies of India and Pakistan now confronting each other among their borders. Most Western diplomats here are inclined to believe that, at least in West Pakistan, the Pakistani troops moved up first and that the Indians moved in response.

According to high Indian sources, the build-up in West Pakistan began last month, and by last Thursday virtually all the infantry and armored divisions in West Pakistan were at or within striking distance of the border.

Some border area canals have been flooded as barriers and Pakistani civilians have evacuated several border areas -some on orders from the army and others on their own, out of panic the sources say.

Some of the heaviest troop concentration are reported to be at points where the Pakistanis crossed the Indian border in the three-week war over Kashmir in 1965.

The border areas of East Pakistan, where it is believed there are four or five divisions have also reportedly been strengthened.

The Indians are also said to have four or five divisions along their side of the border. President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan of Pakistan has charged that the Indians have eight divisions there.

In addition, the Pakistani troops in East Pakistan also have to cope with the increasingly effective Bengali guerrillas of the independence movement, who are receiving arms, training and sanctuary in India.

An estimated total of nine and a half million East Pakistani have fled to India since the Pakistan army moved in March and crush the Bengali separation movement.

India is believed to have positioned 12 or 13 divisions on the border with West Pakistan about 1,000 miles from East Pakistan.

Here in New Delhi, no war hysteria or panic is evident but some families are moving out of border towns have begun civil defense exercises including blackouts.

Indian sources would not disclose the number of troops at the border except to say that, "we are strong than they are." The sources said the Indian movement to the border was either complete or virtually complete.

"We're pretty well set now," one key official said.

An Indian source said that "We had a tremendous fright," on the night of October 14. after a report had been received during the day that Pakistanis would attack on the west that night.

"The General staff stayed up all night the source said. The report may have been planted or the Pakistanis might have changed the plans. We're getting a little more sleep now, but the situation is such that any night could be the night."

The Indian sources indicated that the Government was moving toward a harder stand against what they described as Pakistani border "Provocation." such as shillings and mines laid in Indian territory.

"We've shown great presence but there's a great pressure building in the Government firm counteraction," one official said.

Asked if this counteraction might include pursuing Pakistani troops across the border, and if this could result in full-scale hostilities, he said: If it does, we will have to face the consequences".

At a heavily attended news conference this morning. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was asked about the urgings of the great powers for restraint.

"It seems very simple and plausible to say Pakistan troop will withdraw she said. "But Pakistan has been escalating the situation -by putting troops all along the border by their hate-India campaign and by their call for a War of Jihad (holy war). This is not a one-sided matter. You cannot shake hands with a clenched fist."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯৯। গণহত্যা বন্ধ না হওয়া পর্যন্ত ভারত সৈন্য পিছু হটাবে না	লস এঞ্জেলস টাইমস	২১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*LOS ANGELES TIMES, OCTOBER 21, 1971*

**INDIA REFUSES PULLBACK  
Premier Cites 'Atrocities' in East Pakistan**

*By William J. Drummond*

New Delhi. October 19-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said today that India would not reduce its border military buildup until the Pakistani army stopped its "atrocities" in East Pakistan.

In her first formal press conference since last March, when civil strife broke out in East Pakistan, Mrs. Gandhi told more than 100 newsmen that she opposed direct talks with Pakistan on the subject of a border troop withdrawal or the return of the 9 million refugees to their homes.

Mrs. Gandhi's stand opened no avenue for a reduction in the buildup on the border and the bristling confrontation between Indian and Pakistani armed forces.

Pakistani President Yahya Khan reportedly offered to reduce his forces if India would do the same and also "cease infiltration and other hostile acts. "

Although Mrs. Gandhi described the border situation as "grave," she said her plans to go abroad on October 24 still stand. "The country is perfectly safe in the hands of the army and. I might say, the Indian people themselves." she said.

She is scheduled to tour Western Europe and the United States, arriving in Washington November 4.

The prime minister said she was opposed to any third-party mediation efforts between India and Pakistan. "On what subject will any country mediate?" she asked. There have been indications that Soviet President Podgorny was making efforts to cool the crisis between the two neighbors.

Asked what conditions Pakistan would have to meet before India would agree to pull back some of its forces from the frontiers, Mrs. Gandhi replied.

"First, the West Pakistani soldiers would have to stop their atrocities in Bangladesh."

Second, she said, Pakistan would have to create conditions where freely elected representatives would take office. She added that the results of the elections held last December, in which Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League won a majority, "cannot be ignored in a solution."

Mujibur is a captive of Pakistani army and has reportedly been standing a secret trial. His militant' followers have been waging guerrilla warfare against the West Pakistani troops since the army cracked down in East Pakistan on March 25.

Mrs. Gandhi said the guerrilla forces had the support of the "entire Population of Bangladesh." She regularly employed the term "Bangladesh" (Bengal Nation), which the rebels have applied to East Pakistan.

She claimed that India was involved in the crisis as a "side effect" and that 13 percent of the East Pakistani population was now living on Indian soil as a result of this. Therefore, she said, India could not provide a solution to getting the refugees back home.

"The problem is between the Pakistani military regime and the elected representatives of Bangladesh. A solution must satisfy the people of Bangladesh and the representatives they elected not so long ago," said the Prime Minister. Despite Mrs. Gandhi's efforts to remove India from involvement, it has been widely reported that the guerrilla forces operating in East Pakistan are supplied from India and receive sanctuary there.

Meanwhile, the commander of the Pakistani air force threatened to take "appropriate action." if Indian planes "continue to violate Pakistan's air space," AP reported.

An air force spokesman said Air Marshal A. Rahim khan made the statement in a message to the head of the Indian air force. Rahim claimed an Indian air force Canberra crossed into West Pakistan territory at Bahawalnagar, about four miles inside Pakistan, on Saturday. The area is near the Rajasthan desert where both sides have stepped up troop buildups.

According to the statement the air force chief said India had been violating airspace for some time in East and West Pakistan but "such violations have become more frequent deliberate and provocative."

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০০। শান্তির প্রতি হুমকি	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	২২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE WASHINGTON POST, OCTOBER 21, 1971*

**Editorial  
THREAT TO PEACE**

It was an appeal rendered grotesque by the twin facts that one side, Pakistan is almost entirely responsible for the threat to the peace, and the United States is a partisan of that side with arms supplies, political support relief and so on. The danger to peace on the subcontinent does not lie in the traditional differences between India and Pakistan, but in Pakistan's policy of exporting an internal political problem-in the form of refugees-into India.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০১ সৈন্য প্রত্যাহার করলেই সমস্যার সমাধান হবে না	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	২১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE WASHINGTON POST, OCTOBER 21, 1971*  
**WITHDRAWAL WON'T SETTLE ISSUE: INDIA**  
**Reuter**

New Delhi, October 20-India has told the United States that a withdrawal of troops from the India-Pakistan borders will not settle the East Pakistan problem, an official spokesman said here today.

He said that the United States had not made any specific proposals, but that several ideas suggesting a pull back by both countries six miles from the frontier had been floated around.

It was not a question of accepting or rejecting these ideas, he said, but of understanding that the root of the present tension was the East Pakistan issue. This issue, he continued, has to be settled between the military rulers in Islamabad, the Pakistani capital, and the elected leaders of East Pakistan, most of whom were members of the banned Awami League led by the imprisoned Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The spokesman said at a press briefing that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union had offered good offices or mediation in the situation.

India expected the international community to put pressure on President Yahya Khan to create conditions which would enable the East Pakistan refugees in India to return, the spokesman said.

If that were not done, he added, then India reserved the right to take necessary action to send them back. But the spokesman reaffirmed that India would do nothing to provoke a war with Pakistan.

Earlier today in a joint communiqué issued after a four day visit by President Tito. India and Yugoslavia warned that the East Pakistan situation was likely to be aggravated if a solution were not soon found.

They had agreed on the need for a political settlement to the problem which was in itself a source of instability and tension, the communiqué said.

Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi had said the unconditional release from prison of Sheikh Mujibur was a prerequisite to a settlement.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০২। দক্ষিণ এশিয়ার বিপর্যয় এড়ানোর পন্থা	নিউজ উইক	২৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*NEWS WEEK, OCTOBER 25, 1971*  
**AVOIDING DISASTER IN SOUTH ASIA**  
 By William P. Bundy

The sheer horror of the Pakistan reign of terror in East Bengal and of the resulting refugee situation in India has been almost obsessive in recent months. It has, perhaps for others besides myself, drowned out real efforts to think through the future there. But such efforts are vital. For the next three months are absolutely critical: they are, in fact, likely to decide whether the horror can be brought under control and whether the even worse horror of outright war between India and Pakistan can be averted.

But, critical in what ways? And what do we do-"We" being the nations of the world, but above all, the U. S.?

The minimum objective is clear enough. A political situation which will stop and in time, reverse the refugee flow must be one that minimally satisfies the aspirations of the bulk of the people of East Bengal. Whether defined in practical or moral terms, this means at the very least bringing back Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and granting East Pakistan a far higher degree of autonomy than any West Pakistan leader, military or civilian, has yet visualized. Very likely it means an independent Bangladesh in time, but to attempt this at one bite would be to trigger a renewed blood bath, one cannot strike final solutions while passions are as hot as they are now. Time and a reduction of pressures on all three parties-the Pakistan Government, India and the Awami League leaders of East Bengal-are vital elements.

### **Build Up Of Pressures**

The measure of the crisis, however, is that time is now running against all three primary parties, and the pressures, far from being reduced, are building up. In addition to the trial of Mujibur Rahman himself, at least three fuses are lit and running, any one of which could explode in the critical three months. One is the distribution of food within East Bengal. A second, closely related, is the peace of activity of the India-supported guerrilla movement there, the Mukti Bahini or Liberation Army.

A third fuse, set for perhaps eight to twelve months, is the economic situation in West Pakistan, which is heavily dependent on foreign aid. Beyond all this, and in the longer run perhaps the most ominous threat of all, is the effect of the crisis on Indian economic development. Mrs. Gandhi's triumphant election last March seemed a last chance for India to get on top of its problems. And renewing India's forward progress is critical to the survival of a united India.



Let us take the four problems posed by the Bengal situation in order. Barely adequate food supplies-about half of them contributed by the U.S.-are now being delivered in East Bengal. The question is distribution, and whether politics will come ahead of feeding people, either through the West Pakistan military forces not acting fairly or through interference by the guerrillas. Belatedly perhaps, outside nations have done the right things and no one can only pray that widespread famine can be avoided till the new rice crop in late December.

### **Guerrilla Threat**

The same is true of the guerrilla movement. But India's support of the guerrillas and its resulting passionate rejection of U.N. observers in its refugee camps are understandable parts of a policy under which Mrs. Gandhi has so far courageously resisted pressures for outright war. But there is an element here of the same SCHADE FREUDE-that rejoicing in trouble and exploiting it-that Indians themselves so deeply resented from Pakistan when India was beset by China in 1962 and 1963. Moreover, readers of Neville Maxwell's brilliant book describing Indian border actions before that conflict will be aware that Indian military and quasi-military actions can be both tough and well-concealed, and like other people's, take on a momentum of their own. Mrs. Gandhi may not have anything like full control of the guerrillas, nor, indeed do the guerrillas will become progressively more extreme and out of control-and neither can hold back in Part for this very reason.

Thus the East Bengal situation is in large part beyond the reach of further help from outside. If, but only if, both Pakistani and Indian authorities exert a great deal of restraint, the situation may remain barely tolerable.

The real question is whether outside nations can help both nations to act with restraint. In the case of Pakistan, the United States may have retained some leverage by not blocking small-scale military deliveries arranged before March 25. but the price in Indian-American relations has been fearful, and the impact of American efforts to moderate Pakistani behavior has not been visible. (By definition, of course, it cannot be).

The gut issue now is whether economic aid to West Pakistan will continue after the first of the year, when pipeline deliveries of commodity aid run out. Here there is a chance for the U.S. to do two things at once-get away from its exposed position of acting alone and transfer the effort to retain outside leverage in Pakistan to the economic rather than the military sphere. The vehicle would be the World Bank consortium to aid Pakistan and the sign of action a decision by the President to accept the upcoming Congressional ban on military deliveries. But at the same time, the President should override (as the bill permits) the accompanying ban on economic aid- solely to permit necessary commodity aid worked out by the bank. Perhaps the lesser point in all this is leverage on a dug-in-Pakistan Government; the larger one is that two terrible wrongs-the horror in East Bengal and the refugee camps-do not justify a third: economic collapse in West Pakistan.

The accompaniment to such renewed ban on economic aid to West Pakistan would then be a much larger effort than has yet been made to India to overcome the economic

effects of the crisis. This year the refugees will cost India much more than its total net foreign aid; the loss must be made up by additional foreign aid on the order of at least \$500 million shared internationally. For without this, India, too cannot act rationally- and may not even for long survive.

In all this I have said nothing of the great-power aspect. For the moment the Soviet Union is exercising restraint while China may be waiting to pick up the pieces of an extremist Bengal. The history of the fighting between India and China shows how conflict in South Asia rebounds to the benefit of the one-sided exploiter of tension rather than to those whose simple aim is to preserve India intact and Pakistan in a form that meets the desire of its peoples.

### **Hard Alternatives**

The real stake is people, and more clearly than in most situations, the extraordinary hard, perhaps impossible, job of peace starts with people. Specifically, Congress must pass rapidly the \$ 250 million pending supplemental appropriation for refugee help in both India and Pakistan. Then, as it should have been in the first place, internationalized on a new and massive scale-first the problem must be by the World Bank groups for both India and Pakistan and then to include much greater constructive contributions from the Soviet Union. If this is pie in the sky, then the alternative is, almost literally, the collapse of South Asia. With all deliberation. I am inclined to think this could be the worst crisis the world, has faced since 1945.

### **Letters - East Pakistan**

The four letters to the editor under the heading "The tragedy of Bengal" (Aug. 23) indicate that some unfortunate misconceptions may have been stimulated by your cover story of August 2.

It is incorrect and unfair to accuse the U.S. of "condoning genocide" or of being "niggardly" in providing humanitarian aid to the victims of the recent events in East Pakistan. The U.S. has, on numerous occasions, expressed its deep concern for the victims of the tragic violence in East Pakistan, and it has taken the lead in response to a call by Secretary-General U Thant for relief to both the refugees in India, and the needy people in East Pakistan. Thus far the United States has committed about one quarter of a billion dollars for such humanitarian relief-far more than all other foreign countries put together-and the Administration has asked Congress for another quarter of a billion dollars.

It is incorrect, as one letter implied, that the U S. has granted generous military aid to West Pakistan: We have not provided any grant aid to Pakistan for any military.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০৩। যুদ্ধের সম্ভাবনা	বাল্টিমোর সান	২৬ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE BALTIMORE SUN, OCTOBER 26, 1971*

### CHANCE OF WAR

The chance of war in South Asia arises from a great complexity of factors, two of which are particularly dangerous right now. One is an increased belligerence on the part of some in India who apparently think war is bound to come at some time, and so might as well come at a moment when Pakistan is strained, distraught and too weak to fight effectively. The other is that Pakistan, indeed strained, distraught and frustrated, and with its military attention and resources deeply committed to the effort of trying to maintain the suppression of East Pakistan, might resort to war in sheer desperation.

Prime Minister Gandhi is not among the Indian hawks. Her own position remains firm, but reasonable. On the eve of her departure on her current trip to western Europe and the United States, to press the Indian case, she cautioned her countrymen to keep on exercising the restraint with which so far they had faced, in her word, the "challenge" of the crisis that has developed since last March 25, when the West Pakistani army struck in East Bengal.

Her worries about the role of the United States are obvious. First and foremost is a seeming American attitude of cool impartiality, into which the continued shipment of American arms to Pakistan has somehow been rationalized in Washington. Then there is what India believes to be an underestimation in Washington of the economic and human burden the great wave of refugees from East Bengal has placed upon India; not to mention the political and communal perils the presence of the refugees presents. And it may be also that Mrs. Gandhi is troubled by Washington's gesture of amity toward China, which is Pakistan's principal supporter.

At the simplest, India's position is that the "challenge," and the crisis, stems directly from one thing, the refugees, and that the problem of the refugees is a direct result of the action of the Pakistan army in March. Without forgetting the complexities of the background to March, this is 'undeniably' so; and it needs to be kept constantly in mind.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০৪। বাংলাদেশের যুদ্ধে পাকিস্তানের ক্ষয়ক্ষতি	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	২৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, OCTOBER 27, 1971*

**PAKISTAN LISTS TOLL OF 78 MORE  
IN FIGHTING IN EASTERN REGION**

*By Ma/colM W. Browne*

**Special To The New York Times**

Karachi, Pakistan, October 26 -Pakistan reported today that her army continued mopping up. "Indian troops and agents" in the Kasba area of Comilla District in East Pakistan and asserted that 78 more bodies of "enemy" personnel had been found.

The latest claim, in a communiqué, brought to 579 the number of the enemy said by Pakistan to have been killed in two days.

The communiqué noting that India had said the Kasba area was under the control of the rebel Bengali forces, reiterated Pakistan's contention that all the territory in East Pakistan was under her control.

Communiqué, which do not mention Pakistani military casualties, use the phrase "Indian agents" to describe the Bengali guerrillas in East Pakistan fighting the Government. "Indian agents" are presumed to include villagers.

**Shelling Said to Go On**

The Government said that the shelling of border villages continued. While there is no doubt that shells fall on villages in East Pakistan, it is not always clear where they have come from.

There are fairly frequent Pakistani Government reports that the district town of Comilla has been shelled by Indian artillery across the border, but an examination of the damage indicated that the shells had usually come from 2-inch mortars, whose range is not sufficient for firing across the border.

Since military operations against Bengali separatist began in East Pakistan last March, the Pakistan Army has systematically reduced villages and other strong points. There have been artillery barrages and air strikes by American built and Soviet-built jet aircraft.

Monsoon flooding of East Pakistan's vast rice and jute fields has hampered the army Amphibious operations have been helped by 50 light assault boats provided by the United States for cyclone relief and appropriated by the army last March.

The monsoon is nearly ended and Government troops will presumably have greater mobility now.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০৫। শান্তির প্রতি নতুন হুমকি	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	২৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE WASHINGTON POST, OCTOBER 27, 1971*  
**BENGAL BATTLE CLAIMS: NEW THREAT TO PEACE**  
**Conflicting Reports Abound In East Pakistan Warfare**  
*By Lee Lescaze*  
**Washington Post Foreign Services**

Chhatak, East Pakistan October 26 -One of the longest and largest recent battles of the war in Pakistan was fought around this small border town two weeks ago.

Like many other events during the Pakistan crisis, the Chhatak battle gave rise to conflicting reports from India and Pakistan which, as much as the actual fighting, keep alive the possibility that one nation will believe itself so wronged it will opt for a full- scale war with its neighbor.

Hostility increased between the two nations after the Pakistani army moved in March to crush an independence movement by Bengal in East Pakistan. Pakistan's western wing is dominated by Punjabis while the majority in East Pakistan, separated from the west by 1,000 miles of India, is Bengali, the same as the neighboring area in India.

During the recent fighting around Chhatak, India's national radio announced that East Bengal guerrillas, called Mukti Bahini, which have received support from India.

A number of Pakistani soldiers listened to the broadcast as they rested in their Chhatak headquarters after the three day battle. One of them, Lt. Col. Sarfraz Khan Malik, had been killed, the Indian radio said.

The colonel, a blunt man who believes his government is being too lenient with East Pakistan Bengalis was not amused by the Indian broadcast, "Who can believe such liars?" he asked. "It's damn annoying. I had to telephone my wife in West Pakistan just to say that I'm still alive."

Although Pakistani troops still hold Chhatak and the five miles of scrub fields between the town and India's border, the attack does not appear to have been a total failure.

The guerrillas have been concentrating on economic targets throughout East Pakistan. Many rail lines are cut, the army has kept roads open only by rapid rebuilding of blown bridges; power pylons and electric power stations have been sabotaged and fact ones have been burned.

A principal target of the guerrilla attack here was the cement factory-the only one in East Pakistan a region of more than 70 million people. Tile factory is now closed. Roofs of several buildings in the factory grounds have been torn by artillery shells and some of the machinery is damaged. Most important, the factory's 500 workers fled during the attack and it is not certain how many are willing to return.

A factory official insists that the plant will be in operation again within a week. But much of the office furniture stands piled on railway carriages. The managers, he tells a questioner, have decided to move their office to the district capital of Sylhet about 22 miles away.

The official doubts this move will have any effect on the workers confidence, but an army Major is not pleased. "This is very bad. You must stay here," the Major says. There is an uneasy silence and the conversation returns to details of the battle.

### **Red Tape Expected**

The factory is a government industry, another observer points out. There will be reports of the damage and then there will be surveys and then revisions of the reports and requests for spare parts and finally someone will send for a Canadian or a Japanese expert, he predicts, "It will take at least six months".

About 1000 Mukti Bahini took part in the attack on Chhetak. Pakistani officials say. The guerrillas moved across the border at night and took up positions 011 both sides of the Surma River which divides the town from the factory.

At about eight a.m. 011 October 13 Indian artillery opened up and the guerrillas began to move against the small Pakistani garrison. The battle lasted two full days and into the morning of the third with Pakistani reinforcements arriving from the district capital and artillery being rushed up from rear positions until a force of less than 300 men was able to cross the river under fire and push the guerrillas back into India.

Body counts are no more exact here than elsewhere. Col Sarfraz says more than 250 guerillas were killed. A high-ranking officer puts the figure at more than 150 while a third military source reports that about 100 attackers died. An agree that fewer than 10 Pakistani soldiers were killed.

### **Pakistani Charges**

Calculations from the known range of India's British-made field guns, the Pakistani command is convinced that Indian artillery moved about 1,000 yards into Pakistani territory during the Chhatak battle. They also charge that Indian soldiers moved 5,000 years across the border to direct guerillas movements and provide mortar fire for the attackers.

Local villagers saw the Indians well within Pakistan's territory, the officers say. They believe that India's strategy is to use guerrillas at the frontline of assault in attempt to seize and held pockets of Pakistan, if any such attack is successful, the commanders explain. Indian army units will move into tile pocket and once again provide close support for a second guerrilla push deeper into Pakistan.

By staying in the rear and only providing covering fire and logistical help, the Indians avoid being captured or killed and, thus Pakistan cannot exhibit proof of intrusions, tile officers say.

Whether the officers' accusations are true or not, they are a small part of the war on nerves India and Pakistan are conducting along their borders and in their capitals.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০৬। যুদ্ধের আলামত	নিউজ উইক	১ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

NEWS WEEK, NOVEMBER 1.1971

### 'THE SMELL OF WAR'

Across the desolate Punjabi plains of West Pakistan, columns of rumbling tanks kicked up billowing dust clouds. And a thousand miles away, along the marshy India East Pakistan border, the night lime silence was shattered by the roar of artillery. In hundreds of India's cities and villages, reservists were mobilized and air force pilots were put on a two-minute alert, while throughout Pakistan thousands of "Crush India" stickers were plastered onto cars and houses. Everywhere in the subcontinent last week, the machinery of war was being set in motion. And though alarmed diplomats in Moscow, London and Washington tried to find a formula for averting a pointless conflict between India and Pakistan, the two antagonistic governments kept playing their increasingly menacing game. "The smell of war is in the air," said a high ranking Indian official, And indeed it was.

Almost daily the movements of troops, tanks and heavy weapons increased until the armies of the two countries were almost gun barrel to gun barrel. Along India's border with West Pakistan, fifteen Indian divisions stood counterpoised against thirteen Pakistani divisions. Indian volunteer forces in border villages were quickly called on guard duty. In Kashmir, where Western intelligence sources said the Pakistanis were already infiltrating armed agents by the hundreds, two divisions were hurriedly dispatched to reinforce Indian positions. And in the east, an army of nearly 80,000' Pakistanis lined up against an Indian force of equal size "All it would take." said one diplomat in New Delhi, "is one phone call and there would be a war."

The deliberate choice of war would be nothing new in the subcontinent. As recently as 1965, India and Pakistan fought a stalemated, 22-day battle for control of Kashmir. But while the two nations were of more or less equal military strength at that time, India now holds most of the trump cards. Although Pakistan's fleet of 60 sophisticated Mirage jets has a greater range than India's jets, India-due largely to a tremendous infusion of Soviet arms-has twice as many bombers and more than twice as many tanks Moreover, New Delhi canfield 900000 solders to Pakistan's 450.000. This statistical imbalance has led Indian official to muse of quick victories and permanent conquest. Said Indian Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram: "if war is thrust upon us, our forces will march forward and occupy their cities. And this time we will not move from our occupied territory come what may."

The biggest advantage to India, however, is that most Pakistani troops are already fled down fighting the so-called Mukti Bahini guerrillas in East Pakistan. Since President Mohammed Yahya Khan launched an extermination campaign last April against the insurgent Bangladesh state-eventually forcing more than 9 million refugees to flood into India-the Bengali guerrillas have built up a force of 50,000 men. Training largely in

India, where sympathy for the rebels runs high, the guerrillas have been highly successful in harassing government troops. And many Western analysts feel that the rebels' success is likely to continue. "Yahya does not have enough troops there now to curb the guerrillas," said one observer. "And he can't add more without perilously weakening the very frontiers where the Indians are massed."

### Escape

The fear in most capitals, however, is that both India and Pakistan may become so entrapped in belligerence that war will be the only way out. To head off that prospect, British diplomats approached Indian and Pakistani representatives at the United Nations while the Soviet Union announced that a delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister "Nikolai Firyubin would fly to India for special talks. And in Washington, the Nixon Administration endorsed Yahya Khan's proposal that the two sides pull their forces back from the borders. India, however, was having none of that. Dismissing Yahya's offer as nothing but a play, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi insisted, "You cannot shake hands with a clenched fist."

Despite the lack of visible progress in quieting the tensions, many diplomats professed to see some hopeful signs that war could be avoided - at least during the next few weeks. To begin with, Mrs. Gandhi did not change her plans to leave early this week on a six-nation tour. As one U.S. official noted, "It would seem unlikely the Indian Army would launch an attack in her absence." That left, of course, the possibility that Pakistan might fire the opening salvo. But U.S. officials thought that too was unlikely. "It would be a manifestation of madness," said one Washington observer. "They have everything to lose." Still relations between Hindu India and Moslem Pakistan have never been characterized by an excess of rationality. And for that reason, no one was willing to foreclose the possibility of fighting. "Logic tells you there shouldn't be a war," said one diplomat in New Delhi. "But you have to throw logic out the window when you talk about India and Pakistan."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০৭। বাংলার যুদ্ধ	বাল্টিমোর সান	২ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE BALTIMORE SUN, NOVEMBER 2, 1971*

**BENGAL FIGHTING REPORTED  
INDIAN TROOPS TRY TO SILENCE  
PAKISTANI GUNS**

*By Prim Sabharwal*

**New Delhi Bureau of The Sun**

New Delhi-In the first major incident involving regular troops. Indian forces have struck at Pakistani artillery that was firing across the Bengal border, a spokesman reported here last night.

Early this morning heavy air activity involving both planes; and helicopters was heard over New Delhi. A major military airfield is just outside the city. The craft appeared to be flying north.

There was no indication whether the fights were connected with the "counteraction" Sunday night and yesterday morning near Kamalpur, a small town on the eastern frontier of East Pakistan.

**Refused to comment**

Sources here speculated that the planes might be headed for the western border, where Pakistan has threatened to act if Indian troops attacked in the east. A Defense Ministry spokesman refused to comment on the air activity.

In another development, the central government took over the administration of Tripura, the small states that forms a salient into East Pakistan from the east and has been the scene of much fighting involving Pakistani forces and Bengali guerrillas supported from India.

The Indian spokesman said Pakistani artillery had been shelling Kamalpur 4 miles inside India, for eleven days. He did not say whether Indian forces had crossed the border but did say no aircraft were involved.

Reliable sources said the Pakistanis had sustained heavy casualties, but no details were available.

While it did not refer to the Kamalpur action, Radio Pakistan said "India troops and their supporters"-the latter phrase being Pakistan's term for the Bengali rebels-had tried to intrude into East Pakistan under cover of an Indian artillery barrage.

The radio reported action in Sylhet district, part of which adjoins Tripura, and in Rajshahi and Dinajpur districts in the northern and northwestern parts of East Pakistan. It said 72 Indians and Bengalis were killed and 39 injured in all the incidents.

### **Violation of agreements**

The Indian statement was pointedly prefaced with a reference to the remark by Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi in London Sunday night that "the situation is worsening and the crisis is becoming more acute."

Both Indian and Pakistani troops are massed along the eastern and western, frontiers in violation of agreements made after the. short 1965 war that they would remain several miles behind the frontier.

India is pressing Pakistan to resolve the civil strife in East Pakistan and to take back the more than 9 million refugees who have fled since the Pakistani Army moved to crush the Bengali separatists last March.

Pakistan has threatened to retaliate-perhaps on the western frontier where its relative position is better—if India continues to support the Bengali guerrillas. Some guerrilla units are said to be operating from sanctuaries in India.

Thus far there have been few incidents 011 the western border where guerrilla intrusions from Pakistan into Kashmir gradually led to a three week war between the two nations in 1965.

A Pakistani aircraft flew over Srinagar, capital of "Kashmir, for the second time in two day yesterday, but was repelled by anti-aircraft fire.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০৮। বিদেশী সাহায্যের নতুন দিক	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	২ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES. NOVEMBER 2, 1971*

### **NEW DIRECTIONS IN FOREIGN AID**

It is evident from reports emanating from yesterday closed-door meeting of the Foreign Relations Committee that members are having second thoughts on the Senate's rash vote to kill the foreign aid authorization bill. But it is equally apparent that there is nothing approaching agreement on the new directions foreign aid must take in order to muster adequate support in the Congress.

Senator Fulbright and others are talking in terms of stopgap legislation that would emphasize humanitarian programs, particularly those administered by international institutions, and greatly reduce the military component of aid which accounts for more than half of the Administration's foreign assistance package. There is merit in this approach but it is doubtful whether a bill tailored to Mr. Fulbright's exacting requirements could, command a Majority at this time, especially in view of the support the Administration was able to rally behind its military proposals before Friday's final negative vote.

It would be equally unrealistic for the Administration to try now to ram the foreign aid bill through the Senate in anything like its present form. Although it was not the only factor by any means, an important component of the Administration's defeat on the aid bill was Congressional and national disillusionment with Presidential policies involving heavy military support for authoritarian governments, particularly in Southeast Asia. Unless there is some revision of these policies and of the aid requests that are designed to support them, there is little hope for rebuilding a Congressional consensus in support of a broad foreign assistance program, even with the sweeping reorganization proposed last year by the Peterson Commission.

In reconsidering foreign aid, it would be helpful if both Congress and the Administration disabused themselves of a myth that has been irresponsibly fostered lately by both the President and some of A.I.D.'s Congressional critics-the notion that the United States is bearing more

A period of hard bargaining is ahead in which both the President and his Congressional critics will have to make concessions. In the meantime, to prevent a national disgrace from turning into an international disaster, it is essential that Congress act promptly to keep the foreign aid machinery intact through another continuing resolution, extending the aid program at current levels beyond the November 15 expiration date. In view of the depth of current disagreements, such an extension should allow at least ninety days for tempers to cool and for thoughtful reappraisal.

There is also need for prompt action to provide supplemental funds, as already requested by the Administration, to help care for the nine million or more Pakistani

refugees. There surely can be no quarrel over this urgent humanitarian need, than its share of the international development burden rightly assumed by the "have" nations for - sharing with the "have-nots."

Although the United States is still the largest contributor in absolute terms to overseas development programs, the United States contribution measured in terms of ability to pay-aid as a percentage of gross national product-ranks twelfth among the sixteen aid donor nations. There is no place for pride or self-pity in this performance.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০৯। পূর্ব-পাকিস্তানের উপনির্বাচন	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	৩ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, NOVEMBER 3, 1971*  
**PAKISTAN BARS 53 ELECTION CONTESTS**  
*By, Malcolm Brown*

The Pakistani Government announced today (November 2) that 53 of the national Assembly seats taken away from members of the outlawed Awami League in East Pakistan would be filled without contest.

The announcement, which was regarded here (Dacca) as a severe blow to Bengali hopes for representative government in East Pakistan, means that only 25 vacated seats would be contested in special by elections next month. All candidates for these seats have been carefully screened by the Government.

The National Assembly, which has 313 members, was elected December 7 and charged with the task of writing a constitution to return Pakistan to civilian rule.

#### **Session Postponed**

But when the military Government headed by President Agha Mohmmad Yahya Khan postponed its first session in March, protest strikes were begun by the Awami League, which had won a commanding majority -167 of the 313 seats-on a platform of regional autonomy. The Pakistani Army's military action in East Pakistan began at the end of March, and the League was outlawed.

When President Yahya Khan announced later that the National Assembly would eventually be convened, 78 of the 167 Awami League members who had been elected last December were declared ousted on the ground that they had committed crimes against the State.

A seat won by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, was to be held in escrow pending results of his trial on treason charges. The 88 remaining members-elect were told they would be permitted to take their seats as independents or as members of parties other than the banned Awami League.

#### **Session Set for December 27**

President Yahya Khan announced on October 12 that the Assembly would meet December 27 and that he would turn over power to a new central government soon after. He said that within 80 days of such a transfer of power, the Assembly could propose amendments to a constitution that was being prepared under the President's direction.

Members of the Bengali groups opposing the Pakistani military Government have denounced the forthcoming by-elections and the scheduled convening of the Assembly as a fraud and a betrayal of hopes engendered by the elections of last December.

Dr. A. M. Malik, a civilian appointed by the army as interim Governor of East Pakistan, said in a recent interview that "the by-elections have many imperfections, but they are certainly better than nothing."

All politicians subscribing to the views of the Awami League have been barred from the by-elections and other potential opposition candidates have been prohibited access to the Government-controlled press.

### **Government Backs Rightists**

The Government has backed candidates from minor right-wing groups with strongly religious and pro-Government tendencies. These parties generally chose to pool their candidates.

The party getting the biggest bloc of seats from the 53 being filled without contest is the Jamaat-e-Islami, also known as the Moslem Orthodox party. This extremely right-wing group, it was reported today, is to get 14 seats.

It has no appreciable political following in East Pakistan and won no seats in the December elections.

The Government has asked the 88 members-elect from East Pakistan who were not barred from their Assembly seats to prepare to take seats. However, most of them have lied to India or have joined the Bengali guerrilla underground.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১০। যুদ্ধ অভ্যাসম	নিউজ উইক	৮ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*NEWSWEEK, NOVEMBERS, 1971*  
WAR WAITING TO HAPPEN

In their 24 years as independent nations, India and Pakistan have shown a boundless capacity for squabbling with each other. They have argued endlessly over Kashmir and bit of Westland called the Rann of Katch, and six years ago they plunged into a brief but bloody war. "These two countries" remarked one Western diplomat, "have hardly ever been genuinely at peace". And certainly they were not last week. Along 3,000 miles of border, Indian and Pakistani troops massed in menacing formations. Most observers felt that the current travels of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who is due in the U.S. this week ruled out the likelihood that India would go to war for the moment. But there remained the ominous feeling in both nations that, sooner or later, they would stumble into conflict.

Certainly, announcement, emanating from Pakistan did nothing to cool emotions. Indicating that Indians for unprovoked artillery and mortar attacks that, allegedly took the lives of some 150 civilians in East Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan (Mohd. Yahya Khan) maintained that its forces had killed nearly 600 "Indian troops and agents" in two days. But observers noted that many of the shells blamed for the civilian deaths came from 2 inch mortars, short range guns that could not have been fired from India. And they further pointed out that Pakistan uses the terms "Indian Agents" to refer to the Bengali rebels in East Pakistan who have been fighting the Government since April. In India, the claims were much more modest; New Delhi cited one direct clash with Pakistan attackers and a mortar barrage that killed six civilians. "Personally" said one American observer in India, "I think Pakistan's reports are basically designed to bolster morale at home to stir up war frenzy."

In much of Pakistan, that seemed unnecessary. Newspapers creamed with headlines such as CONCERTED DELHI BID TO UNDO PAKISTAN and CRUSH INDIA. Stickers were slapped on Honda motor-cycle seat; and even the blinders of horses pulling hansom cabs. "India is playing with fire and she will get burned." a Pakistani Air Force officer told News Week's senior editor Araud de Borchgrave. "This time we will take a major chunk of her territory." But other voices, including that of President Yahya himself, were less than enthusiastic about going to war. And near Pakistan's Western border with India flag waving was rare, for there, nine Pakistani divisions were overwhelmingly out manned by opposing Indian forces. Last week News Week's Maynard Parker visited India's border forces and found a mood of confidence, almost anticipation.

**Parker's Report**

Swathed in the smoky sunlight Autumn, the Punjab is magnificent wild golden country, while peasants cut the last of the wheat, lime and turquoise birds shimmer in the sky like tiny jewels. But the atmosphere is not exclusively one of pastoral tranquility. For

the land bristles with Indian soldiers-turbaned Sikhs, lowering Punjabis, dark-skinned wiry Gurkhas-and it is a land wearing the menacing mask of wartime camouflage. Near Amritsar, the largest Indian town near the border with Pakistan, a stack of hay suddenly Starts to move, giving away the fact, it is a disguised tank, and a glance behind a mud barrier reveals a 106 m.m antitank gun and its crew. Soldiers in civilian clothes prowls the border looking for infiltrators, and every bridge worthy of name is equipped with dynamite charges in case it must be blown up to stop advancing Pakistanis. "War is coming for sure," a Sikh sergeant said matter-of-factly. "We just don't know when."

The Indians not only are convinced they will have a war they are aggressively confident they will win it and cripple Pakistan into the bargain. "This time there will be no stopping us the border," one Major told me "The Pakistanis might be able to take the offensive in one place, but we would take it in five. And this time we will stay. It would mean the end for them," To carry their message that the people of the Punjab will be safe, the Indian army has ringed important border towns in Steel, massing scores of tank" on their outskirts. And teams of drumbeating soldiers march along country roads and into village squares repeating their belligerent boast; "All the fighting will be done in Pakistan. Not a single shell will fall here."

### **Communication**

Yet, bellicose as the Indians are the border itself is be musingly peaceful. At the crossing point near Ferozapore, a squad of Pakistan frontier ranger's jokes with the Indian guards, and when no officers are looking, the Indians trade the Pakistanis sugar for cigarettes. Border traffic-whether refugees seeking asylum or trucks loaded with pomegranates proceeds as usual, and the Indian customs inspector complains that the young Pakistani immigrants "are only interested in hashish" But the communication between these would-be enemies is not all furtive or commercial. Major Diljit Singh, Deputy Commander of the Indian Border Security Forces, meets Pakistanis regularly at the border and openly has tea with them. "They tell me. Sahib, we don't want war," Singh said. Let them fight in East Pakistan. Let us not have war here." That wish, however, may not be granted. "War is, inevitable," said a seasoned Western diplomat in New Delhi. "It is only a matter of time."

### **A Talk With Pakistan's President Yahya Khan**

With his country in the midst of one crisis-the guerrilla rebellion in East Pakistan-and on the verge of another-war with India-Pakistan's President Mohammad, Yahya Khan gave an interview last week to Newsweek's senior editor Arnaud de Borchgrave. In their conversation. President Yahya spelled out his position on some of the crucial issues facing his country and India. Below, excerpts from Yahya's remarks:

### **On The Likelihood Of War**

I have no reason to tell you war is not imminent because it is. The Indians are already at war with us, and the only reason there is no general confrontation is that we are not hitting back. We are still exercising maximum restraint despite growing provocation. The



Indians are lobbing from 150 to 3,000 artillery and mortar shells across East Pakistan borders every 24..... hours The East Pakistani Guerrillas) are 'destroying-bridges. electric pylons, even a food ship the other day. The Indians have set up 23 guerrilla training camps...Civil populations have been evacuated from their border areas, their Defense Minister is threatening us every day.....If the Indians escalate with a view to capturing territory and installing a puppeted Bangladesh regime, that will be war.

### **On Indian's Military Advantages**

How can our army fight and win against an (Indian) army that is five times its size? It would be military lunacy for me to take them on. But if we are attacked, we will fight back. (The Indian) have a big war machine that is self-sufficient in many respects. If they can lob over 3000 shells in a day, that means they have plenty of ammunition on hand. It's a luxury to our army cannot afford.

### **On Chinese Aid To Pakistan**

The Chinese will not tolerate an attack on Pakistan. We will get all the weapons and ammunition we need, (every assistance) short of physical intervention. We get some things, free and pay for others. But Chinese terms are so easy 25-year credit, interest free. Last year when I was in Peking I negotiated 200 million worth of economic aid for our Five-Year Plan with no interest.

### **On Negotiations**

I don't want to escalate. I'm doing my best to defuse the situation. I have repeatedly accepted U Thant's proposals for International Observers to observe anything they wish, including how we are resettling refugees who come back (to East Pakistan) I cannot accept the figures that there are 9 million East Pakistani-even it will not be 4 million after impartial observers, through counting. Whatever, the figure, I will accept anyone who left after March as a Pakistani national and take him back. This can only be controlled by the United Nations.

### **On The Future Of Bangladesh**

No one ever treated the Bengalis fairly. We too have made mistake and by "we" I also mean East Pakistanis who have been our presidents and premiers since independence. East Pakistan was down and out, and we did not pay sufficient attention to its development. We are now trying to make up for last time. The new constitution will be promulgated on December 20. They are 1,000 miles away so it is only normal that they enjoy maximum autonomy and handle their own affairs. That means everything except defense, foreign affairs and taxation.

### **On Sheikh Mujibur Rahman**

Many people might not believe me, but I think if he (Mujib, the Bengali leader currently on trial for treason) went back (to East Pakistan) he would be killed by his own people who hold him responsible for all the suffering. In any case, it is an academic

question. He had been discussing internal autonomy with me for two years and went back on his word. He organized and led an armed rebellion against the state. There was no alternative but to suppress the rebellion. Any other government would have done the same thing. How can I now call that man back and negotiate with him? He is charged with waging war against the state and subverting the loyalty of the army. He is being defended by A.K. Brohi who is the best and most respected lawyer in the country. Brohi would not have taken the case if he thought there was going to be any hanky-panky in the military court. I did not shoot Mujib first and try him later as some governments are prone to do....I cannot release him on a whim. It's one hell of a responsibility. But if the nation demands his release, I will do it.

### **On An Independent Bangladesh**

The worst losers will be the Indians themselves. East Bengal and Assam will soon join in, and that will be the beginning of the breakup of the Indian Union itself. I hope to God this woman (Mrs. Gandhi) understands.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১১। সত্ত্বাস পূর্ব-পাকিস্তানের একমাত্র পরিস্থিতি	বাল্টিমোর সান	১৩ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE BALTIMORE SUN, NOVEMBER 13, 1971*  
**FEAR, THE ONLY LAW IN EAST PAKISTAN**

A young jute-mill superintendent told how he fled his village only hours before, after an Army visit in which the village was burned and a young college graduate was killed. He did not know why the army came.

Further down the road, six villages had been burned and some of occupants killed in reprisal for a guerrilla ambush.

Asked if these incidents could be the fault of the Mukti Bahini. the mill superintendent and a primary school teacher who had joined the discussion responded as if personally insulted.

"Nay, sir, nay, nay," they said "Pak Bahini ! [Pakistani army] Pak Bahini ! Pak Bahini!"

The mill superintendent said he fled because the Army is killing all educated Bengalis in a drive to strip the province of its natural leaders. The teacher agreed.

So do diplomats in Dacca, some of whom are collecting evidence that constitutes persuasive argument that the Army has systematically hunted down professors, doctors, lawyers, students and other educated Bengalis and killed or jailed them.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১২। পরাজয়োন্মুখ যুদ্ধ	নিউজ উইক	১৫ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, NOVEMBER 15, 1971

### THK SUB-CONTINENT: A LOSING BATTLE

State occasions are usually made up of platitudes and pleasantries. And when President Nixon greeted India's Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, on the south lawn of the White House last week, he tried to follow the formula, even to the point of expounding on Washington's balmy weather. But Mrs. Gandhi was having none of it. Alluding to Pakistan's repression of its Bengali minority-and the resultant flood of 6 million refugees into India - she told Mr. Nixon that her country was facing "a man-made tragedy of vast proportions." And with India and Pakistan poised on the edge of war, she added. "I have come here looking for a deeper understanding of the situation in our part of the world." But Mrs. Gandhi's search apparently proved fruitless. For the President and the Prime Minister failed to agree on a way to end the crisis between India and Pakistan-or even how to repair the strained relations between 'Washington and New Delhi.

From the beginning, Mrs. Gandhi hoped to persuade Mr. Nixon to put pressure on Pakistan to stop its campaign to crush the Bengali independence movement. As she has done in the past, she argued that only America-which still sends arms to Pakistan and never openly censured Pakistan for its policy toward the Bengalis-has enough influence on the Islamabad government to bring an end to the crisis. But the American response to Mrs. Gandhi, as White House spokesman Ronald Ziegler described it. "didn't break much new ground." And the present U.S. policy of urging India to pull back its troops from the Pakistani borders and to accept international mediation in the dispute cut little ice with Mrs. Gandhi. "Our people cannot understand," she said in a blunt toast at a White House dinner, "how it is that we who are the victims should be equated with those whose action caused the tragedy.

It was, in all, a bitter week for the Indian leader. For even as her mission to America ran aground on the rocks of indifference, the death toll in her homeland rose tragically in the aftermath of a massive cyclone and tidal wave. More than 10,000 people died when the winds and water mauled the low-lying coastline of the Bay of Bengal in the state of Orissa. And officials feared that the destruction of rice crops and the poisoning of river water by dead bodies would drive the toll even higher.

### Ail Unwinnable War

The tragedy along the Bay of Bengal could hardly have come at a worse time for India. For its fragile economy is now near collapse as a result of the burden of caring for the Pakistani refugees. And it faces the threat of a two-front war with an increasingly- restless Pakistani Army. Although the majority of India's troops are massed in the west, the outbreak of conflict is more likely to begin to the east. To assess the military situation in that sector, News week's Senior Editor Amaud de Borchgrave flew last week to East Pakistan and cabled the following report:

"Go anywhere you want to see for yourself" Pakistan's President Mohammed Yahya Khan told me. And there was no better place to see how close India and Pakistan might be to war than the border area near Camilla in East Pakistan. I boarded a two-car military supply train headed for Pakistani headquarters. And although there was the danger of Indian artillery fire, an army Colonel said reassuringly, "They're lousy shots." Huddled behind a protective brick wall inside what once was the second-class compartment, I nervously made the trip. We were rattling along, running parallel to the border when the train was flagged down; recoilless rifles were peppering the tracks in front of us. There was nothing to do but walk to the nearest command post. A tall Punjabi sergeant fingered his red beard and said, "It's just a mile up the track,"

That one mile turned out to be seven. Mortar shells constantly splashed into the muddy paddy fields alongside the tracks and rifle bullets slammed into the steep railroad embankment. But the paddy water absorbed the mortar fragments, the Indian riflemen were indeed "lousy shots," and three hours later I safely reached the headquarters of Delta Company of the 30th Punjabi Battalion. Bullets kept thudding into the trunks of palm and date trees and ripping through the foliage of the banana groves. The company commander's batman had just been killed while he was saying evening prayers. And the 150 men assigned to defend 9 miles of frontier had been suffering through war's repetitious frustration: continual artillery barrages from the Indians, continual harassment from the Mukti Bahini guerrillas (the Bengali rebels fighting for an autonomous East Pakistan).

However, dangerous or nerve-racking India's artillery barrages may be to the frontline soldiers, the attacks did not seem to bother the Pakistani commanders. "We can take it," Brig. M.H. Alif remarked casually. "We are not afraid. Let the Indians waste a lot of ammo; attrition will hurt them more than it will hurt us." The tall 43 year old Punjabi officer, a field-hockey star on four Pakistani Olympic teams, was fresh off the tennis court and his attention was focused not so much on the border troubles as on sport. Pakistan's hockey team had just won the world championship (India finished third) and Atif found significance in the event. "Your victory over India," he cabled the hockey team, morale-raising and considered a good omen out here. Proud of you." And he told me. "India has five times as many hockey players as Pakistan and we still beat them." His point was inescapable: Pakistan even though outnumbered militarily 5 to 1, would defeat India in a war as it did in a hockey tournament.

Such thinking lays bare the fact that the Pakistani Army has only the dimmest notion of guerrilla warfare. For while the soldiers were clustered on the border, the Mukti Bahini seemed to have the run of East Pakistan. The government has attempted to combat the insurgents with "razakars," local teen-age hoodlums raised to the status of a paramilitary force. But the razakars harm the government cause more than they help it. "They think they are God because they have guns," one villager told me. They tell the people they have blanket power from the army "to make life hell" for the rebels, but they are as apt to terrorise a man who refuses to give them food or a girl who resists their lewd advances. Several times my car was stopped by two or three razakars at makeshift bridges—once with the barrel of a gun poking through the window. I was asked to pay a "toll." Such

tactics when applied against the populace, have turned most Bengalis into Mukti Bahini supporters: when I asked people whether they wanted to remain part of Pakistan or create a new state of Bangladesh, almost all answered, "Bangladesh."

Even some unlikely people expressed hope for an autonomous Bangladesh. At a ferry crossing on the outskirts of the capital city of Dacca, I asked a young man who worked for the government what he thought would be best for the people. "I am not allowed to say," he replied at first. But reassured that he would not be named, he mumbled in a low voice, "Bangladesh should be independent, of course. All of us feel that way." And seemingly thousands do. For while green and white Pakistani flags flutter over even the most wretched huts, and peasants everywhere make a point of wearing sarongs and shirts in the national colors, several people whispered to me that they did so only to deceive the razakars into thinking they favored the government.

Like the Americans in South Vietnam, the Pakistani command seems dangerously unaware of the real sentiments and loyalties of the population. The official insistence that all was going well was reflected in the remarks of Gen. A. A. K. Niazi, the eastern sector commander. The rebels were no serious problem-"we have the razakars to take care of them" the shelling from India's troops massed just across the border was not a great threat -"My men are not worried; as long as they are in their bunkers, they can relax, even play cards." And as for the report that Mukti Bahini leaders were calling on Bengalis to take their fight, into the streets of Dacca, Niazi insisted that he would relish such a move. "I wish they would do it." he told me, "My tanks are only a few miles from the city." Then, referring to the repression of the Bengalis revolt last March, he added, "They saw then what we can do and we will do it again if need be."

What the genera) does not seem to appreciate is the steady deterioration of internal security and the degree of organisation of the Mukti Bahini. By last week, the government had lost control of 25 per cent of the police stations in East Pakistan. A number of distinct commissioners are tacitly co-operating with the guerrillas and much of the area north of Dacca itself is controlled outright by the Mukti Bahini. I personally was contacted by a Mukti Bahini representative within 30 minutes of checking into my hotel in Dacca-despite tight Police security. The rebels have established a disciplined network carefully organized into teams-some assigned to collect taxes and organise bank robberies others designated as saboteurs, still others coldly earmarked to be assassins.

The harsh truth about Bengali resistance are being concealed not only from the area's civil governor, A. M. Malik, but from President Yahya himself. They are both convinced that the Pakistani Army is effectively and honorably fighting the guerrillas. Yet highly knowledgeable foreign observer accuses the soldiers of atrocities. Ostensibly in pursuit of a rebels, army troops recently surrounded the village of Demora (where the Mukti Bahini had never been), raped all the women between 12 and 35 and shot all the men older than 12. Only days later, Pakistani gunboats swept up the river at Chalna, sinking fishing boats and shooting the fishermen as they swam for safety. All this accomplishes to make resistance in East Pakistan more extreme, more dedicated than ever. The majority of the people are already anxious to break away from Pakistan, while army commanders-

despite their public bravado-are beginning to realize that they are trapped in an unwinnable guerrilla War.

### **A Talk With Indira's Prime Minister Gandhi**

Two week ago, Newsweek's Arnaud de Borchgrave interviewed Pakistan's President Mohammed Yahya Khan. Last week, with Pakistan and India still teetering on the verge of war. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi gave an exclusive interview to Newsweek's Foreign Editor Edward Klein. Below, excerpt:

#### **On War With Pakistan**

For a long time, even though there were very provocative and threatening actions and speeches by the President of Pakistan, India did not do anything. Now, when we feel that we are being threatened, we simply can't leave our border undefended. I don't know any country in the world that would say, "We leave our border undefended".... What should we do when this is happening on our border? Do we just sit quietly and say. "Do whatever you like even if its consequences to us are so great"? ....This I would say: by and large the Indian people don't want war. We do have vocal elements who have been wanting war. But we don't have among the people an anti-Pakistan movement as Pakistan has a hate-India movement. I sincerely hope that there will not be a war and I am doing everything possible to keep it from happening.... The threat of war is considerably less since we moved our troops to the border of West Pakistan. But, of course, as the situation heats up in the east, that is where the threat is. We feel every day the danger to eastern India is increasing.

#### **On Supporting The Bengalis**

Only when, the refugees started coming can you say that India had a hand in the Pakistan crisis. Only after all the Pakistan Army terror can you say, "Well may be some of the guerrillas do come over from India".... Some of the training may be taking place on our side, but certainly not all of it. Even now the guerrillas are not dependent on India. As you know, the majority of the guerrillas are the paramilitary forces of East Bengal. . . . And they're the ones who are training new people. . . . What the Bengalis consider to be the spirit of their people has been very deeply wounded. And while that spirit is there, the Pakistani Army will have to kill all the 75 million people in East Bengal before they can have control over them. . . . India can only prevent such a massacre in small indirect ways. And I have absolutely no hesitation in saying that if I were placed in a situation like the Bengalis, I certainly would fight. After all, we did fight the British and we have encouraged independence struggles all over the world.

#### **On The Bengali Refugees**

Taking care of the refugees means cutting a lot of our programs, it means a certain austerity in living, cutting government spending and reorienting various schemes and programs. It is indeed a very, very heavy burden. I don't think it will cripple our economy, we won't go under with it but the major danger is not this burden, which is

heavy enough. It is the social and political tensions which are growing out of this problem. And we feel that there is even a very real threat to our security.

### **On The Breakup of Pakistan**

I don't think any country in its right mind would want its neighbor to disintegrate. We have enough problems of our own without having a weak neighbor, it's not a healthy situation.. (But) it is our assessment that East Bengal cannot remain untied with Pakistan ever again in the same way it has been.

### **On Soviet Aid To India**

I've never asked for help at any age. Not even as a small child did I ask any person, "will you do this for me or will you give me this." I have not asked the Soviet Union for help. I have explained to them as I have to other countries what the situation is. Now, it is up to the Soviet Union-and other countries-to decide; is the stability of India important to our region or not?.. We certainly welcome help from whatever quarter it will come. We welcome sympathy. But I have always stood on my own two feet and I want India always to stand on its feet. We don't want to be depended on any country in the world

### **On Yahya Khan**

He is one man who could not get elected in his own country if there were a fair election. I would say he would not even get elected in his province if there were a fair election...Asked to reply to a statement by President Yahya in last week's Newsweek interview, Mrs. Gandhi noted that Yahya had referred to her as "that woman." That woman! I'm not concerned with the remark but it shows the mentality of the person. I mean, how well has he judged his own capacity to deal with East Pakistan? If he can't judge a very small section of what was his own country, what weight has his judgment on India? What does he know about it? It's a world which is quite outside his ken.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১৩। পাকসেনা আক্রমণের পর একটি শহর	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৭ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, NOVEMBER 17, 1971*  
**EAST PAKISTAN TOWN AFTER RAID BY ARMY**  
**Fire and Destruction**

A task force of West Pakistani troops visited this town Shckhamagar, East Pakistan, population of 8.000 on October 27 and destroyed it.

Apparently informed-mistakenly, according to residents - that a guerrilla group was here, the army attacked without warning in motor launches. Toward the end of the 20- mile trip from Dacca the launches' engines alerted Shekhamagar's population, most of which fled into nearby ponds, canals and paddy fields.

Shooting into houses and huts as they advanced, the troops set fire to nearly every building. Surviving residents pointed to the fresh graves where 19 villagers were buried.

The concrete schoolhouse was stripped of its furniture and doors, which the troops burned to cook their evening meal, and a rice mill was destroyed. The village's stock of freshly harvested rice was burned for the most part, and some 3CK) cows and sheep were slaughtered.

A large quantity of wheat that villagers said had been sent under a United States laid program was reportedly loaded into the boats by the troops.

A warehouse filled with bags of phosphate fertilizer was burned and most of the bags were destroyed.

Several buildings belonging to the mosque were bumed down and the Hindu temple- there are about 400 Hindus in the community-was burned and sacked, and its idols were smashed by gunfire.

Even the local post office was sacked, and the villagers say the troops took away its stock of stamps and money.

"Do you see this ?" a villager said,' They even destroyed our fruit. Banana trees like these take a long time to grow, and the soldiers heaped up burning straw around them and destroyed them."

Another man, stifling tears, told this correspondent: "You Americans with your aid, you know who you helped with your wheat and oil and medicine ? You help only Yahya's murderers."

A foreign official, hearing of the fate of Shekharnagar, commented: "It certainly seems that in cases like this the Pakistan army and outside nations trying to provide humanitarian relief are working at cross-purposes. We bring food and fertilizer in and the army seizes or burns them.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১৪। যুদ্ধ না শান্তি	নিউজ উইক	২২ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, NOVEMBER 22, 1971  
**INDIA PAKISTAN-PEACE OR WAR?**

The Washington consensus on whether the border fighting between India and Pakistan will explode into war puts the odds at "better than 50:50" for all-out conflict.

Even the calendar looks ominous. The monsoons have ended and snow (which could keep Pakistan's Chinese allies from lending a hand) starts in mid-December. The timetable, U.S. experts say, is right for fighting in West Pakistan where most of the Pakistani Army is based.

The military outlook favors India, even if all of Delhi's claims do not prove out. The dramatic call-up of 700,000 reserves last week, for instance, will probably produce only 50.0(H) combat-ready men. Nonetheless. India's army outnumbered Pakistan's by 3 to 1 and its air force—a failure in the 1965 fighting—is both larger and far better equipped. The Indian flew Soviet attack bombers and MIG-21s; Pakistan has obsolete U.S.F-86 jets and Chinese-built MIG-19s. Moreover Pakistan has only enough supplies for a month's fighting.

What hope there is rests on last-minute diplomatic moves. President Yahya told the U.S. he would pull back his forces-unilaterally-and meet with the outlawed Bengali government and its political arm, the Awami League. India, however, insists it will not retreat until the Pakistan civil war ends, with the refugee flood stopped. Jailed Bengali leader Mujib freed and East Pakistan given some form of autonomy.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১৫। উপমহাদেশের জন্য সাহায্য অপ্রতুল	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২২ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, NOVEMBER 22, 1971*

### Editorial

### **BAND-AIDS FOR THE SUB-CONTINENT**

The United Nations is drifting toward a disastrous failure on the Indian sub-continent because it is attempting to treat a potentially mortal wound with band-aids.

While India and Pakistan move closer to all-out war, the world organisation has been wrangling over relief measures for an estimated nine million refugees who have fled to India from East Bengal, and for the sixty-six odd million Bengalis left behind in that rebellious Pakistani province.

There is no question that the humanitarian needs of East Bengalis, both those who have fled and those who have remained behind despite brutal military repression, have a heavy claim on the conscience of mankind.

But it is clear from the testimony of U. N. officials that relief assistance cannot, alone solve the acute humanitarian crisis created by the upheaval in East Pakistan. Assistant Secretary-General Paul Marc Henry warned the other day that humanitarian efforts in East Pakistan, already threatened by stepped-up military activities there, may have to cease altogether. Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, the U.N.'s High Commissioner for Refugees, stated that the repatriation of refugees who have fled to India offers the only "viable and lasting solution" to the present crisis.

In order to deal effectively with the humanitarian needs of the Bengali, it will be necessary to attack the root of the problem-the political crisis in Pakistan. It is essential to press for a political solution in East Pakistan that will put an end to the fighting there and permit the refugees to return to safety.

The United Nations so far has avoided this central issue, although Secretary-General U Thant warned months ago that the situation on the sub-continent posed a threat to international peace-a prophecy that is now being borne out by a dangerously rising spiral of incidents along the Indian Pakistani borders. Thant's efforts to mediate the conflict have been spurned so far by India on grounds that they tended to equate India and Pakistan and to divert attention from the source of the trouble -the repression in Pakistan. But Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has indicated that India would welcome United Nations intervention if it focused on this basic problem.

If the United Nations is to play an effective role for peace and rehabilitation on the sub-continent, the world organisation must throw its weight behind mounting international pressures on Pakistan's President Yahya Khan, to reach an accommodation with the elected leaders of East Pakistan, especially, the imprisoned Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Only in the context of a determined effort to promote a political settlement in Pakistan will the U.N. be able to move effectively to achieve a withdrawal of forces from the explosive Indo-Pak borders and to bring succour to the stricken Bengalis.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১৬। মধ্যাহ্নের সময় এখনও আছে	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২৭ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, NOVEMBER 27. 1971*

**Editorial**  
**STILL TIME TO INTERVENE**

In spite of a series of sharp border clashes, during which Indian troops have crossed into the rebellious Pakistani state of East Bengal in "Self-defense". India and Pakistan have so far held back from all-out war. International diplomacy still has a chance to intervene for peace on the sub-continent.

India appears to be following a policy of gradually increasing military pressure against the Pakistanis, leaving the bulk of the fighting inside East Pakistan for the present to the Indian-supported Mukti Bahini, the "liberation forces" of "Bangladesh". The Indians may hope these tactics will enable the East Bengalis to win independence, or at least a satisfactory measure of autonomy, that would allow the early return of nine million refugees from India, without precipitating a major Indian-Pakistani conflict.

This is an unlikely prospect. Although Pakistan heavily outmanned and outgunned by India, it is improbable that the military regime in Islamabad will relinquish its grip on the eastern region, without forcing at least a token showdown with India. Pakistani counter attacks against India, probably in the West, are an imminent possibility, unless there is swift intervention by the international community.

The White House is reported considering a request to the Security Council to take up the dispute. Such action is urgently needed. It would represent a welcome shift in the Administration's policy that might yet help save the subcontinent from total war.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১৭। দক্ষিণ এশিয়া	বাল্টিমোর সান	২৮ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE BALTIMORE SUN, NOVEMBER 28.1971*

**Editorial**  
**SOUTH ASIA**

Of the ways proposed so far to ease the tensions of South Asia, most are of dubious value. Some, such as the suggestion that the question be put before the Security Council of the United Nations, might serve temporarily to prevent a real war but could hardly settle or ameliorate much the fundamental issues from which the danger of war has arisen.

Similarly with the advice that India and Pakistan draw their troops back from the borders; this may sound reasonable from a distance, but considering the nature of the long and diverse frontiers, and various situations that exist among them, it is not likely to be accepted or, if accepted, to be put into effect.

India's attitude is distinctly stand-offish, perhaps because India believes events to be moving to its advantage.

Pakistan, though charging aggression by India across international borders, gives an impression of being unsure of its facts and might not want to try to present them on an international stage where the story of causes of the crisis would also be placed under examination.

As for the Big Power associates of the two countries, they as well may prefer not to have a Security Council discussion or action.

The Soviet Union does support India but seems principally interested now in calm, not chaos, in South Asia.

It is a fair guess that China, though in general supporting Pakistan, would hardly wish its first major participation in the Security Council to come on an issue which could compromise Chinese plans over the longer term. For that matter, what would the United States gain by a Security Council debate, except further exposure of how ambiguous its own handling of relationships with India and Pakistan has been?

Private diplomacy offers a better method toward a solution, if a solution is to be found; though private diplomacy cannot be called immediately promising. For example, the United States is said to be urging, or thinking of urging, upon President Yahya Khan of Pakistan the course of direct dealing with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for a political solution. This again sounds reasonable on its face-except that Mujibur Rahman is imprisoned somewhere in West Pakistan on its charges of treason, and that to treat with him would amount to an admission of failure to the edge of desperation on Yahya's part.

It would be to accept the proposition that things have been driven to the point where Pakistan, as it existed before last March, is no more and that if it is to be reconstituted at all, the reconstitution will have to come on the basis of a much greater degree of East Bengali autonomy than Yahya has heretofore been willing to contemplate. We cannot expect that Yahya is yet ready to consider that among the "political solutions" he talks of.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১৮। ভারত কখন আক্রমণ করবে	টাইম	২৯ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*TIME MAGAZINE, NOVEMBER 29, 1971*

### **INDIA NOT IF, BUT WHEN**

When Prime Minister Indira Gandhi returned home from her three week tour of Western nations last week, one of the first things she did was to go before her hawkish Parliament and plead for patience toward her handling of the crisis with Pakistan. The urgent need for a solution was all too apparent. Officials in New Delhi said that the biggest frontier battle yet between Indians and Pakistanis occurred when 1,800 Pakistani regulars crossed the border into West Bengal. Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram rose in Parliament to say that if India was attacked, it would "carry the war into Pakistan." Indians across the country, meanwhile, were placing bets on when-not if war with Pakistan would take place.

Nonetheless. Mrs. Gandhi was evidently hopeful that the civil war between West and East Pakistan would be resolved. "Solutions have been found even to seemingly insoluble problems." she said. She added that India would take no independent action until Western leaders have had a chance to defuse the crisis. She hope: that they would pressure Pakistan President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan's military regime into finding a political solution acceptable to the East Pakistanis.

Though Indira's Western trip is credited with bringing in several sizable donations from abroad for Bengali refugee relief, India is still faced with a Financial burden that is expected to reach \$ 830 million by the end of the fiscal year next March. With a 1970 gross national product of only \$ 50 billion and a population of 560 million, India can scarcely afford such a drain on its economy.

### **Communal Tensions**

Beyond the Financial cost, the presence of 9,700,000 refugees threatens to create social turmoil and revive communal tensions. There are 7,000,000 in West Bengal alone, and still they come. The Indian government, moreover, is fearful that many of the refugees, particularly the Hindus who are singled out for persecution by Pakistan's Moslem military, will refuse to return to their homes.

Last March, when the exodus began, thousands of Indians living in the border areas rushed forward to offer assistance. Today the torrent of men. women and children has so excited tensions that armed guards have been placed at the camps and West Bengal officials are securing relief camps with barbed-wire fencing.

The tensions are caused mainly by the competition for scarce commodities and even scarcer jobs. Inside the camps, to discourage refugees from seeking work, loudspeakers daily warn them not to go into the villages. It is perhaps the sorest point with local residents, who say that the refugees will work for one Rupee (13c) a day when the local

rate is between two and half and three Rupees. Farm laborers, shop assistants and other working district of Nadia. asking local employers not to hire refugees. Residents also complain that the price of kerosene, vegetables and other food has nearly doubled.

Numerous incidents indicate that impoverished local people find it hard to accept even the minimal care given to the refugees. Says farmer Jogen Mandal: "These people are crooks. Each of them has three ration cards. Part of the ration they consume and the rest they sell. They get free medical treatment, and they are much better off than most of us." Replies Bhahendra Nath Roy. former Vice-principal of Manirampur College in East Pakistan and now a refugee: "We know local people do not like our presence here, and clashes are' taking place every day. Camp officials deprive us of rations, and if you go to complain officials get help from local people to beat us up."

### **The Big Problem**

While there has so far been a noticeable lack of the bitter Hindu Muslim religious tensions that resulted in widespread massacres at the time of the 1947 partition, the economic and population strains on West Bengal have become extremely acute. Already suffering from overcrowding and under-employment, the state has never fully recovered economically from the influx of some 4,000,000 predominantly Hindu refugees, who tied to West Bengal when East Bengal chose to become part to Moslem Pakistan in 1947. Ever since, the area has been a fertile ground for political turmoil among terrorist groups, criminals masquerading under political banners, and countless university graduates with no prospect of jobs. But officials, faced with the urgency of caring for so many additional millions, have necessarily shifted other problems into the background. Says Siddhartha Shankar Ray. Mrs. Gandhi's Minister of West Bengal affairs: "My big problem is how- reopen the 2,500 schools that have been closed to house the refugees."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১৯। পূর্ব পাকিস্তান : পুনর্খলকৃত উপনিবেশ	আটলান্টিক ম্যাগাজিন	ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE ATLANTIC MAGAZINE, (U.S A) DECEMBER, 1971*  
**EAST PAKISTAN: A RECONQUERED COLONY,**

A villager along the roadside, desperately anxious that two foreigners should see the full reality of army devastation, whispers through the car window: "Go to Jamalpur and you will understand everything."

Jamalpur is a town without children on the streets, without commerce in its remaining shops, almost without noise in a land where conversation is loud cherished. Men retreat at a foreigner's approach, a shopkeeper's hands tremble as he rises to greet unwanted foreign guests, and a teen-age boy says quietly "The people are ashamed because they dare not tell you what is in their hearts." The boy, after ten minutes of furtive conversation, is afraid and walks away. Before March, Jamalpur had 50,000 people (5000 of them Hindu), large marketplace, and a small army headquarters. By now- most people have fled, no Hindus are left, the market has been destroyed, and the army headquarters are swollen with the garrison that subdued Jamalpur. The Hindu crematorium on the banks of the Brahmaputra is the army's killing ground. The bodies are thrown into the river, and now the remaining residents of Jamalpur refuse to eat river fish.

**-Peter R. Kami And Lee Lescaze**

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২০। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের উচিত মূল সমস্যার দিকে তাকানো	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমস	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, DECEMBER 4, 1971*  
**SECURITY COUNCIL MUST ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE  
 ROOT CAUSE**

The Security Council can no longer ignore the call to action that was sounded by the Secretary-General in a prescient warning months ago. In responding to this crisis, it is essential that it address itself simultaneously to the root cause of the conflict, the repression in East Pakistan which has placed intolerable strains on the economic, social and political fabric of neighboring India

New Delhi was moved by a deep, and legitimate sense of injury and by a desperate frustration fed by the failure of the world community, especially the United States, to recognize and to attempt to repair that injury. This fundamental failure must be corrected if the world is to be saved from still another wider and more terrible war.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২১। মূল সমস্যার সমাধান করণ	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, DECEMBER 5, 1971*

### **DEAL WITH THE BASIC PROBLEM**

For months, the U.S. resorted to ineffectual secret diplomacy that bypassed and served to paralyze the world organisation. The Nixon Administration adopted a public posture of mock even-handedness which had the effect of exacerbating the India-Pakistan conflict. It ignored the fundamental threat to India posed by Yahya Khan's harsh repression in East Pakistan.

The U.S. Government is still side-stepping this central issue and is responding with flagrant injustice in attempting to pin the "major responsibility for the present conflict on India."

If the Security Council intervention is to have any chance of restoring peace between India and Pakistan, the U.S. and the U.N. must recognize and deal with the basic problem in East Pakistan.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২২। পাকিস্তানের হঠকারিতা	বাল্টিমোর সান	৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE BALTIMORE SUN, DECEMBER 5, 1971*

### PAKISTAN RECKLESSNESS

Pakistan's desperation is of its own fashioning. It arises from the utterly reckless, ultimately sure to be futile, attempts to keep East Bengal in subjugation by force and terror. That having failed, Pakistan has now fallen back into a condition of spirit displayed clearly enough in the Pakistan Radio's call for a Jihad, a holy Muslim war, this despite the fact that the rebellious East Bengalis are themselves largely Muslim, the Hindu minority having been killed or driven out. It is a spirit of heedlessness and perhaps hopelessness, once expressed by an earlier leader who declared in an earlier crisis that Pakistan was ready to go to war against India "With sword in hand and shroud on shoulder."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২৩। বাংলায় যুদ্ধ	নিউজ উইক	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*NEWSWEEK, DECEMBER 6, 1971*  
**THE WAR IN BENGAL: INDIA ATTACKS**

When nations go to war, they almost invariably claim to be acting out of the purest motives. Last week, as India's leaders met in the high-domed central hull of the New Delhi Parliament, there was much pious table-thumping and jingoistic rhetoric to justify an attack against Pakistan. "If we have to silence the Pak guns," vowed Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram. "we are not going to stop at the border but go inside Pakistan. We do not care how far inside we have to go if it becomes a matter of our self-defense." With that moral mandate thousands of Indian troops swarmed across the border into East Pakistan and the stage was set for a third round in the seemingly endless strife between the subcontinent's two arch-enemies.

Inexorably, the two nations appeared to be heading for a wholly unnecessary war. one for which each side would have to shoulder an equal share of guilt. Over the past nine months, the Pakistani Government of President Mohammed Yahya Khan had indiscriminately slaughtered more than a million of its subjects in a cruel and myopic attempt to prevent autonomy for the Bengalis of East Pakistan. And India, under the leadership of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, had launched a calculated campaign to dismember Pakistan, turn its eastern wing into the client state of Bangladesh and free itself of the burden of caring for nearly 10 million Bengali refugee, who had fled Yahya's reign of terror. As one diplomat in New Delhi cynically put it, "What was seen as a liability here a few months ago is now seen as an opportunity." What made the steady drift toward war even more tragic was that the one man who undoubtedly could stop it- Bengali leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman- was being tried by Pakistan for treason, and Yahya Khan steadfastly refused to free him.

Worse still, none of" the world's major powers seemed able-or even very willing -to exert the kind of influence that could stop the conflict. Despite Washington's \$4 billion worth of assistance to Pakistan -aid largely designed to maintain leverage with Yahya Khan's government-the U.S. appeared powerless to sway the Pakistani leader. And the Soviet Union, notwithstanding its recently signed friendship treaty with India, had no better luck reining in Mrs. Gandhi. Thus unchecked, the rush to war was on, even though both countries had much to lose by it. "All good Moslems believe they will go to a better reward if they die in battle," sighed a Western diplomat, "and Yahya may just want to go that way." As for India, it seemed determined to risk plunging 20 per cent of the world's population into chaos in order to realize its long-cherished hope of becoming the unchallenged power on the sub-continent and a giant to rival China for predominance in Asia.

The clash between India and Pakistan had been a long time coming. Like a pair of angry cats, the two armies had been circling and spitting at each other for months before

the first lunge came. At scattered points along the 1,300-mile frontier between India and East Pakistan, troops stood poised while each side probed and harassed the other of provocations and self-righteously maintained that they themselves would never be the aggressors. But in fact, India was preparing to strike. And though New Delhi barred all reporters from border areas to conceal its troop movements. NEWSWEEK'S Senior Editor Arnaud de Borchgrave along with a correspondent of The New York Times, managed last week to slip through the Indian net. De Borchgrave's report:

There was not a sign of war as we drove the 54 miles from Calcutta to the border town of Bangaon -no military traffic no Indian Army units; no thudding artillery. When the road turned east, at a sign reading "Pak Border- Two Miles," we followed it until an Indian major stopped us, explaining that the Pakistanis were firing on the road just ahead. The major took us down a roadside ditch toward the border, and though we could hear the tumble of distant shelling and the whistle of an occasional bullet as we walked, the area was still calm. Where is the fighting, we asked, and the major replied: "All quiet on this side. A bit of automatic stuff at night, a few mortar rounds but otherwise no movement" At the border itself, Indian troops were well dug in and sturdy red-brick walls blocked the road. But beyond the walls, a sign was still visible, and it read: "Welcome to Pakistan."

### **Bound For The Border**

But tranquility suddenly vanished as we were driving back to Bangaon. In choking clouds of red dust, an awesome convoy was churning toward the border. Lumbering Soviet-built trucks towed twelve 105-mm artillery pieces, turbaned Sikhs manned a steady stream of jeeps mounted with recoilless guns and cumbersome trailers hauled pontoon-bridge equipment. We slipped in among a seemingly endless procession of trucks, each jammed with soldiers in full combat gear and automatic weapons. Everything from amphibious armored personnel carriers to furniture for command posts was in the convoy, and it all indicated that the Indian Army was positioning itself for an incursion into Pakistan. Even though we were waved off the road just before the border, the army made no effort to conceal the border-bound caravan or India's intentions. "My man have been waiting to move forward for a month." one officer told us as we joined him for tea. "Their spirits arc high."

It was patently obvious from the unceasing convoy as well as from conversation with the field commanders that India, for all its public proclamations to contrary, was finally lending the Mukti Bahini guerrillas a direct hand. After our observation of the Indian troop movements. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi acknowledge for the first time that her army had been given the go-ahead to cross the Pakistani border in self-defense. But in fact, India's tactics were more like the doctrine of 'hot pursuit.' For even before we saw the convoy, Indian forces had crossed the border north of Bangaon and destroyed thirteen Pakistani tanks. And, in another clear indication that India was stepping up its involvement in the battle for Bengal, an Indian Cabinet minister told me: "There is no time now for interim or compromise solutions. Speed is now essential."

For the time being, however India refrained from mounting an all out offensive. Instead, New Delhi's tactics seemed designed to tie down large numbers of Pakistani troops with a series of quick, limited strikes and thereby pave the way for the Bengali guerrillas to seize control of more territory. To that end, the Indians reportedly thrust into the districts of Sylhet, Comilla and the Chittagong Hills along the eastern border, as well as pushing in from the west towards Jessore. Lying in the midst of a rich agricultural plain, Jessore is regarded as a key city in the rebels plan to take over East Pakistan, India's offensive seemed to be aimed at speeding up that timetable. With the area around the city in Indian and Mukli Bahini hands, NEWSWEEK'S Tony Clifton flew into Jessore on a Pakistani Air Force plane and cabled this report:

It is obvious that the Indians are using regular troops, tanks and heavy guns to make incursions into Pakistan's territory. In fact, when I flew into Jessore. Indian soldiers still held a salient of land west of Jessore and had the city's airport under sporadic fire. I was quickly hustled off to the Pakistani headquarters where Maj Gen. M H. Ansari, the Sector commander, described the Indian attack: "They came in strength, two brigades supported by a tank regiment and artillery fire from 130-mm. Russian guns. They pushed in about 6 miles. That was too much, so we counter-attacked and pushed them back almost to the border." When I asked if the attackers could have been Bengali guerrillas, Ansari scoffed. "These weren't rebels. They were using tanks and heavy guns and the rebels haven't got that sort of weaponry. Those things don't grow on trees." He paused and added, somewhat wistfully, "Although I wish they did because then we'd get some too."

### **A Thankless Task**

Ansari claimed that his forces had killed some 200 to 300 enemy soldiers and added; "We captured uniforms and papers which showed they were regular Indian troops. They came from the Fourteenth Punjab Regiment." While refusing to say how many of his own men had been killed, he admitted that casualties were substantial: "They weren't throwing rose petals at us, you know". Even though Ansari said that he had driven the Indians back toward the border, no Pakistani official denies that the area surrounding Jessore is effectively in enemy hands. And wresting any part of East Pakistan back from a guerrilla force will be a thankless task for the army. Although the monsoons have ended, vast areas of land are still covered with water, and literally hundreds of rivers and streams crisscross the terrain. The few roads that do exist are puny tracks, all highly vulnerable to guerrilla attack.

An equal threat to the government exists on the opposite side of East Pakistan in the Comilla district. I flew into a Pakistani headquarters near the town of Brahmanbria where army officers charged that Indian troops had mounted a major battle. The Pakistani commander led me to a railroad truck piled high with dead bodies and showed off the weapons he had captured. While there was no way for me to tell whether the decomposing bodies were those of Bengali guerrillas or Indian regulars, the rifles, automatic weapons and light machine guns were undeniably of those types used by the Indian Army. The brigadier had no doubts that his enemies were Indians and he was almost gleeful when he described the battle. "We killed between 300 and 400 men, with

three times that many wounded" he crowed. "We destroyed the Nineteenth Punjab Battalion and badly mauled another."

The brigadier's bloodthirsty attitude was thoroughly typical of the feelings that Pakistanis and Indians have for each other. For the two states have been uneasy and often hostile neighbors since they were carved out of British-ruled India in 1947. The surgery that created Pakistan as a bifurcated Moslem state divided by 1,000 miles of Hindu India was hardly performed before countless thousands of people were slaughtered in the indescribably bloody "partition riots." And although the festering hatreds born of differing religions and customs were kept leashed for much of the following quarter century, the open warfare that broke out between India and Pakistan over Kashmir in 1948-49 and again in 1965 ensured that the mutual antagonisms would not die.

Nor is the India-Pakistan enmity the only hostility that scars the troubled sub-continent. Just as much antagonism exists between Pakistan's two principal races-the Panjabis who dominate West Pakistan and control both government and army, and the Bengalis of East Pakistan who bitterly resented the west's economic exploitation of their prosperous agricultural land and their status as a subjugated people. When the Bengalis rallied behind Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in last December's national election, they won a clear majority of seats in the nation's parliament. But Yahya Khan postponed the parliamentary opening, provoking a general strike and murderous Bengali rioting in East Pakistan. Yahya's response was brutal. He lashed the Punjabi army on the East in a terror campaign that eventually took the lives of more than 1 million Bengalis and drove 9'8 million into exile in India. And however, unwittingly, he brought this country and India to the brink of war.

### **India Holds The Cards**

For Pakistan, a head-on collision with India would likely verge on catastrophe. With India's armed forces more than double Pakistan's (980, 000 men against 392,000) and its air force totaling 615 combat aircraft as opposed to 285 Pakistani planes. New Delhi holds a heavy statistical advantage. But beyond that, the weather, political geography and the Mukti Bahini have all combined to give India a virtually fail-safe position. The winter snows have closed off the Himalayan passes, thereby reducing the danger of a Communist Chinese attack in support of Pakistan; in fact, so confident is India that its Chinese border is safe that, it recently repositioned some of its mountain troops along the Pakistani borders. Moreover, Yahya Khan, faces a logistical nightmare trying to resupply his forces, separated from each other by East Pakistan's waterlogged terrain and from the West by India itself. Most important, Yahya's 80,000 troops in East Pakistan must fight two enemies at once-the Indians in front and the increasingly menacing Bengali guerrillas in the rear

Indeed, the two-front nature of the fighting forms the nucleus of India's current strategy. For months, Mrs. Gandhi's government trained and equipped the Mukti Bahini. But seeing no sign that Yahya Khan would agree to autonomy for the East, and bleeding to death economically from the cost of caring for the refugees, India upped the ante. "They couldn't afford to let the Mukti Babini rebellion mature at its own rate," a diplomat

explained, "so they decided to telescope the process." The incursions were the result, and last week, as Mrs. Gandhi began a series of visits to border troops, New Delhi abounded with rumors of further dramatic escalation.

While the Indians and Pakistanis were trading bullets and talking of a larger war to come, the rest of the world was merely talking. Despite the fact that they had supplied both the arms and the money to fuel the fighting, the world's major powers seemed unable to stop the conflict. Russia, which has supplanted the West as India's premier armorer, confined itself mainly to low-key tongue-clicking in Pravda, perhaps because Moscow feels it is backing the eventual winner. Military conflict, the Pravda article said, "would cause dire human and material sacrifice and would cause further difficulties in the long run." And the People's Republic of China—a principal supporter of Pakistan's cause—concentrated chiefly on bawling out the Soviets.

### **Nobody Is Listening**

Nowhere was the impotence of a major power more evident than in Washington. Although the Nixon Administration called on the combatants to show restraint, the pleas fell on deaf ears. In India, where anger at the fact that the U.S. continued arms shipments to Pakistan until a month ago still runs high, a senior official bristled at the U.S. request: "We got the pats on the back for our restraint and they got the arms." he snapped. "You say you're putting pressure on the Pakistanis. We say you're trying to eat the cake and keep it." Nor did the U.S. meet with any greater success in Islamabad. For all his reliance on U.S. support, Yahya resolutely clung to the view that Pakistan could be saved without the release of Mujib and without buckling under to the Mukti Bahini.

Given Yahya's intransigence and the increasingly provocative Indian border crossings, it was difficult to see how full scale war could be avoided. Indeed, many foreign military attaches in New Delhi predicted that Jessore would fall to the Mukti Bahini by the end of this week—thus setting the scene for the proclamation of an independent Bangladesh and, perhaps, a retaliatory declaration of war by Pakistan against India. If that should happen the sub-continent would be engulfed in a more punishing conflict than any it has ever seen. For unlike past wars between India and Pakistan, this might well decide the ultimate fate of one of the antagonists. "The birth-pangs of Bangladesh will signal the death-throes of Pakistan as we have known it," said one American diplomat. "Yahya knows that, his army knows it. And they won't go down without putting up one hell of a fight."

### **Why India Won't Risk Peace**

If India fails to provoke Pakistan into an all-out war, it surely will not be for lack of trying. True enough, no one seriously believed that New Delhi had precipitated problems in East Pakistan where none had existed before: But neither did anyone doubt that the Indians had sought to take every possible advantage of the crisis from the beginning. Nor was there any question but what with the "opportunity of a lifetime," as one Indian politician described it, now in hand. New Delhi would risk everything to transform its dream of a weak, dismembered Pakistan into a reality.



As most Indians saw it, there was really 110 other choice. With the bills for refugee care soaring astronomically, officials in New Delhi were convinced that a full-scale war would be far cheaper than being stuck with the refugees problem for even one more year. And they even produced the figures to prove it. By next March, according to official estimates, the refugees will have cost the Indian government \$900 million-or more than thirteen times cost of the entire 1965 war with Pakistan. In short, if the current crisis dragged on, the financial drain on the Indian budget might well become unbearable. Indeed, what the Indians seemed to fear most was a Palestinian-style denouement-in which the government would have to contend with both the refugees and a continuing and costly standoff with hostile Pakistani forces in East Bengal. "We have accepted the risk of war," said one Indian official, "because we believed the risks to India of letting go on as they have been are far greater than the risks of war."

That kind of attitude has confronted Pakistan's Mohammed Yahya Khan with a painful dilemma: whether to accept defeat and proceed with a humiliating withdrawal from East Pakistan or to risk initiating a devastating war himself. Given the dismal alternatives, Yahya has understandably tried to carve out a more favorable position somewhere in between. Under pressure from Pakistan's so-called "22 families" (the nation's most powerful business leaders, who originally favored the crackdown on the Bengali rebellion to preserve their investments in the east but who now fear losses at home due to protracted war). Yahya has even begun to talk of compromise-privately suggesting the possibility of a plebiscite in the east. As one U.S. diplomat explained it : "It's obvious that Yahya is beginning to understand some things he missed a few months ago."

### **On Trial For Treason**

But it may already be too late for Yahya Khan to salvage an acceptable compromise. For despite his apparent willingness to haggle, he remains unwilling to make the only concessions that would seem to appeal to New Delhi: the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and negotiations for an independent Bangladesh. Still on trial for treason. Mujib remains in jail in the Punjab town of Layallpur. And Yahya is by no means ready to accept the humiliation of Bengali independence just yet. As the Indian pressure has escalated, in fact, Yahya has stiffened too-talking very much like a man who knows a fight is coming. "If she (Mrs. Gandhi) wants war," he declared last week, "then I will give it to her. If that woman thinks she is going to cow me. I refuse to take it."

If all-out war comes, most people expect the Pakistanis to trigger it with a strike into Kashmir or across India's western plains. An escalation of the conflict by that degree, the Pakistanis were said to believe, might be enough to force the U.N. Security Council to take up the crisis and perhaps even to implement a U. N. supervised cease -fire along the Indo-Pakistani border. But that ploy seemed doomed from the beginning. For one thing, great power rivalries over the sub-continent appeared significant enough to forestall any U.N. action at the moment. For another, a Pakistani attack would give the more powerful Indian Army the excuse it has been waiting for to deal Yahya's forces a decisive defeat.

No matter what short-term tactics Yahya chose, in other words. Pakistan ultimately seemed on the way out of the eastern zone. Nonetheless, no one was suggesting that India

had any ideas of annexing the territory. For while the predominantly Moslem rebels were more than willing to accept help from India's Hindus across the border, they would undoubtedly look with a much colder eye on Indian efforts to bring about a fun political take-over. In fact, India appeared likely to inherit enough troubles just by acquiring an independent Bangladesh on its doorstep to discourage any thoughts of bringing it into the Indian fold.

An international welfare case even in its palmiest days. East Bengal is in worse shape than usual as a result of the current tumuli. Its rickety communications network and minuscule industrial base have been all but destroyed. The region will plainly need massive infusions of Indian money and materials to get back even minimal stability. Without that aid, Bangladesh could collapse into anarchy and become a focal point for Marxist radicalism on the subcontinent. Finally, though social scientists on both sides of the border discounted the theory, some government officials in New Delhi still feared that an independent Bengali state would fan the flames of India's own separatist movement in adjacent West Bengal.

From the Indian point of view, however, there was no question that an independent Bangladesh would do far more good than harm. For starters, it would allow New Delhi at least to ease the refugee problem somewhat. In the long run, the re-establishment of traditional trading patterns between East and West Bengal should hold some economic benefits for India. But most important of all the breakup of Pakistan would assure India's undisputed supremacy on the sub-continent. For with the loss of an estimated 60 per cent of its population, 50 per cent of its foreign exchange and 20 per cent of its tax revenue, Pakistan seemed likely to present little in the way of a sustained military threat to the New Delhi government and appeared destined to wind up with just about as much diplomatic cloud as that wielded by neighboring Afghanistan.

### **China's Influence**

With the Pakistani counterweight safely out of the way, India would no doubt also seek to flex its political muscles beyond the limits of the sub-continent. Particularly in Asia, Mrs. Gandhi & Co. have their sights set on chiselling away at Peking's preponderant influence. The Indians have long resented playing diplomatic second fiddle to their Chinese, rivals, and in view of the international attention lavished upon the Chinese, the Foreign Office in New Delhi is smarting more than ever. "Why is Nixon treating China like a big power?" complained one Indian political scientist: "Because they have nuclear weapons? In 1960, we were as advanced as China in these weapons but we chose not to go on, in the interest of everyone. And now we are treated like stepchildren." Obviously, even without nuclear weapons, India hopes to change that relationship soon.

The U.S. itself faces an uphill fight to improve its own relations with South Asia. For in supporting the Pakistanis in the latest upheaval, however reluctantly, Washington clearly seems to have bet on the wrong team. As one American diplomat put it last week: "If there's an all-out war, the Indians will see us as being against them and the Paks will think we've betrayed them. Only the Russians have done their maths right. They know that any way you add West Pakistan's 60 million and the East's 80 million, it doesn't

equal India's 550 million." Indeed, next to India, the Soviet Union appeared likely to be the big winner in the battle for East Bengal. In fact, some people were predicting that Moscow would parley its support for India into vastly increased influence on the subcontinent and all around the Indian Ocean. But while the Russians have plainly enhanced their standing in the area, that assessment seemed a bit overdrawn. For throughout the current crisis, Mrs. Gandhi has resolutely steered her own course—neither asking for nor accepting direction from any quarter. And with India riding high, there seemed to be little reason to suspect that the headstrong Prime Minister was about to begin listening to outsiders now.

### **No place Worse Than Home**

These days, the telephone in P. N. Luthra's modest, third floor flat in Calcutta starts jangling at 6 each morning. And with the first ring Luthra, a 54 year old retired army Colonel who is responsible for coordinating India's relief program for Bengali refugees, is jolted awake by one of the seemingly endless series of problems that confront him daily. The first caller on a recent morning informed him that the Indian territory of Tripura, abutting East Pakistan's Comilla district, had received only 45 freight-car loads of food the previous day instead of its normal allotment of 67. Rushing to his makeshift office in the Calcutta branch of the Labour Ministry, Luthra ordered food stocks diverted from "a little reserve I have managed to build up in Assam." But when an aide found the phone connections to Assam so bad that he could not make himself understood, a telegraphed order had to be sent instead. "It will take 24 hours to get there," Luthra muttered helplessly. "I won't even receive confirmation for another 48 hours."

And so the problems mounted through the day. According to Indian Government figures, 9.8 million Bengali refugees have already fled to India and some 12,000 more stagger across the 1,300-mile long East Pakistani border every day. Among other things, they create a mind-boggling logistical puzzle for Luthra and his 280-man staff. With the onset of winter, some 4 million blankets must be distributed immediately in the colder districts near the Himalayan foothills, but fewer than a half million have arrived from abroad. Another 5.0(K) wells for drinking water have to be drilled in West Bengal to supplement the 6,000 already sunk. Concerned with reports that perhaps 30 per cent of the drug supplies and 15 per cent of the foodstuffs earmarked for the refugees vanish before reaching the 1,000 camps India now maintains, Luthra recently decreed: "We must lighten security." But an aide disagreed "The more we tighten up," he argued, "the more bottlenecks we'll have. Speed is more important now than trying to prevent the inevitable pilfering that goes on."

### **Yeoman Service**

In fact, for all the snarls, the Indian relief workers have performed yeoman service. At the sprawling Salt Lake camp near Calcutta's Dum Dum Airport, a new hospital staffed by sixteen doctors has helped to drastically cut the death rate among the camp's estimated 50,000 children to an average of only three at day. In addition the children at the camp now attend an open-air school under the direction of 110 teachers who are themselves refugees from East Pakistan. Salt Lake's population consumes some 200

truck loads of food and supplies a day-which amounts to a daily ration of 10.5 ounces of rice, 3.5 ounces of wheat and 3.5 ounces of vegetables per person. Children also get a pint of milk per day plus a multiple vitamin pill under a supplementary feeding program to cure the malnutrition that afflicted most of them' when they first crossed the border.

To be sure, the Salt Lake camp is reputed to be a "show place." And there, as in the other. 150 camps that foreign reporters are permitted to visit, it is not the least bit uncommon for ten families, or about 50 people, to huddle under a single tent measuring 50 by 24 feet. Babies are scattered all over the place, crying and vomiting. and the overpowering stench of human waste pervades the camp from one end to the other. The conditions seem intolerable, but the refugees endure because, unbelievable as it may seem, many of them never even had it this "good" in the Bengali villages whence they came. At most camps, all a refugee has to do is to look over to an adjoining Indian village, sometimes only 300 yards away, to see that, thanks to the relief program, he usually gets more to eat and receives better medical care than does the local Indian population.

### **Resentment**

Understandably, the impression that the refugees are getting favored treatment from the Indian Government has bred resentment among the locals. When a human tidal wave of 200,000 East Bengali refugees suddenly inundated the frontier village of Balat in India's Meghalaya state, for example, Luthra's relief workers hastily organized a 400-bed hospital and dispatched a mobile X-ray unit, an electrical generator and surgical instruments there. Balat's 3,000 permanent inhabitants, most of whom had never even seen a hospital before, marveled at the attention showered on the newcomers and naturally enough, began asking why they were not treated at the new hospitals too. Similarly in Calcutta, where no fewer than 500,000 of the teeming city's 8 million people are jobless and where 70 per cent of the families subsist on about \$ 12 a month, there are bitter complaints that refugees have been offering their services for 1 Rupee a day instead of the going daily wage of 3 Rupees for unskilled laborers. Only stern measures by the authorities have thus far prevented wholesale rioting between Calcutta's slum dwellers and the equally impoverished refugees in their desperate scramble for any sort of paying jobs.

These social strains and the staggering financial burden of refugee relief seem more than India can possibly bear. Estimates indicate that the program will have cost \$ 900 million by next March, of which only \$ 250 million has been offset by donations and pledges from abroad. Fully 16-per cent of India's current national budget is now eaten up in refugee relief, and the country's food-stocks, painstakingly built up over two good crop years as a cushion against leaner times, are fast dwindling. Special taxes have been levied, and the government has cut back drastically on all other spending areas, even to the extent of shelving of long planned development programs. "We cannot even reckon how much the refugees will cost us in '72 an Indian official told Newsweek's Arnaud de Borchgrave. "because the prospect is too horrendous to contemplate."

### **Nightmares**

But contemplate it India must because there is growing evidence that many of the refugees have no intention of returning to East Pakistan not even to an independent Bangladesh. Some 80 per cent of the refugee population is composed of Hindus who have been the special targets in the Pakistani Army's bloody repressions, and now that they are in India many wonder why their parents failed to take them out of Moslem dominated Bengal when the sub-continent was partitioned in 1947. Despite efforts to convince them that a new Bangladesh will be a secular state with equal fights for all, few of the Hindus seem persuaded that a return to their disaster-prone villages in East Bengal is preferable to the nascent welfare state of the refugee camps. Key Indian officials told de Borchgrave, however, that unless the refugees are "unloaded very soon. Indian troops may have to drive them back home at bayonet point." Such a prospect conjures up nightmares in New Delhi and, without doubt, is a major factor behind India's current effort to resolve the Bangladesh crisis quickly through military pressure.

### **Wonderful Job'**

Although its "President." Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, is currently being tried for treason by the Pakistani Government, the self-proclaimed nation of Bangladesh has set up a four-man Government led by "Acting President" Syed Nazrul Islam. Recently, in the first interview he has granted any journalist, Syed Nazrul Islam talked with NEWS WEEK'S Senior Editor Arnaud de Borchgrave. Below, excerpts:

### **On The Rebels' Campaign**

My boys have done a wonderful job. We are now well organized and effective. The people's sense of patriotism is also an excellent source of military intelligence; all the educated people are on our side. I don't think it will take much longer. You have seen for yourself, both in occupied and liberated areas, the support we enjoy.

### **On Outside Influence**

It is entirely our own show, and there is no pressure from India of one kind.. The Communists are supporting us and have pledged explicit loyalty to my government. But they are not a big factor.

### **On The United States**

The U.S. press has spelled out the basic issues. The story is now known. As a result, your Congress is supporting us, too. But we cannot understand why the U.S. Government is against us.

### **On An End To Fighting**

If Yahya has the foresight to see that independence is inevitable, then we can negotiate the details of withdrawal without bloodshed. First, he must release Mujib, then recognize independence. Fighting can then stop and troops be withdrawn. If Yahya Khan wants a settlement and a peaceful transfer of power, then all he has to do is release Mujib. If he doesn't want a peaceful transfer, then we will fight to the better end.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২৪। মুক্ত যশোরে বাঙালী	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES, DECEMBER 9, 1971

### BENGALIS DANCE IN LIBERATED' JESSORE

Jessore, Pakistan. December 8. The Bengalis danced on the, roofs of buses. They shouted independence slogans in the streets. They embraced, they cheered they reached out in spontaneous emotion to clasp the hands of visitors from other lands.

For Bengalis, today (December 8) was "liberation day" in Jessore-the strategic city in East Pakistan that, for eight months until yesterday (December 7) had been under the control of west Pakistani troops, who had come last spring to put down the Bengali rebellion.

The "liberators" are Indian troops. They are almost as happy as the Bengali secessionists whom India supports, but they did not have much time today to stop and celebrate, as they continued to chase the retreating West Pakistani forces southeast toward Khulna.

The Indians, too, waved and smiled and posed for pictures from the, tops of their armored personnel carriers and tanks while they waited, four miles from Jessore. for orders to move farther down to the Khulna road.

"They are fleeing in panic." an infantry captain of the Seventh Punjab Regiment said of the Pakistani troops. "They have got good equipment and defenses but their morale is in their boots.""

Most of the Indian troops are as different from the Bengalis as the predominantly Punjabi troops from West Pakistan were because the Indian soldiers are also heavily Punjab. But cultural gaps between the Bengali secessionists and their Indian backers have been temporarily erased.

The jubilant Bengalis have pitched in to sustain the Indian drive by working with Indian troops to throw pontoon bridges across rivers whose permanent bridges are being blown up by the Pakistanis as they pull back.

A major bridge has been expertly demolished on the main road from the Indian border to Jessore which is 23 miles inside East Pakistan. Five of the six spans of the steel and concrete bridge lie in the kabathani River, as does the railway bridge 200 yards downstream.

The Pakistanis blew these bridges two night ago as they retreated to Jessore.

The scene today at the site which is the town of Jhingergacha, nine miles from Jessore, looked like a cross between a bucket brigade and the building of the pyramids.

On the muddy, bank below the blown road bridge, hundreds of Bengalis in long rows passed logs down the line to be laid as planking for the approaches to a new pontoon bridge. As they worked in machine like precision brwany troops from the army engineers inflated huge pontoons with a compressor, carried them through knee-deep much to the water and then began placing the aluminium spans across them. In four hours, the bridge was finished..

**-Sydney H. Schanberg.**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২৫। হর্ষেৎফুল্ল বাঙালীরা ভারতীয় সৈন্যদের স্বাগত জানাচ্ছে	বাল্টিমোর সান	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE BALTIMORE SUN, DECEMBER 9, 1971*  
**JUBILANT BENGALI CROWDS GREET  
 CONQUERING INDIANS AS HEROES IN JESSORE**

Jessore, East Pakistan: Jubilant crowds poured into the streets yesterday (December 7) to shout Bangladesh slogans and cheer conquering Indian troops.

They emerged from their homes waving the red-green and gold flags of Bangladesh they had concealed for so long, and the women who had fled to villages deep in the paddy fields in fear of Pakistani soldiers returned to their homes.

The Indian Army entered Jessore Tuesday after a lightning thrust which splintered the Pakistani forces and put them to flight.

Tanks and armoured personnel carriers thundered past rows of shabby rundown shops, most of them locked and shuttered.

Turbaned Sikhs and brown-faced little Gurkha riflemen mingled with the crowd as cheerleaders led them in their chant of "Joi Bangla!" -Long live Bengal!

For the survivors of Jessore, an independent Bangladesh at last had become more than a cherished dream.

Out in the streets, too, were the Mukti Bahini, nationalist guerrillas who have waged an eight-month war of sabotage and against President A. M. Yahya Khan's Army.

Modern automatic rifles, supplied by India, were slung over their shoulder, and light machine-guns.

They played a minor role in the battle of Jessore. But there was a swagger in their walk as they enjoyed the day of triumph. Major-General Dalbir Singh, whose division conquered this Pakistani barracks city, said if the enemy "had fought sensibly we should have been fighting here for a month".

General Singh, Commander of the Indian 9th Division, said an antitank ditch and a little Maginot Line surrounded Jessore, but his troops entered almost unopposed.

His report had little in common with official accounts issued by Army spokesmen in Calcutta. They told of fierce fighting in Jessore.

Most of the fighting took place well away from the town General Singh remarked of the Pakistanis: "They have been fighting since April and are fairly disorganized". Shell-fire has blasted an occasional house, but otherwise Jessore is little damaged. Most of the Pakistanis now are withdrawing toward the port and mill town of Chalna..

"I've got some of them in a pocket and even for the rest there is no way out". General Singh added. "I don't want to kill them yet. I want to catch them. I'm of a gentle nature."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২৬। উচ্ছৃঙ্খলিত বাঙালীদের স্বাধীনতা উদযাপন	ইভনিং স্টার	১০ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE EVENING STAR, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 10, 1971*  
**JUBILANT BENGALIS CELEBRATE FREEDOM**

Jessore, East Pakistan: Jubilant East Bengalis danced around the bodies of their fallen oppressors as 1,000 doomed West Pakistan troops and their families fled toward the sea and certain death or capture by Indian "liberation" forces.

The road from Jessore, which fell to the Indians three days ago without a fight yesterday (December 8), was littered with Pakistani dead, burned out jeeps and rucks and abandoned enemy weapons.

**Surrender or die**

Even if they manage to reach the sea, the fleeing Pakistanis and their wives and children will have to swim, if they go any farther. For the Indian Navy is waiting for them there and the Indian Air Force, which has undisputed control of the air, is having a field day shooting up Pakistani shipping.

Isolated by land, sea and air, under attack from all directions, and harassed by vengeful East Bengalis, the 60,000 West Pakistani troops in the East face the choice of surrender or death.

With the fall of Jessore in the West and Comilla in the East, two of their principal strong-points, it was doubtful if the Pakistanis will even make a fight for Dacca, the capital and apex of their triangular defense line.

Indian army officers, who seemed almost embarrassed by the ease with which they vanquished the supposedly fierce Pakistani fighters, said they were pursuing the enemy with deliberate slowness.

"We keep urging them to surrender", said Major Sabhu Singh, an artillery officer. "They haven't a chance anyway: And we are refraining from using our air because of the women and children." .

The dark-skinned Bengalis lined the roadside to welcome the advancing Indian troops and shouted "Hail Bangladesh," their self-proclaimed new nation which has been recognized by New Delhi.

At one point along the road between Jessore and Khulna, the Bengalis danced around the bodies of a dozen slain Pakistani soldiers and shouted "Hail Bangla" for the benefit of foreign television cameras. None of them ever has seen T.V They don't even have electricity.



While they may have some reservations about their Indian liberators, it was clear the Bengalis were overjoyed to be free from the West Pakistanis, who for the past eight months have slaughtered them by the tens of thousands in a vain attempt to stamp out Bengali nationalism.

### **Mass killings charged**

The retreating Pakistanis left a trail of blasted bridges and stories of mass killing Indian army engineers, with commendable efficiency, rigged pontoon bridges and by-passes over the larger streams.

In town after town, excitable Bengalis told of mass murders by Pakistani troops. One man told how the Pakistanis came in search of a Mukti Bahini (Bengali freedom-fighter) leader named Ghillal, a common name in these parts. When they failed to find him, they shot everybody in the village by that name-10 people in all, the Bengalis said.

**Keyes Beech**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২৭। নিম্নলিখিত এবং দক্ষিণ এশিয়া	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES, DECEMBER 9, 1971

**MR. NIXON AND SOUTH ASIA**

By John P. Lewis

Princeton, N. J. - The Nixon Administration's South Asia policy, which had been edging toward disaster for the last eight months, finally, in a cloud of pious inanities, plunged over the brink this last weekend. Presumably for the time being the policy is beyond redemption. What now selfishly concerns me as an American is that India's leaders may exaggerate the degree to which the Administration's present aberrations represent thoughtful and enduring American opinion. All the evidence suggests that within the Administration the aberrations trace directly and primarily to Mr. Nixon himself. For eight months he has remained officially blind to the most massive calculated savagery that has been visited on a civil population in recent times. He has been faithful to his good friend' the Chairman of the savagery Yahya Khan. Neither his hand holding nor any hidden leverage on the Pakistan Regime has had evident effect in advancing a political solution in East Bengal.

To an Indian Government that in the face of moral and human outrage next door and of an outlandish refugee burden, was showing remarkable restraint until recently. Mr. Nixon offered mainly counsels of restraint. He supplied no moral support instead for months he continued to trickle arms to Pakistan like to much gasoline on to smouldering. Indian passions. The Pakistan has been fully aware both of the explosive domestic political risks the refugee posed in Indian Bengal and of the way they have totally derailed the cause of Indian development at its very moment of greatest opportunity.

Historians are bound to boggle at the cumulative intepitude of this performance. In one series of strokes we have managed to align ourselves with the wrong side of about as big and simple a moral issue as the world has been lately we have sided with a minor military dictatorship against the world's second largest nation which happens also to be the staunchest of all developing countries in its adherence to our own deepest political values. We have joined the surefire loser in a sub continental confrontation, and we have depleted a once abundant, durable fund of Indo-American goodwill at a sickening rate.

It certainly would be wrong to claim to our Indian friends that in all this, the president is swimming against a tide of public opinion. There is little American tide of opinion of any kind about the subcontinent, and its surface flow is considerably influenced by what any President does and says. Moreover many of our best editorial writers and columnists have such an absolute abhorrence of war -especially when esealated by others-whatever the provocation and whatever the closure of other options, that they cannot just now. See much beyond the proximate cause of the Bengal border crossing.

I would like to emphasize one point that tends to be skirted, because no one wants to be caught these days suggesting that any good even relative and weighed against the alternative-can come of a war. The point, and it is pivotal, is that the only possible basis for a stable, peaceful East Bengal to which a large portion of the ten million refugees can return and help rebuild their nation is an independent East Bengal. Such is the effect of the program of terror since March 25, the scenario cannot be would backwards. Hence (1) the premise of undivided Pakistan's sovereign integrity upon which American policy has rested, for at last five months, has been nonstarter, and (2) India's support of the insurgency by the previously elected Bangladesh regime has not been merely human and understandable lacking alternatives, it has been the only constructive policy available.

I myself wish the Indians had escalated less, accepted a longer time frame, and kept their support less overt. But if there is any group which, having contributed most to the frustration of restraint, has least cause to fault her ensuing impatience, it is the Nixon Administration. It remains now for India to demonstrate that her objectives are those, and only those, she held out, namely, establishment of a genuinely independent East Bengal to which the refugees can return. There is a heavy obligation on Indian leaders to make sure that war fervor does not spill over in to more self-serving ventures, either to the east or to the west. Meanwhile, as this demonstration is being rendered, there is an obligation on Washington to keep quiet.

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*John P. Lewis Dean. Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs Princeton, was U S. A.I. D. director in India. 1964.69.*

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২৮। পশ্চিম বঙ্গের চিঠি	দি নিউজ ইয়র্কার	১১ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORKER, DECEMBER 11, 1971  
**LETTER FROM WEST BENGAL**

On December 3rd, India and Pakistan begin a full scale war. Whatever the immediate provocations, it is generally agreed that the cause of the war is rooted in the fact that since March of this year-in the biggest single forced migration in the world's history-nine million men, women, and children have fled from East Pakistan to India, where all they appear to have left now is their classification: "refugees." Yet the world at large does not seem even to have become interested in their plight. For someone accustomed to a society which people are concerned with nutrition, not starvation, with the quality of life, not mere survival, in which people think of life in terms of liberty, justice, equality, and human dignity, it is difficult to imagine what it must mean to be one of their refugees. Although some of them were doctors, lawyers, professors, students, businessmen, or most of them never had much in the way of worldly possessions and like their forefathers, would have died as poor as they were born leaving little mark on the world. Family ties, associations, and memories must have been everything to them and now the families of most of them have been killed, scattered, or shamed by unspeakable indignities; the few objects that have associations or them have been torn from them; and their memories have been dimmed by who knows what deprivation and anguish. Until their migration, these people were bound by their caste and occupation to a particular place, with nothing special to look forward to, nothing special to hope for -even, perhaps, nothing special to live for. Now they have still less. Is there anything, then, that distinguishes them from animals? Gandhi once said of their parents generation, "The more I penetrate the villages, the greater is the shock delivered as I perceive the blank stare in the eyes of the villagers I meet. Having nothing else to do but to work as laborers side by side with their bullocks they have become almost like them." If the refugees had all died in a single natural catastrophe, would that have been easier for the rest of the world to face? The conditions they are living under seem to drag the entire human species down in a sort of reverse evolution. Yet the fact remains that each year is now in Calcutta, where, as Kipling wrote, "The cholera, the cyclone, and the crow come and go." He also described it as a city "By the sewage rendered fetid by the sewer/Made impure," and said, "As the fungus sprouts chaotic from its bed, so it spread And, above the packed and pestilential town/ Death looked down." Since Kipling wrote these lines, eighty years ago, the city has spread and speared, and the dominion of death as well, until today Calcutta encompasses over seven million wretched people-not counting the refugees. Now all of eastern India, where refugees are camped in more than a thousand settlements, threatens to become a sprawling outgrowth of Calcutta; it is predicted that if the refugees remain, their number will swell in ten years to thirty million. A third of India's population already lives in this region, where the worst famines, pestilences, and cyclones always strike, and this third includes the poorest of the Indian poor; the refugees, having nothing more to lose, and having no stake in the political system under which they find themselves living, are ready

tinder for any political movement and have made eastern India more nearly ungovernable than ever, casting the stability of the entire country in doubt.

Sending to learn for whom the bell tolls, I went to visit several refugee camps in West Bengal. The misery that paralyzes its victims does not spare its observers, and it is with a great emotional reluctance that I attempt to describe what I found there. No two camps are alike. Some camps have as many as a hundred and sixty thousand people, while others have only ten thousand; some have tube wells, while others have no water supply of any kind; some have structures of tarpaulin and thatch, and trench latrines, while others have no structures or latrines at all; some are knee-deep in water, while others are choked with dust.

In one camp I went to, which has over a hundred thousand people living in an area of about a square mile, old men, old women and young children, all looking wasted and weak, were sitting dully on a strip of ground between makeshift shelters and a long open drain brimming with brown sludge. The stench was so overpowering.

"There appear to be no young men or young women," I remarked.

"Young women never seem to get through," he said. "The soldiers rape them and keep them for themselves or carry them off to the military brothels. As for the young men, we Indians train them for guerrilla warfare and send them back to fight in the Mukti Bahini, the liberation army."

We passed some elderly women squatting over the open drain and defecating, with a total lack of self-consciousness. A few steps beyond them, some other women were washing clothes and utensils in the drain. I wondered whether these women were too ignorant to know any better, or too weak to go searching for clean water, or whether there was no clean water to be had in the vicinity, or whether they were not allowed to leave the camp, but when I put these questions to the women, they seemed dazed and uncomprehending, and it was hard to get even the slightest response from them. As for the official, he merely waved the questions aside as unpleasant reminders of the way things were or bad to be.

"They all have dysentery," he said, moving on.

"Why don't you at least get them to dig some latrines?" I asked.

"We would have a riot on our hands" he said. "That would be taking work away from the local laborers. We've already had a lot of trouble with the local people over the refugees."

"And the tube wells?"

"We've given out the contracts. The contractor should get around to this camp soon."

We passed some children sitting listless and stilt by the open drain I had already noticed that the usual train of curious children and beggars who attach themselves to visitors in the bazaars and streets was missing here.

Another camp I visited was full of commotion. . It has a population of about twenty thousand, and it is encircled by security guards and has a fence of barbed wire. As I drove up to it, children closed in around the car and followed me. Inside the camp, a few enterprising men were sitting hawking baskets of rotten fruit and vegetables. A security guard escorted me to the camp headquarters -a tarpaulin structure. It was surrounded by a noisy group of men shaking their fists. The security guard carefully made his way through them, and I with him. Inside was the commandant, of the camp, an empty desk, saying nothing. As soon as the men noticed arrival, they fell silent.

I asked the commandant what the trouble was.

"The ration has been delayed by a day. There is nothing I can do about it. They know that. But the Naxalites were here this morning, and they stir up trouble wherever they go." The Naxalites are an organization of Maoist terrorists. 'Because of them, the refugees now think the daily ration is their right, not a gift that the government has to work hard to get to them.'

"You actually allow political activists to come into the camp?"

"What can I do? My superior is a Naxalite sympathizer, and he has given me orders not to interfere with their activities. But I went out this morning to plead with them anyway and ask them to leave our camp alone. They feel upon me. They would have killed me if I hadn't got away. The police, the civil service, the entire West Bengal government have abdicated. They don't know which party is going to end up in power, so no one wants to risk taking sides or making any decisions. The Naxalites are now the biggest force in West Bengal, and all they believe in is terrorism and anarchy."

Refugees have been coming to India waves since 1947, the time of independence,, when the country was partitioned to create the Muslim, state of Pakistan. Muslims, fearing that they would be discriminated against as a minority in a predominantly Hindu independent India, had demanded a separate country, and they were given West Punjab and East Bengal areas that were a thousand miles apart but in which they made up a majority. The religious riots and massacres that accompanied the partition not only resulted in the death of more than a million people but also brought into being in effect a third nation -a nation of displaced persons. During the first two or three years of the turmoil, -about six million Hindus and Sikhs fled to India and about the same number of Muslims fled to Pakistan. But this crossing nation, staggering though it was, still left ten million Hindus in Pakistan almost all of them in East Pakistan-and several times as many Muslims in India. With the passing of the years, and the deepening of the enmity between India and Pakistan, the fate of these minorities became increasingly precarious. The original refugee population assimilated. The flow of refugees continued, at varying rates, through the nineteen fifties and nineteen-sixties much of it in the direction of India. The additional refugees in India, all of them Hindus, have been estimated to total between three and four million, and they were still living in West Bengal unemployed and unassimilated, managing to subsist with the help of relatives or in refugee camps-when West Bengal and the neighboring states were inundated by the new exodus of nine

million. And refugees are still coming twenty or thirty thousand of them a day. And there are between two and three million Hindus still holding out in East Pakistan, like hostages fortune. There are no fewer than seventy million Muslims in India today, who might as well be so many return pledges, since they are sitting targets for the Hindu resentment that has been simmering all these years and has been stirred up anew by the latest tide of refugees-a resentment that the Indian government has so far been able to keep under control by the deflection of Hindu revanchists and by judicious management of the news but the pressure of religious, or so-called "communal," tension is building all the time, and some people privately fear that the seventy million Indian Muslims may become innocent victims or Hindu retaliation. If that should ever happen, the burden of all the Hindu refugees that India is carrying would seem nothing compared to what Pakistan would have to bear.

Since, in the long run, Pakistan has so much more to lose than India has, many-observers have been asking whether Pakistan might not have been able to prevent the latest exodus, especially since it was a consequence of what was essentially an internal quarrel between the two wings of Pakistan. The Punjabis of West Pakistan and the Bengalis of East Pakistan have much more in common with the Punjabis and Bengalis across the border in India than with each other; they are divided not only by geography but also by differences in language, in economic and social systems, in dress, and in diet. In fact, the only real bond between East Pakistan and West Pakistan is Islam, but, as other Muslim countries have discovered, religion alone cannot bind together politically disparate entities. From the start, the Punjabis, who were much more prosperous than the Bengalis, ran Pakistan's Army, civil service, and industry. Their operation can therefore consist only of frequent punitive expeditions launched from fortified military strongholds expeditions that may devastate the countryside and decimate the population but cannot conquer the one or subdue the other. Moreover, the guerrillas have easy access to India and can come on support from across the border for an indefinite period.

Clearly, it had always been only a matter of time before India would be officially involved, because the brunt of the Pakistan Army's initial attack fell, naturally, on the Hindus turning what was originally a war between the two Muslim factions into a Muslim persecution of Hindus, and so foisting Pakistan's greatest internal problem upon India. About ninety per cent of the nine million refugees in India today are Hindus. (Hindus and Muslims in East Pakistan were often indistinguishable, and in those cases the only way the Army could tell them apart was by making them strip, for Muslims are circumcised and Hindus are not. A few of the Hindus, however, were easily identified; they were small time businessmen or petty landowners, and were therefore natural scape-goats in their communities, much as Jews had been in Europe in the nineteen-thirties.) There was no dearth of escape point for the fleeing Hindus, since India shares a thirteen hundred and fifty-mile border with East Pakistan. It has been seriously suggested in some quarters that India could have avoided the whole refugee problem by turning back the first onrush of fugitives at gunpoint, on the theory that the boundaries of a country are sacrosanct and no country is obliged to receive an alien population. In fact, some people here say that the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, should at once have made

lightning attack on Pakistan, for such an attack would certainly have stopped the refugees at the border, and, in the bargain, dismembered Pakistan -gain that would have offset any price fix might have had to pay in western India, such as the loss of Kashmir. Some even deem her failure to go to war immediately. It is said that as word of this hospitality got about, it encouraged more refugees to flee, compounding tragedy.

No doubt the impulse to help was humanitarian, but few believe that it had no other source; the urge to destroy Pakistan-perhaps even to unite India as it was before partition-must, it is thought, have played some part in Indian political calculations. According to this argument, the Hindus in Pakistan had been living on borrowed time, and, in a sense, the Indian government had always expected to be saddled with them sooner or later. Now the presence of the refugees, in destitution, gave India the opportunity to expose and dramatize to the world the theocratic nature of Pakistan-whose creation had been forced upon India, and whose existence the Indians had never accepted-and to place the blame for their exodus on the Pakistani military junta. (The Pakistanis who claim that the Indians have inflated the figures on refugees, partly by misstatement and partly by adding to the camps' population the riffraff of the Indian streets, put the number of refugees at two and a half million but all would relief organizations accept the Indian figures as accurate.)

Whatever India's motives, it certainly seems that concern for the welfare of the refugees, which should have been the primary consideration has not had much to do with the policies adopted by the United States, the Soviet Union or China-the big powers caught up in the situation. The American government, possibly taking its cue from the old State Department dictum that in the underdeveloped world the only reliable allies are military governments not only has never publicly censured General Yahya's military government but had continued to supply arms to it until Mrs. Gandhi's state visit to the United States last month. The monetary value of this material was relatively insignificant, but, consisting, as it did, of spare parts for imported equipment, it must have been of considerable military value to Pakistan, and, being sent, as it was in full knowledge of the effects of General Yahya's policy, it had an alienating effect on the Indians which cannot be underestimated. The State Department's view-even if it were plausible- that it is best to be on the right side of General Yahya so as to be better able to influence his policy has been maintained only at the expense of moral leadership, and, even so, has borne on visible fruit. The main significance of the much heralded Indo-Soviet friendship treaty of last summer-which was concluded at a time of rampant anti-Americanism in India-is also military. The Russians, real purpose much have been to tip Indian "neutrality" toward the Soviet Union, and to do so on the cheap, as that, because it is generally thought that India must have given assurances that it would not be the first to go to war and so drag the Soviet Union into the conflict. No one knows what the Chinese have promised the Pakistanis, because so far there have been only certain gestures to go on- Kissinger's flying from Pakistan to China last summer. China's playing host to Bhutto this autumn. China's issuing veiled warnings to India in the United Nations.

Although India, Pakistan, the United States, the Soviet Union and China all profess solicitude for the refugees, whose suffering increases each day, have become irrelevant to



the political and diplomatic negotiations that are being carried on in their name, and, even in the debates in the Security Council, have received little attention. The Indian government has recently let it be known that the human aspect of the tragedy must be deemphasized, declaring that an outpouring of sympathy, pity, and aid, however welcome, is no substitute for a political solution, which, in the government's view, involves the repatriation of the refugees—a solution that must ultimately lead to the establishment of Bangladesh. The government insists that the disaffection in East Pakistan with General Yahya and the military is so deep and wide that the refugees could not feel safe if they returned home unless General Yahya released Mujib—who is thought to be in prison and to be undergoing a secret trial for treason—and negotiated the question of Bangladesh with him. But even if Mujib were released, it is doubtful whether he could now be a moderating influence on the Bangladesh issue without being repudiated by the East Pakistanis in favor of the extremist leaders who have emerged in the liberation struggle. In any event, some observers wonder whether Bangladesh would ever welcome the refugees back even if this new nation could somehow be brought into being. In either case, they would remain a small, helpless Hindu minority within a Muslim state, living under the threat of a second exodus, or extermination. And, supposing that any fate for the refugees, after they returned to their homes, were preferable to their continued presence in India, wouldn't Bangladesh one day serve as a magnet for West Bengali? After all, what would a Bengal nation be with more than a third of the Bengalis living outside it. in India? As for the use of force to achieve political ends, that may result in India's acquisition of territory that could be used to settle the refugees (or even in the re-absorption of East Pakistan by India), but it will also poison relations with a truncated Pakistan or with any future Bangladesh. Some of these speculations must have entered into the thinking of the Indian government, and that only raises another question: Why has the Indian government made the establishment of Bangladesh the crux of its refugee policy? The only answer anyone can come up with here is that the problems a poor country faces are so mind-boggling—they so often defeat all attempts at a political, not to mention a humane, solution—that the government sooner or later resorts to force to win it, a temporary reprieve. In any case, the prospect of permanently supporting the nine million refugees is so inconceivable—according to the World Bank, the minimum cost would be seven hundred million dollars a year, or a sixth of India's total budget—that, in the absence of any real alternative, the government has taken shelter in the illusion that Bangladesh would solve the refugee problem.

Before going to the refugee camps, I had allowed myself to hope that the conditions there would not be worse than those to be found in Calcutta. I had imagined, that there must be some limit to human suffering and to the ability to survive. I was wrong. The Calcutta poor still evince some hope that tomorrow will bring a slight improvement in their ration or their luck. The Calcutta lepers, even on their deathbeds cry out in pain—which is at least a form of human expression—and the people found working among the poor and the lepers manage to feel and communicate some power and wealth became concentrated almost entirely in the west. The enmity with India which had a negligible influence economy of west Pakistan, all but crippled the economy of East Pakistan, which, unlike West Pakistan, depended on India for trade. The Bengalis, who had come

to feel exploited and subjugated, grew more and more restive, their predicament being particularly galling because they constituted a majority of Pakistan's population. It was an attempt by the President General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan—who, of course, is from West Pakistan—to deal with some of these problems that precipitated the present calamity. Apparently hoping to mollify the majority and to defuse what he regarded as a threat to the union of Pakistan, he decided, in 1969, to hand over his military government to civilian control, and in December of 1970 he allowed Pakistanis, for the first time in their twenty-three-year history, to vote - on the basis of universal male suffrage—for representatives to a constituent assembly. In the election, the Awami League, led by the Bengali pacifist Sheikh Mujibur Rahman or Mujib— campaigned openly for political and economic autonomy for East Pakistan, and won almost all the Bengal seats, while the Pakistan People's Party led by the Punjabi military Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was returned with a bare majority in West Pakistan. Once the election results had made it clear that the Awami League would dominate the constituent assembly—and no doubt, the civilian government that emerged from it—Bhutto let it be known that he would not participate in any assembly or government in which West Pakistan and the Pakistan People party were not equal partners with East Pakistan and the Awami League. Mujib saw in Bhutto's stand only a design for perpetuating the "colonial subjugation" of East Pakistan by West Pakistan. General Yahya seemed to be caught or guard by the strength of the democratic forces he had released. The election had unexpectedly turned into a reference on East Pakistan autonomy, and now that General Yahya was actually confronted with the possibility that control might pass to the eager Bengali majority, he, like Bhutto, seemed unable to countenance any change in the relationship between East Pakistan and West Pakistan, which might be the beginning of the end of the union. He/therefore/tried to get Mujib to moderate his demands, and, when he failed, temporized by fisting the inaugural session of the constituent assembly. This tactic aroused protest in East Pakistan in early March of this year, and he ordered his troops to shoot demonstrators; the shooting, in turn, led to an all-out Bengali civil disobedience movement later in the month, and he gave his troops, free rein, thus causing the death of perhaps as many as two hundred thousand Muslims and Hindus in the space of a few months—and the flight of the refugees.

As I moved through the camps. I thought of all the discussion I had heard and read of how General Yahya came to chose a military solution to a political problem. Some people here condemn the truculence of Bhutto and his clamorous followers, who had wide support in the Army; others condemn the intransigence of Mujib and his impatient supporters, who, giddy with their new freedom and heedless of the examples made of the Hungarians in 1956 and the Czechs in 1968, dismissed the power of a modern state too lightly and assumed themselves to be immune from military action -partly because in their case the action would have to be sustained from a base a thousand miles away across Indian territory. Some say it was unrealistic ever to suppose that West Pakistan would yield its preeminent position without a fight. Others say the history of Bengali grievances was so long that East Pakistan was in no mood to capitulate, especially since a cyclone that struck a month before the election had drowned two hundred and fifty thousand people. Still others blame General Yahya for completely misjudging the commitment of the Bengalis to their cause, and for not playing for more time by, for

instance, drawing out the talks and blunting the issue of Bengali autonomy. Having lost political control, however, he perhaps had no choice but to fall back on his real constituency, which was, after all, the military. Whatever the reasons for the military' action-and all the speculations are based on hearsay or on public statements put out by the various sides as propaganda Indians now think that it made the eventual breakup of Pakistan inevitable, not only because it transformed a bid for autonomy into an outright demand for a separate, independent Bangladesh (Bengal Nation) but also because the Bengali guerrillas are bound to win the war they have been waging for Bangladesh ever since....

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২৯। হর্ষধ্বনির মধ্য দিয়ে ভারতীয়দের ঢাকা প্রবেশ	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	১৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE WASHINGTON POST, DECEMBER 17, 1971*  
**WAR IN EAST ENDS-INDIANS ENTER DACCA  
 TO MARIGOILDS AND CHEERS**

Dacca, December 16-Indian army troops entered Dacca today to the cheers of thousands of Bengalis shouting "Jai Bangla" (Victory for Bengal).

The composite force of Indian troops and East Pakistani guerrillas, commanded by Major-General Gandhar Naagra, assaulted a bridge on Dacca's outskirts in the early morning and then received word that the Pakistani command here had accepted India's ultimatum to surrender.

Naagra said he sent a note across town to the Pakistani military headquarters at about 8-30 a.m. local time (10 p.m. Wednesday EST) and received an immediate reply that there would be no further Pakistani resistance. He then entered the city with his men.

He met with Pakistan's commander here, Lt.-Gen.A.A.K. Niazi, about 10 a.m. "We are old friends", Naagra said, "from college days".

The Indian General then went to Dacca airport to await the arrival of the Chief of Staff of India's Eastern Command, Maj-Gen.. J. F. R. Jacob, who came by helicopter from his Calcutta headquarters.

At the airport, the General, with only three Indian soldiers nearby, stood twirling his rough-wood walking stick, while the Pakistani airport defense units grouped at the far end of the runway to move to their surrender point.

Armed Pakistani soldiers far outnumbered Indians in the streets for several hours, and there was sporadic shooting. Several Indians -and Pakistanis were killed, including an Indian officer shot outside the Intercontinental Hotel.

Mukti Bahini men— Members of East Pakistan's liberation army mingled with civilians in the happy crowds and fired their rifles in the air.

Naagra sent Brig. H. S. Kler, Commander of the 95th Mountain Brigade, to the Intercontinental Hotel, a neutral zone under Red Cross auspices, to attempt to protect foreigners and the former civilian government of East Pakistan, which has taken refugee there.

Kler's car was repeatedly mobbed by Bengalis as he moved through the streets. At one point, the crowd tried to yank his driver out of the car and Kler stepped out. only to have Bengalis throw themselves around his neck while one pressed a bunch of marigolds into his hands.

"Thank you, thank you", the Bengalis yelled at him.

Naagra and Kler fought their way into Dacca from the north after crossing the Pakistani border on the morning of December 4 with slightly more than two brigades.

They covered 160 miles-partly by bullock drawn cart and foot fighting at every town.

"We were relying on you to get us home for Christmas", a reporter -told Naagra at the airport. "Well, we have done it", the General replied.

Naagra said that the road into Dacca down which he came was littered with the bodies of Pakistani soldiers. "It was pathetic", he said, "we could not bury them. We did not have time."

"We were cheered all the way", Naagra continued. "At Mymensingh, all my patches and badges were snatched off by the crowds."

"I hope everything is peaceful and quiet", Jacob said. "We have given our guarantee that the soldiers and West Pakistanis will be protected, and we mean to keep it."

About eight Bengalis rushed through the airport gate into the runway to greet Jacob. "May I shake your hand", they asked one after another. They have killed us like rats for nine months", one told Jacob, referring to the Pakistani army.

Turning to a reporter, the Bengali asked: "What country are you from?" "American", the reporter replied.

Not happy with America

The Bengali spat: "We are not happy with America", he said, refusing to shake hands.

Bengalis bitterly resent President Nixon's support for the central Pakistan Government throughout the civil war that led to the Indian-Pakistani war here.

Now (he Bangladesh (Bengal Nation) that they have been hoping for is born. One of Gen. Niagara's aides carried a Bangladesh flag as the General stood at the airport.

Other Bangladesh flags are being waved in the streets by civilians who stop every passing car to shake hands and shout their happy slogans.

Along the sides of the streets, for the most part ignored by the crowds, soldiers and police of the defeated Pakistani Government file by-still carrying their weapons-but heading for the collection points where they are to be disarmed.

The surrender and Indian army arrival came suddenly, after some bleak early-morning hours in which it appeared that plans to surrender had been snagged in West Pakistan and that heavy fighting, plus waves of new air strikes, would cause serious damage and many deaths in Dacca.

India's halt to air strikes against the city was to run out at 9-30 a.m. local time (10-30 p.m. Wednesday EST), and shortly before 9 a.m.. United Nations and Red Cross officials learned that the Pakistani command had lost its communications and could not send its message of acceptance to New Delhi.

#### **Lost communications**

During a hurried meeting at the Pakistani military headquarters, Maj Gen. Farman Ali Khan, who has been acting for Gen. Niazi in the attempts to negotiate a cease-fire, informed U.N. officials of the command's unconditional acceptance. The message was then sent to Delhi through U.N radio facilities at 9-20 a.m. 10 minutes before the bombing was to resume.

The formal surrender took place at 5 p.m., local time (6 a.m. EST) on the race track in-field, with firing and shouting from surrounding areas...

Each bus-load of Indian soldiers is mobbed with cries of thanks, and Bangladesh flags are being pulled out from the hiding places where they have been kept since last March 25, when the Pakistani army began its brutal campaign to keep control here.

**Lee Lescaze**

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩০। বিজয়োল্লাস	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, DECEMBER 17, 1971*

### **JOY AND MARIGOLDS**

Dacca Pakistan, December 16-Shouting. "Joy Bangla!" and waving the Bangladesh flag, Indian troops in trucks and buses poured into the Pakistani military camp north of town today just after the Pakistanis had accepted an ultimatum to surrender.

Indian soldiers with marigolds in their gun barrels passed armed Pakistani soldiers in great traffic jams within the camp. Pakistani officers saluted Indian officers. Officers of both armies, many of whom attended the same schools under the British, shook hands and asked about mutual friends.

In Dacca itself, there were spontaneous eruptions of Joy and celebration in the streets. Bengalis kissed Indian Punjabi soldiers, tossing flowers at them and at the rebels who accompanied them. Most of the soldiers looked exhausted and Bleak-eyed.

Pictures of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who was the Awami League leader until he was imprisoned in West Pakistan in March, were hoisted above cars. Bengalis surrounded them, shouting "Joi Bangla" (victory for Bangla) and "Sheikh Mujib."

One rebel leader, trying to stop Bengali mobs from seeking revenge on West Pakistanis and Bihari Moslems who co-operated with the Pakistani Army, reportedly said: "Now they are our prisoners, but unlike them, we must be civilized."

Ten minutes before the time limit given by the Indian Commander to the Pakistani army here to surrender to prevent the destruction of city, word was flashed through United Nations radio channels that the Pakistan second in command, Maj Gen, Rao Farman Ali had accepted the ultimatum.

United Nations official, who feared that the city would be destroyed drove to the military cantonment just north of town and found commanders there unable to get word to the Indians of their decision. Word was immediately relayed through walkie-talkie to united Nations headquarters here for urgent transmission. Minutes later, the first Indian Army officers arrived to announce the. surrender decision through their channels.

The surrender arrangements were first discussed at talks held in the cantonment in the afternoon. But two Indian Generals had arrived there earlier, Maj-Gen. Gandharv Naagra and Brig-Gen. Hardev S. Kler, who led the assault from the north on the city.

At 3 p.m. the Indian officers said the cease-fire would become permanent, but there was sporadic shooting in the city. Some artillery shells fell on the Pakistan fortifications in the early morning after their commander had accepted the surrender ultimatum. Maj- Gen. J.F.R. Jacob, Chief of Staff of India's Eastern Command, sent a message expressing regret that some of his units had not received the cease fire orders according to Brig. Gen. Baquir Siddiqui, Chief of Staff for the Pakistani Eastern Command.

General Kler praised the Pakistani army, saying, "They fought well, but they didn't hold out to the last man-that's good"

**James P. sterra**

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩১। যুদ্ধের গর্ভ থেকে একটি জাতির জন্ম	টাইমস	২০ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*TIME MAGAZINE, DECEMBER 20, 1971*

### **BANGLADESH: OUT OF WAR, A NATION IS BORN**

"Jai Bangla; Jai Bangla:" From the banks of the great Ganges and the broad Brahmaputra, from the emerald fields and mustard-colored hills of the countryside, from the countless squares of countless villages came the cry: "Victory to Bengal, Victory to Bengal". They danced on the roofs of buses and marched down city streets singing their anthem Golden Bengal. They brought the green, red and gold banner of Bengal out of secret hiding places to flutter freely from buildings, while huge pictures of their imprisoned leader. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, sprang up overnight on trucks, houses and signposts. As Indian troops advanced first to Jessore, then to Comilla, then to the outskirts of the capital of Dacca, small children clambered over their trucks and Bengalis everywhere cheered and greeted the soldiers as liberators.

Thus last week, amid a war that still raged on, the new nation of Bangladesh was born. So far only India and Bhutan have formally recognized it, but it ranks eighth among the world's 148 nations in terms of population (78 million), behind China, India, the Soviet Union, the U. S., Indonesia, Japan and Brazil. Its birth, moreover, may be followed by grave complications. In West Pakistan, a political upheaval is a foregone conclusion in the wake of defeat and dismemberment. In India, the creation of a Bengal state next door to its own impoverished West Bengal state could very well strengthen the centrifugal forces that have tugged at the country since independence in 1947.

The breakaway of Pakistan's became a virtual certainty when the Islamabad government launched air strikes against at least eight Indian airfields two weeks ago. Responding in force, the Indian air force managed to wipe out the Pakistani air force in the East within two days, giving India control of the skies. In the Bay of Bengal and the Ganges delta region as well, the Indian navy was in unchallenged command. Its blockade of Chittagong and Chalna harbors cut off all reinforcements, supplies and chances of evacuation for the Pakistani forces, who found themselves far outnumbered (80,000 vs. India's 200,000) and trapped in an enclave more than 1,000 miles from their home bases in the West.

There were even heavier and bloodier battles, including tank clashes on the Punjabi plain and in the deserts to the south, along the 1,400 mile border between India and the western wing of Pakistan, where the two armies have deployed about 250,000 men. Civilians were fleeing from the border areas, and residents of Karachi, Rawalpindi and Islamabad were in a virtual state of siege and panic over day and night harassment raids by buzzing Indian planes.

The U.N. did its best to stop the war, but its best was not nearly good enough. After three days of procedural wrangles and futile resolutions, the Security Council gave up



stymied by the Soviet "nyets," the council passed the buck to the even wordier and less effectual General Assembly. There, a resolution caning for a ceasefire and withdrawal of Indian and Pakistan I forces behind their own borders swiftly passed by an overwhelming vote of 104 to 11.

The Pakistanis, with their armies in retreat, said they would honor the ceasefire provided India did. The Indians, with victory in view, said they "were considering" the ceasefire, which meant they would stall - until they had achieved their objective of dismembering Pakistan. There was nothing the assembly could do to enforce its will. There was considerable irony in Indian's reluctance to obey the U.N. resolution in view of New Delhi's irritating penchant in the past for lecturing other nations on their moral duty to do the bidding of the world organization. Similarly, the Soviet Union, which is encouraging India in its defiance, has never hesitated to lecture Israel on its obligation to heed U.N. resolutions calling for withdrawal from Arab territories.

### **Hopeless Task**

In any case, a cease fire is not now likely to alter the military situation in the East. As Indian infantrymen advanced to within 25 miles of Dacca late last week and as report circulated that 5,000 Indian paratroopers were landing on the edges of the beleaguered eastern capital, thousands fled for fear that the Pakistani army might decide to make a pitched stand. Daily, and often hourly, Indian planes strafed air-ports in Dacca, Karachi and Islamabad. Some 300 children were said to have died in a Dacca orphanage when a piston-engine plane dropped three 750 lb. bombs on the Rahmat-e-Alam Islamic Mission near the airport while 400 children slept inside. (Pakistan claimed the plane was India's. Some Bengalis and foreign observers believed it was Pakistani, but other observers pointed out that the only forces known to be flying piston-engine aircraft were (he Mukti Bahini. the Bengali liberation forces). Earlier in the week, two large bombs fell on workers shelters near a jute mill in nearby Narayanganj, killing 275 people.

Forty workers died and more than 100 others were injured when they were caught by air strikes as they attempted to repair huge bomb craters in the Dacca airport runway. India declared a temporary moratorium on air strikes late last week so that the runway could be repaired and 400 U. N. relief personnel and other foreigners could be flown out. It was repaired, but the Pakistanis changed their mind and refused to allow the U.N.'s evacuation air-craft to land at Dacca, leaving U.N. personnel trapped as potential hostages. The International Red Cross declared Dacca's Intercontinental Hotel and nearby Holy Family Hospital "neutral zones" to receive wounded and provide a haven for foreigners.

For its part, the Pakistani army was said to have killed some Bengalis who, they believed, informed or aided the Indian forces. But the reprisals were not on a wide scale. Both civilian and military casualties were considered relatively light in East Bengal, largely because the Indian army skirted big cities and populated areas in an effort to avoid standoff battles with the retreating Pakistani troops.

The first major city to fall was Jessore. TIME'S William Stewart who rode into the key railroad junction with the Indian troops, cabled: Jessore, India's first strategic prize, fell as easily as a mango ripened by a long Bengal summer. It shows no damage from fighting. In fact, the Pakistani 9th Division headquarters, had quit Jessore days before the Indian advance, and only four battalions were left to face the onslaught.

"Nevertheless, two Pakistani battalions slipped away, while the other two were badly cut up. The Indian army was everywhere wildly cheered by the Bengalis, who shouted: "Jai Bangla": and "Indira Gandhi Zindabad." (Long live Indira Gandhi). In Jhingergacha, a half desolated city of about 5,000 nearby people gather to tell of their ordeal. "The Pakistanis shout us when we didn't understand," said one old man. "But they spoke Urdu and we speak Bengali".

### Death Awaits

By no means all of East Bengal was freed of Pakistani rule last week. Pakistani troops were said to be retreating to two river ports. Narayanganj and Barisal, where it was speculated they might make a stand or alternatively seek route of escape. They were also putting up a strong defense in battalion-plus strength in three garrison towns where Indian forces reportedly had encircled them. The Indians have yet to capture the major cities of Chittagong and Dinajpur. Neither army permitted newsmen unreserved access to the contested areas, but on several occasions the Indian military command did allow reporters to accompany its forces. The three-pronged Indian pincer movement, however, moved much more rapidly than was earlier believed possible. Its success was largely attributed to decisive air and naval support.

Demoralised and in disarray, the Pakistani troops were urged to obey the "soldier-to-soldier" radio call surrender, repeatedly broadcast by Indian Army Chief of Staff General Sam Manekshaw. "Should you. not heed my advice to surrender to my army and endeavor to escape," he warned, "I assure you certain death awaits you". He also assured the Pakistanis that if they surrendered they would be treated as prisoners of war according to the Geneva Convention. To insure that the Mukti Bahini would also adhere to the Geneva code. India officially put the liberation forces under its military command.

Pakistani prisoners were reported surrendering in fair numbers. But many others seemed to be fleeing into the countryside, perhaps in hopes of finding escape routes disguised as civilians. "In some garrison towns stout resistance is being offered," said an Indian spokesman, "and though the troops themselves wish to surrender, they are being instructed by the generals: "Gain time. Something big may happen. Hold on." He added sarcastically that the only big thing that could happen was that the commanders of the military regime in East Pakistan might pull a vanishing act.

All week long, meanwhile, the Pakistani regime kept up a running drumfire about Pakistan's jihad, or holy war, with India. An army colonel insisted there were no Pakistani losses whatsoever on the battle field. His reasoning: "In the pursuit of jihad, nobody dies, he lives forever". Pakistan radio and television blared forth patriotic songs such as 'All of Pakistan Is wide Awake' and 'The Martyr's blood will not go wasted.' The

propaganda was accompanied by a totally unrealistic picture of the war. At one point, government spokesmen claimed that Pakistan had knocked out 123 Indian aircraft to a loss of seven of their own, a most unlikely kill ratio of nearly 18-to-1. Islamabad insisted that Pakistani forces were still holding on to the city of Jessore even though newsmen rode into the city only hours after its liberation.

Late last week, however, President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan's government appeared to be getting ready to prepare its people for, the truth, the East is lost. An official spokesman admitted for the first time that the Pakistani air force was no longer operating in the East. Pakistani forces were "handicapped in the face of a superior enemy- war machine" he said, and were outnumbered six to one by the Indians in terms of men and material-a superiority that seemed slightly exaggerated.

### **Sikhs and Gurkhas**

As the fate of Bangladesh, and of Pakistan itself, was being decided in the East. Indian and Pakistani forces were making painful" slabs at one another along the 1,400- mile border that reaches from the city heights of Kashmir through the flat plains of the Punjab- down to the desert of western India. There the battle was being waged by bearded Sikhs wearing khaki turbans, tough flat-faced Gurkhas, who carry a curved knife known as a kukri in their belts, and many other ethnic strains. Mostly, the action was confined to border thrusts by both sides to straighten out salient that are difficult to defend.

The battles have pitted planes, tanks, artillery against each other and in fact both material losses and casualties appear to have run far higher than in the east. Most of the sites were the very places where the two armies slugged it out in their last war in 1965. Yet there were no all out offensives. The Indian army's tactic was to maintain a defensive posture, launching no attacks except where they assisted its defenses.

### **Old Boy Attitude**

The bloodiest action was at Chhamb. a Hat plateau about six miles from the ceasefire line that, since 1949, has divided the disputed Kashmir region almost equally between Pakistan and India. The Pakistanis were putting up "a most determined attack", according to an Indian spokesman, who admitted that Indian casualties had been heavy. But he added that Pakistani casualties were heavier. The Pakistani aim was to strike for the Indian city of Jammu and the 200-mile-long Jammu-Srinagar highway, which links India with the Vale of Kashmir. The Indians were forced to retreat from the west bank of the Munawar Ravi River, where they had tried desperately to hold on.

Except for Chhamb and other isolated battles, both sides seemed to be going about the war with an "old boy" attitude: "If you don't really hit my important bases, I won't bomb yours". Behind all this, of course, is the fact that many Indian and Pakistani officers. Including the two countries' commanding generals, went school with one another at Sandhurst or Dehra Dun. India's commanding general in the east, Lieut. - General Jagjit Singh Aurora, was a classmate of Pakistan's President Yahya. "We went to school together to learn how best to kill each other," said one Indian officer.

"To an outsider", TIME'S Marah Clark cabled after a tour of the western front "the Indian army seemed precise, old fashioned and sane. The closer you get to the front, the more tea and cookies you get: one American correspondent complained. But things get done. Convoys move up rapidly, artillery officers direct their fire with dispatch. Morale is extremely high, and Indian officers always refer to the Pakistanis, though rather condescendingly, as "those chaps."

### **Abandoned Breeches**

On a visit to Sehja, a key town in a Pakistani salient that pokes into Indian territory east of Lahore where Indian troops were advancing, Clark found turbaned men working in the fields while jets flew overhead and artillery sounded in the distance. "There are free tea stalls along the road", he reported, "and teen-ages throw bags of nuts, plus oranges and bananas, into the jeeps carrying troops to the front, and shout encouragement. When our jeep stops, surround it and yell at us, demanding that we write a story saying their village is still free and not captured, as claimed by Pakistani radio."

"As we come up on the border, the Indian commander receives us. He recounts how his Gurkha soldiers kicked off the operation at 9 o'clock at night and hit the well-entrenched Pakistanis at midnight." "I think we took them by surprise" he said, "and an inspection of the hooch of the Pakistani area commanding officer confirms it. On his bed is a suitcase, its confusion indicating it was hastily packed. There are several shirts, some socks. And his trousers. Nice trousers of grey flannel made, according to the label, by M. Abbas, a tailor in Rawalpindi. The colonel, it is clear, has departed town and left his breeches behind." flannel made, according to it is clear, has departed town and left his breeches behind".

South of Sehja, Indian armored units have been ploughing through sand across the West Pakistan border, taking hundreds of square miles of desert and announcing the advance of their troops to places that apparently consist of two palm trees and a shallow pool of brackish water. Among the enemy equipment reported captured: several camels. The reason behind this rather ridiculous adventure is the fear that Pakistan will try to seize large tracts of Indian Territory to hold as ransom for the return of East Bengal. That now seems impossibility with Bangladesh, an independent nation, but India wants to have land in the west to, bargain with.

The western part of India is on full wartime alert. All cities are completely blacked out at night, fulfilling as it were. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's warning that it would be a "long, dark December." Air-raid sirens wail almost continuously. During one IS-hour period in the Punjab there were eleven air raid alerts. One all clear was sounded by the jittery control room before the warning blast was given. The nervousness, though, was justified: two towns in the area had been bombed with a larger loss of life as Pakistani air force planes zipped repeatedly across the border. Included in their attacks was the city of Amritsar, whose Golden Temple is the holiest of holies to all Sikhs. At Agra, which was bombed in the Pakistan's first blitz, the Taj Mahal was camouflaged with a forest of twigs and leaves and draped with burlap because its marble glowed like a white beacon in the moonlight.

The fact that India is not launching any major offensives in the eastern sector suggests the New Delhi wants to keep the war there as uncomplicated as possible. Though the two nations have tangled twice before in what is officially called the slate of Jammu and Kashmir, neither country has gained any territory since the original cease fire line was drawn in 1949. There are several reasons why New Delhi is not likely to try to press now for control of the disputed area.

The first is a doubt that the people of Azad Kashmir, as the Pakistani portion is called, would welcome control by India; in that case, India could be confronted with an embarrassing uprising. The second reason is that in 1963, shortly after India's brief but bloody war with China. Pakistan worked out a provisional border agreement with Peking ceding some 1,300 sq. miles of Kashmir to China. Peking has since linked up the old "silk route" highway from Sinkiang province to the city of Gilgit in Pakistani Kashmir with an all-weather macadam motor highway running down to the northern region of Ladakh near the ceasefire line. Should Indian troops get anywhere near China's highway or try to grasp its portion of Kashmir, New Delhi could expect to have a hustle with Peking on its hands.

### **Constant Harassment**

Pakistan, on the other hand, has much to gain if it can wrest the disputed province, particularly the lush and fabled Vale, from Indian control. Strategically, the region is extremely important, bordering on both China and Afghanistan as well as India and Pakistan. Moreover Kashmir's population is predominantly Moslem.

Still, the war was also beginning to take its toll on the people of West Pakistan. "The almost constant air raids over Islamabad, Karachi and other cities have brought deep apprehension, even panic," Time's Louis Kraar cabled from Rawalpindi : "It is not massive bombing, just constant harassment-though there have been several hundred civilian casualties. Thus when the planes road overhead, life completely halts in the capital and people scurry into trenches or stand in doorways with woolen shawls over their heads, ostrich like. Because of the Kashmir Mountains, the radar in the area does not pick up Indian planes until they are about 15 miles away."

"Pakistanis have taken to caking mud all over their autos in (lie belief that it camouflages them from Indian planes. In nightly blackouts, the road traffic moves along with absolutely no lights, and fear has prevailed so completely over commonsense that there has probably been more bloodshed in traffic accidents than in the air raids. The government has begun urging motorists only to shield their lights, but peasants throw stones at any car that keeps them on. In this uneasy atmosphere, Pakistani anti-aircraft gunners opened up on their own high-flying Sabre jets one evening last week. At one point, the military stationed an antiaircraft machine gun atop the Rawalpindi Intercontinental Hotel, but guests convinced them it was dangerous",

### **Soviet Airlift**

In New Delhi, the mood was not so much jingoism as jubilation that India's main goal-the establishment of a government in Hast Bengal that would ensure the return of the

refugees-was accomplished so quickly. There was little surprise when Prime Minister Gandhi announced to both houses of Parliament early last week that India would become the first government to recognize Bangladesh. Still members thumped their desks cheered loudly and jumped in the aisles to express their delight. "The valiant struggle of the people of the Bangladesh in the face of tremendous odds has opened a new chapter of heroism in the history of freedom movements," Mrs. Gandhi said. "The whole world is now aware that Bangladesh reflects the will of an overwhelming majority of the people which not many governments can claim to represent."

There was little joy in New Delhi, however, over the Nixon Administration's hasty declaration blaming India for the war in the subcontinent, or over U. N. Ambassador George Bush's remark that India was guilty of "aggression. Indian officials were also reported shocked by the General Assembly's unusually swift and one-sided vote calling for a ceasefire and withdrawal of troops.

### **Call For Armaments**

Meanwhile, there was still the danger that other nations could get involved. Pakistan was reported putting pressure on Turkey, itself afflicted with internal problems, to provide ships, tanks, bazookas and small arms and ammunition. Since Turkey obtains heavy arms from the U.S., it would be necessary to have American approval to give them to Pakistan. There was also a report that the Soviet Union was using Cairo's military airbase Alinaza as a refueling stop in flying of reinforcements to India. Some 30 giant Antonov-I2 transports, each capable of carrying two dismantled MIGs or two SAM batteries, reportedly touched down last week. The airlift was said to have displeased the Egyptians, who are disturbed over India's role in the war. For its part, Washington stressed That its SEATO and CENTO treaties with Pakistan in no way bind it to come to its aid.

If the Bangladesh government was not yet ensconced in the capital of Dacca by week's end, it did appear that its foundations had been firmly laid. As Mrs. Gandhi said in her speech to Parliament the leaders of the People's Republic of Bangladesh-as the new- nation will be officially known-"have proclaimed their basic principles of state policy to be democracy, socialism, secularism and establishment of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. In regard to foreign relations, the Bangladesh government has expressed their determination to follow a policy of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and opposition to colonialism, racialism and imperialism."

Bangladesh was born of a dream twice deferred. Twenty-four years ago, Bengalis voted to join to the new nation of Pakistan, which had been carved out of British India as a Moslem homeland. Before long, religious unity disintegrated into racial and regional bigotry as the autocratic Moslems of West Pakistan systematically exploited their Bengali brethren in the East. One year ago last week, the Bengalis thronged the polls in Pakistan's first free nationwide election, only to see their overwhelming mandate to Mujib brutally reversed by West Pakistani soldiers. That crackdown took a terrible toll: perhaps 1,000 000 dead, 10 million refugees, untold thousands homeless, hungry and sick.

The memories are still fresh of those who died of cholera on the muddy paths to India, or suffered unspeakable atrocities at the hands of the Pakistani military. And there are children, blind and brain-damaged, who will carry the scars of malnutrition for the rest of their lives. As a Bangladesh official put it at the opening of the new nation's first diplomatic mission in Delhi last "week: "It is a dream come true, but you must also remember that we went through a nightmare"

### **Economic Prospects**

How stable is the new nation? Economically. Bangladesh has nowhere to go but up. As Pakistan's eastern wing, it contributed between 50% and 70% of that country's foreign exchange earnings but received only a small percentage in return. The danger to East Bengal's economy lies mainly in the fact that it is heavily based on jute and burlap, and synthetic substitutes are gradually replacing both. But if it can keep all of its own foreign exchange, as it now will, it should be able to develop other industries. It will also open up trade with India's West Bengal, and instead of competing with India, may frame joint marketing policies with New Delhi. India also intends to help with Bangladesh's food problems in the next year.

One of the main conditions of India's support is that Bangladesh organize the expeditious return of the refugees and restore their lands and belongings to them. The Bangladesh government is also intent on seeking war preparations from Pakistan if possible.

What of West Pakistan? The loss of East Pakistan will, no doubt, be a tremendous blow to its spirit and a destabilizing factor in its politics. But the Islamabad regime, shorn of a region that was politically, logistically and militarily difficult to manage and stripped down to a population of 58 million, may prove a much more homogeneous unit. In that sense, the breakup could prove to be a blessing in disguise. Both nations, moreover, might be expected to get considerable foreign aid to help them back into their feel.

### **Leadership Vacuum**

Last week Yahya announced the appointment of a 77-year old Bengali named Nurul Amin as the Prime Minister-designate for a future civilian government, to which he has promised to turn over some of his military regime's power. Amin figured in last December's elections, which precipitated the whole tragedy. In those elections Mujib's Awami League won 167 of the 169 Assembly seats at stake; Amin, an Independent who enjoyed prestige as an order statesman, won one of the two others. But he is essentially a figurehead, and former foreign minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was appointed his deputy, which means that he will probably have the lion's share of the power. That may come sooner than expected. There were reports last week that Yahya's fall from power may be imminent. Bhutto is a contemptuous, pro Chinese politician who was instrumental in persuading Yahya in effect to set aside the results of the election and to keep Mujib from becoming Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Bangladesh's main difficulty, is apt to come from a leadership vacuum, should Yahya refuse to release Mujib. the spellbinding leader who has led the fight for Bengali civil

liberties since partition. All of the Awami Leaguers who formed the provisional government of Bangladesh in exile last April are old colleagues of Mujib's and have grown accustomed to handling responsibilities since he went to prison. Bui running a volatile war-weakened new nation is considerably more difficult than managing a political party. The trouble is that none of them have the tremendous charisma that attracted million-strong throngs to hear Mujib. The top leaders, all of whom won seats in the aborted National Assembly last December by overwhelming margins, are :- Syed Nazrul Islam. 40, acting President in the absence of Mujib, a lawyer who frequently served as the Sheikh's deputy in the past. He was active in the struggle against former President Ayub Khan, and when Mujib was thrown in jail, he led the party through the crisis. - Tajuddin Ahmed, 46, Prime Minister, a lawyer who has been a chief organizer in the Awami League since its founding in 1949. He is an expert in economics and is considered one of the party's leading intellectuals.- Khandakar Moshtaque Ahmed 53. Foreign Minister, a lawyer who was active in the Indian independence movement and helped found the Awami League.

The most immediate problem is to prevent a bloodbath in Bangladesh against non-Bengalis accused of collaborating with the Pakistani military. Toward this end, East Bengal government officials who chose to remain in Bangladesh through the fighting are being inducted into the new administration and caking over as soon as areas are liberated. Actually, India's recognition came earlier than planned. One reason was to circumvent a charge reportedly budding in the U.N. that India had joined the battle to annex the province to India. Another was to enable the Bangladesh government to assume charge as soon as large chunks of territory were liberated by the army. Since New Delhi does not want to be accused of having exchanged West Pakistani colonialism for Indian colonialism, it is expected to lean over backward to let the Bangladesh government to think its way.

### **The Walk Back**

Is there any chance that the Pakistanis may yet engineer a startling turn of the tide, rout the Indians from the East and destroy the new nation in its infancy? Virtually none, as Correspondent Clark cabled: "Touts who are betting on the outcome between India and Pakistan might ponder the fact that two of the TIME correspondents who were visiting Pakistan this week (Clark in the West, Stewart deep in the East) were there with Indian forces".

And so at week's end the streams of refugees who walked so long and so far to get to India began making the long journey back home to pick up the threads of their lives. For some, there were happy reunions with relatives and friends, for others tears and the bitter sense of loss for those who will never return. But there were new homes to be raised, new shrines to be built, and a new nation to be formed. The land was there too, lush and green.

"Man's history is waiting in patience for the triumph of the insulted man," Rabindranath Tagore, the Nobel Prizewinning Bengali poet once wrote. Triumph he had, but at a terrible price. With the subcontinent at war, and the new-born land still wracked by bone-shattering poverty, the joy in Bangladesh was necessarily tempered by sorrow.



### THE U.S.: A POLICY IN SHAMBLES

The Nixon Administration drew a fusillade of criticism last week for its policy on India and Pakistan. Two weeks ago, when war broke out between the two traditional enemies, a State Department spokesman issued an unusually blunt statement, placing the burden of blame on India. Soon after that, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, George Bush, branded the Indian action as "aggression"-a word that Washington subsequently but lamely explained had not been "authorized."

Senator Edward Kennedy declared that the Administration had turned a deaf ear for eight months to "the brutal and systematic repression of East Bengal by the Pakistani army," and now was condemning "the response of India toward an increasingly desperate situation on its eastern borders" Senator Edmund Muskie and Hubert Humphrey echoed Kennedy's charges.

The critics were by no means limited to ambitious politicians. In the New York Times, John P. Lewis, one time U.S. AID. director in India (1964-69) and now dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton, wrote: "We have managed to align ourselves with the wrong side of about as big and simple a moral issue as the world has seen lately; and we have sided with a minor military dictatorship against the World's second largest nation. In Britain, the conservative London Daily Telegraph accused Washington of "a blundering diplomatic performance which can have few parallels."

Since March, when the Pakistani army staged bloody crackdown in East Bengal, murdering hundreds of thousands of civilians and prompting 10 million Bengalis to flee across the Indian border, the U.S. has been ostentatiously mild in its public criticism of the atrocities and of Pakistan's military ruler President Yahya Khan-a man whom President Nixon likes. Washington wanted to retain whatever leverage it had with the Pakistanis. Moreover, the Administration was grateful for Islamabad help in arranging Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger's first secret trip to China last July. India was shaken by Washington's sudden gesture toward its traditional enemies, the Chinese with whom it had fought a brief war in 1962. Behind the scenes, many State Department officials urged in vain that the Government take a harder line toward Yahya, for humanitarian as well as practical political reasons.

In the past five years, China has displaced the U.S. as Pakistan's chief sponsor. India, increasingly depended on the Soviet Union for military aid, finally signed an important treaty of friendship with Moscow last Summer. The U.S. was not solely responsible for driving the Indians into the Soviet camp, but its policy of not being beastly to Yahya, convinced the Indians that they could not count on the U.S. for moral support. The result of the treaty-U.S. influence in India was virtually neutralized.

The Administration's current anger, however, stems from a more recent incident. During her trip to Washington last month, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi led President Nixon to believe that her country had no intention of going to war. Later, when the Indian army made what appeared to be a well-planned attack on East Pakistan.

Washington officials concluded the Mrs. Gandhi's trip had been a smokescreen for massive war preparations. Richard Nixon was furious and was behind the initial Government statements branding India the aggressor.

Last week, in an attempt to justify U. S. policy Presidential Adviser Kissinger held a press briefing. (The remarks were supposed to be for "background use" only until Senator Barry Goldwater blew Kissinger's cover by printing a transcript of the briefing in the Congressional Record). Kissinger insisted that the U.S. had not really sided with Pakistan, but had been working quietly and intensively to bring about a peaceful political solution. Indeed, at the time of the Indian attack, he claimed, U. S. diplomats had almost persuaded Yahya Khan and the Calcutta based Bangladesh leadership to enter into negotiations. New Delhi had precipitated the 'fighting in East Pakistan, Washington believed, and refused to accept a ceasefire because it was determined to drive the Pakistani army out of East Bengal.

It can be argued, however, that Washington was guilty of an unfortunate naiveté by believing that a political solution was possible after the passions of the Indians and Pakistanis had become so aroused. Given the continued existence of a power vacuum in East Bengal, it may have been as unrealistic to expect the Indians to refrain indefinitely from dealing their archenemy a crippling and permanent blow as to have expected the Israelis to halt their 1967 advance in the middle of the Sinai.

It is true that the new U.S. policy toward China has further restricted Washington's room for maneuver with the Indians, but this hardly explains or excuses the Administration's handling of recent affairs on the Indian sub-continent. Because of blunders in both substance and tone, the U.S. has (1) destroyed whatever chance it had to be neutral in the East Asian conflict; (2) tended to reinforce the Russia-India, China- Pakistan line-up; (3) seemingly placed itself morally and politically on the side of a particularly brutal regime, which, moreover, is an almost certain loser; and (4) made a shambles of its position on the sub-continent.

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## দ্বিতীয় অধ্যায়

### পত্র পত্রিকা

### যুক্তরাজ্য

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩২। ট্যাঙ্কের দ্বারা বিদ্রোহ দমন	ডেইলী টেলিগ্রাফ	৩০ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, LONDON, MARCH 30, 1971*

**TANKS CRUSH REVOLT IN PAKISTAN**

**7,000 slaughtered: Homes burned**

*By Simon Dring in Bangkok,*

*Who was in Dacca during the fighting*

"In the name of "God and a united Pakistan."

Dacca is today a crushed and frightened city. After 24 hours of ruthless, cold-blooded shelling by the Pakistan Army, as many as 7,000 people are dead, large areas have been leveled and East Pakistan's fight for independence has been brutally put to an end.

Despite claims by President Yahya Khan, head of the country's military government, that the situation is now calm tens of thousands of people are fleeing to the countryside, the city streets are almost deserted and the killings are still going on in other parts of the province.

But there is no doubt that troops supported by tanks control the towns and major population centers and that resistance is minimal and so far ineffective.

Even so people are still being shot at the slightest provocation, and buildings are still being indiscriminately destroyed.

And the military appears to be more determined each day to assert its control over the 73 million Bengalees in the East wing.

It is impossible accurately to assess what all this has so far cost in terms of innocent human lives. But reports beginning to filter in from the outlying areas, Chittagong, Comilla and Jessore put the figure, including Dacca, in the region of 15,000 dead.

Only the horror of the military action can be properly gauged-the students dead in their beds, the butchers in the markets killed behind their stalls, the women and children roasted alive in their houses, the Pakistanis of Hindu religion taken out and shot en masse, the bazaars and shopping areas razed by fire and the Pakistan flag that now flies over every building in the capital.

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

The Bengali uprising seems to be well and truly 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 party have also been arrested.

### **Armoured attack**

Leading political activists have been taken in. others have been murdered and the offices of two newspapers which supported (he Sheikh's movement have been destroyed.

But the first target as the tanks rolled into Dacca on the night of (he 25th was the students.

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

By 11 firing had broken out and the people who had started hastily erecting makeshift barricades-overtured cars, tree stumps, furniture, concrete piping-became early casualties as the troops rolled into (own.

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

### **200 students killed**

The students were also warned but those who were still around later said (hat most (bought (hey would only be arrested.

Led by American-supplied M24 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 completely by surprise, some 200 students were killed in Iqbal Hall, headquarters of the militantly anti government students' union, as shells slammed into the building and their rooms were sprayed with machine- gun fire.

Two...burnt out rooms, others were scattered outside and more floated in a nearby lake. An art student lay sprawled across his easel.

Seven teachers died in there 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 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 and then bulldozed over by tanks.

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

Army patrols also razed a nearby market area, running 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 living as though asleep, their blankets pulled up over their shoulders.

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

### **Police HQ attacked**

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

Tanks opened fire first and then the troops moved in and levelled 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 the 1,100 police based there, not many are believed to have escaped.

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

A neighbor said that at 1.10 a.m. one tank, an armored car and trucks loaded with troops drove down the street firing over the house.

"Sheikh, you should come down," an officer called out in English as they stopped outside.

Sheikh Rahman 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 was call me on the telephone and I would have come."

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

He was taken away, along with three servants, an aide and his bodyguard who was badly beaten up when he started to insult the officer.

### **Documents taken**

As lie was driven off-presumably to Army headquarters-the soldiers moved into the house, took away all documents, smashed everything in sight, locked the garden gate, shot down the green, red and yellow "Bangladesh" (Free Bengal) flag and drove away.

By 2 a.m. on the 26th fires were burning all over the city. Troops had occupied the university and surrounding areas and were busy killing off students still in hiding and replacing independence flags with Pakistani national standards.

There was still heavy shelling in some areas but the fighting was noticeably beginning to slacken. Opposite the intercontinental Hotel, a platoon of troops stormed the empty offices of *Dacca's People* newspaper, burning it down along with most houses in the area and killing a lone 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 the noise of the crows and the occasional convoy of troops.

But the worst was yet to come. At midday, again without any 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 systematically to devastate large areas of the old town where Sheikh Mujib had some of his strongest support among the people in Dacca.

English Road, French Road, Naya Bazaar, City Bazaar-meaningless names but home to thousands of people-were burnt to the ground.

"They suddenly appeared at the end of the street," said one old man living in the French Road Naya Bazaar area. "Then they drove down it firing into all the houses."

The leading unit was followed by soldiers carrying cans of petrol. Those who tried to escape were shot. Those who stayed were burnt alive. About 700 men, women and children died there that day between midday and two o'clock.

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

As they left the soldiers took those dead they could away with them in trucks and moved on to their next 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 bazaars. "I have 240 in my district and so far have found only 30 of them all dead."

One of the biggest massacres of the entire operation in Dacca took place in the Hindu area of the old town. There the soldiers made the people come out of their houses and then just shot them in groups.

This area, too, was eventually razed.

The troops stayed on in the old city in force until about 11 p.m. on the 26th. Driving about with local Bengali informers.

The soldiers would fire a flare and the informer would point out the house of staunch Awami League supporters. The house would then be destroyed-either with direct tank or recoilless rifle fire or with a can of petrol.

Meanwhile, troops of the East Bengal Regiment were being used in the suburbs to start moving out towards the industrial areas of the city-Tongi and Narayanganj-against centers of Leftist support for the Sheikh.

Firing continued in these areas until early on Sunday morning but the main bulk of the operation in the city was completed by the night of the 26th-almost exactly 24 hours after it began.



One of the last targets was the Bengali language daily newspaper Ittefaq. Over 400 people had taken shelter in its offices when the fighting started.

At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 26th four tanks appeared in the road outside. By 4.30 p.m. the building was an inferno. By Saturday morning only the charred remains of corpses 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.

### **Thousands flee**

Magically the city returned, to life and panic set in. By 10 army with pulls of black smoke still hanging over large areas of the old town and out in the distance towards the industrial areas, the streets were packed with fleeing people.

By car. in rickshaws but mostly on foot carrying their possessions with them the people of Dacca were leaving. By midday they were on the move in their tens of thousands.

"Please give me a lift, I'm an old man." "In the name of Allah help me." "Take my children with you," came the pleas.

Silent and unsmiling they passed and saw what the Army had done. It had been a through job, carefully planned and meticulously executed and they looked the other way and kept on walking.

Down near one of the markets a shot was heard. Within seconds 2.000 people were running, but it had only been someone going to join the queues already forming to hand in their weapons.

The Government offices remained almost empty. Most employees were leaving for their villages.

Those who were not fleeing wandered aimlessly around the smoking debris of what were once their homes, lifting the blackened, twisted sheets of corrugated iron used in most shanty areas as roofing materials to save what they could from the ashes.

Nearly every other car, if it was not taking people out into the countryside, was flying a Red Cross and convoying dead and wounded to the hospitals.

And in the middle of it all occasional convoys of troops would appear, the soldiers peering unsmiling down the muzzles of their guns at the silent crowds.

On the Friday night as they pulled back to their barracks, they shouted "Narai Takbir," an old Persian war cry meaning "we have won the war."

On Saturday when they spoke it was to shout "Pakistan Zindabad"- "Long live Pakistan."

Most people took the hint. Before the curfew was reimposed the national flag of Pakistan, apart from patrol, was the hottest selling item on the market.

As if to protect their property in their absence, the last thing a family would do before they locked up their house would be to raise the flag.

At four o'clock the streets emptied again, the troops reappeared and silence fell once more over Dacca.

But firing broke out again almost immediately. "Anybody out to doors after from will be shot," the radio had announced.

A small boy running across the street outside the intercontinental two minutes after curfew was stopped, slapped four times in the face by an officer and taken away in a jeep.

Another unfortunate night-watchman this time at the Dacca Club, a leftover bar from the colonial days, was shot when he went to shut the gate of the club.

A group of Hindi Pakistanis living around a temple in the middle of the racecourse were all killed, apparently for no reason at all except they were out in the open.

And refugees who came back into the city when they found roads leading out were blocked by the Army told how many had been killed as they tried to walk across country to avoid the troops.

Beyond those roadblocks is more or less a no man's land, where the clearing operations are still going on. What is happening out there is anybody's guess-except the Army's.

Many people took to the river to try to escape the crowds on the roads. But they run risk of being left stranded waiting for a boat when curfew fell.

Where one such group was sitting on Saturday afternoon, there were only bloodstains next morning.

### **"Traitors" Charge**

Hardly anywhere was there evidence of organized resistance to the troops in Dacca or anywhere else in the province. Even the West Pakistani officers scoffed at the idea of anybody putting up a fight.

"These men," said one Punjabi lieutenant "could not kill us if they tried."

"Things are much better now," said another officer.

"Nobody can speak out or come out. If they do we will kill them. They have spoken enough. They are traitors and we are not. We are fighting in the name of God and a united Pakistan."

The operation, apparently planned and led by Gen. Tikka Khan, the West Pakistani military governor of the East, has succeeded in driving every last drop of resistance out of the people of Bengal.

Only the propaganda machine or the Indian Government is keeping the fight going apart from a Leftist underground group operating a clandestine "Bangladesh" radio somewhere outside Dacca.

Even if time erases the scare that marks the end of the dream that the people of East Pakistan thought was democratically theirs, it will take more than a generation before they live down the fear instilled in their minds by the tragic and horrifying massacres of last week.

If anything is to be salvaged from the ruins of Sheikh Mujib's movement, it is the realization that the Army is not to be under-estimated again and that for all the speech making of president Yahya about the returning of power to the people, the regime did not really ever intend to abide by the results of any election-fairly won or not.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩৩। পাকিস্তানের হত্যাকাণ্ড	গার্ডিয়ান	৩১ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

*THE GUARDIAN, LONDON. MARCH 31. 1971*

**Editorial**  
**A MASSACRE IN PAKISTAN**

"Only now are we getting Pakistani facts to abet fears. President Yahya Khan has written to suppress these facts, filling his air waves and press with evasive propaganda, deporting every journalist he could find. But a few independent reporters escaped this net and their stories-just emerging reek with horror: crowds indiscriminately machine gunned, student hostels razed by shells, shanty towns burned and bombed, civilians shot dead in their beds. We do not yet know the fate of those arrested in East or the true level of resistance through the province. But we do know first-hand and reliably that many unarmed and unready Bangalis have died.

From this point the whole complexion of the crisis changes. Before troops moved, many leaders shared responsibility, and blame Sheikh Mujib and his wilder benchment among them. But Yahya Khan's licensed mayhem has swept all this toward irrelevancy. While he negotiated with Mujib, his generals planned carnage. His vaunted bluff sincerity (and sincerity of Pakistan's brief return, to democracy) lies tattered. Henceforth, the country must be regarded as particularly brutal and insensitive military dictatorship, its elected political leadership in prison majority party obliterated by decree. Guardian with many others has long believed that balance of advantage lay with united Pakistan. But unity can never come through murder and is not worth the price of innocent lives. East Pakistan survives today only as occupied and exploited territory, a living proof of every Bengali suspicion of years. Bhutto, who purports to be national leader, "thanks God" for this miserable carnage. Yahya Khan hears none of Pakistan's friends who counsel mercy and morality even at this late stage.

But he must be made to hear. In contrast with Biafra, rights and wrongs of East Pakistan are easily determined. Those-like America-who stock the Pakistan army, must realize to what use their weaponry is put, Those-like China and Ceylon-who permit forces to ferry from West must realize that acts and purposes those forces pursue. Those- like Britain-who retain some prestige of influence in the area, should spend it openly and forcefully. The fate of Dacca is a crime against humanity and human aspirations; no one should stand mealy-mouthed by."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩৪। বাংলার দুর্ভাগ	ডেইলী টেলিগ্রাফ	২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, APRIL 2, 1971*  
**BENGAL TRAGEDY**

It is now a week since the West Pakistan army intervened in East Pakistan to frustrate the results of last December's elections, in which the Bengali nationalist Awami League party had obtained a near complete majority. One of the army's first acts was to expel all foreign correspondents. Simon Dring of The Daily Telegraph was the only British reporter able to stay on for a period and thus to send the harrowing account of the army's ruthlessness and brutality which we printed in last Tuesday's edition. Since then authentic news of what has been going on has been practically non-existent. If the Pakistan Government has the effrontery to complain of false reports it has entirely itself to blame.

It does seem probable; however, that the army is in full control of Dacca, the Eastern capital, and that organized Bengali resistance elsewhere is fragile. This is not surprising, since the Bengalis are not a martial people, and had not anyway expected to have to fight a civil war. So the Punjabi-based army sent into action by President Yahya Khan against his fellow-countrymen may soon have its thumb firmly on East Bengal. But unfortunately this does not mean that there may not be more, and worse bloodshed to come; not soon, perhaps, but some time. As our report today shows, events in East Pakistan have stirred up great feeling in west Bengal, the adjoining already turbulent, Indian State. Unrest could spread.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩৫। বাংলার জন্য কাঁদো	নিউ স্টেটসম্যান	২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*NEW STATESMAN, LONDON, APRIL 2, 1971*

### **WEEP FOR BENGAL**

By Mervyn Jones

"Despite censorship and official lies, reports are coming out of Dacca that must shock even readers accustomed to all that's implied in the sinister phrase: 'Order was restored.' President Yahya Khan's thanks have been ordered into destructive action, no holds barred, against the people of the East Pakistan: and, in grim logic, the enemy must be the whole people because they had declared themselves with rare unanimity for demands of self-rule.

"For the moment, one has to think of the human tragedy. With pitiful wooden shacks burned to the ground-soldiers were seen 'armed' with petrol cans-those who had little have lost their all. Many thousands, it seems, are fleeing to the countryside, dodging tanks that fire at random; but it is countryside they can barely feed its normal inhabitants. Hunger and disease must be the followers of sudden death. And, this only an episode in the bitter history of a people whose experience for almost 200 years has been of poverty, oppression and exploitation-at the hands of British rulers, of moneylenders and land sharks from other parts of the sub-continent, and, since 1947, of the arrogant oligarchy that dominates Pakistan.

"Nehru reflected in *The Discovery of India* (written during his last spell in prison) that the poverty of India can be correlated with the duration of subjection-the deepest misery in Bengal subdued by Gibe, and the most effective maintenance of a viable economy in Punjab where the British defeated the Sikh princes as late as 1845. Of course, there are other factors. Still, the sorrows of history gather weight with time, each generation laying a load on the last. And, it was chiefly Bengal that endured the primitive stage of imperialism as sheer robbery and wrecking. 'Bungalow' and 'jungle' are British words taken from Hindustani, but so is 'loot'.

"The extreme of poverty has continued to be a major theme in Bengal's experience: over-population long before the rest of the world knew it, marginal subsistence farming in the countryside, squalor in the cities (Dacca's slums have long rivaled those of Calcutta), famine in 1891, famine in 1943. The other theme was desperate revolt and political violence.

"The background picture must also take account of a Bengali national character. One must handle this concept with caution, of course, but both reputation and self awareness react upon reality. These, then, would be the generalizations: Bengalis are spontaneous; talkative, emotional, sensitive to slights, quick with the handshake or the embrace but also with the knife. The value poetry and music, the decorative arts, good food, and beauty in women. Outsiders regard them as undisciplined, rather comic and certainly no

fighters (the British excluded them from the 'martial races' and recruited only a regiment of Sappers and Miners) ; resenting this, they are prone to demonstrative acts of heroism. They are skilful and inventive' but not systematic at work. West Pakistanis are the opposite of all this, and the absurd state of Pakistan is something like a forced union of Britain and Italy, with France in between.

"Pakistan is a Moslem nation, but history qualifies this too. Being a Moslem in the West is partly a racial inheritance, deriving from settlement by people of Iranian and Afghan origin. Conversion to Islam in Bengal was an opting out of the caste system by the poor. Moslem or not, Bengalis still felt passionately Bengali, so much so that they protested furiously when, in 1905, Lord Curzon tried to divide the province into East and West Bengal; it was one of the rare occasions when a Viceroy had to renounce a pet project. That Bengal was thus partitioned in 1947, with British rule ending, is a wry historical irony.

"Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, was an upper-class Bombay Moslem anglicized in his habits and not very religious, just as Carson was an upper-class Dublin Protestant. Power in the new state was monopolized by landowners and Sandhursttype generals, all from West Pakistan, with no background in the fight against imperialism. This, in addition to the theocratic basis of Pakistan, was what Indians like Nehru so disliked about them.

"From the outset, they had no more intention of creating a democracy than had the similar oligarchy in Northern Ireland. True, the Bengalis were fellow Moslems and had no yearnings to reunite with India (though they wanted neighborly relations and lacked interest in the Kashmir vendetta). The point was that they were unreliable chaps, outside the closer circle. Top jobs in the civil service and the police went to men from the West.' Economic development, not very impressive anywhere, favored the already wealthier western provinces. Attempts to right the balance were frustrated, when government was not openly dictatorial, by a limited franchise (80,000 citizens in a population of 100 million could vote for the presidency) and a judicious mixture of intimidation and bribery. I happened to be in East Pakistan when Ayub Khan was getting himself re- elected in 1965. An American friend used to exclaim 'There's a voter' whenever we saw a man inexpertly riding a new Honda.

"When real elections came. Sheikh Mujib's Awami League won a victory in the East comparable only to Sinn Fein's sweep in 1918. The difference was that he was demanding only 'home rule'. He was aware both of the appalling consequences of an armed clash and of the hard row that an independent Bangladesh would have to hoe even if it could be achieved, given its wretched poverty. Popular feeling and Yahya Khans stubbornness drove him, in the moment of crisis, to claim independence. I suspect that one could listen to an interesting debate if one could be a mouse under a table in Washington. There would be advocates of the oligarchy as the 'safe men", the counterparts of similar regimes endorsed from Greece to Brazil. There might be voices arguing that Bengal can't be held down and that Mujib-a popular leader but no revolutionary-is the best insurance against less controllable forces.

"Certainly, though the army may have won the first round by sheer brutality, maintaining detested suzerain(y over 73 million people isn't like sending (he police (o Anguilla. Bengal has no forests or mountains except on its eastern borders, but in its odd way it is fine guerilla country. The great Ganges-Brahmaputra delta is spattered with water at any time; when the monsoon breaks, after early June, main roads on embankments rise above an immense lake. I've only been there in the dry season, but I recall seeing the noses of boats' submerged to keep the wood from cracking in the sun, which are the sole means of movement once the rains begin.

"The crime of Yahya Khan in provoking war-if not now then surely some time-is not incalculably but calculably appalling. We know from the Congo and Biafra that a rural population with minimal living standards can be plunged into the abyss of famine by any disturbance of the tenuous rhythm of sowing and reaping, marketing and buying. Last year's typhoon, with the Royal Navy rushing to the rescue, took 200,0(X) lives according to probably minimized figures. A season's war is bound to take millions. A starving child does not suffer the less because the ends of power are being secured-nor because it is statistically surplus to its homeland's resources."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩৬। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে হত্যালীলা	টাইমস	৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE TIMES LONDON, APRIL 3, 1971

### Editorial

## THE SLAUGHTER IN EAST PAKISTAN

*The more the news from East Pakistan accumulates, the more harrowing it becomes. Senseless murder hysterical cruelty and what must be a creeping fear run like a current throughout this packed mass of human beings. All this the distant observer may assume despite the protests of the Pakistan Government at some of the stories that have been given circulation.*

They have a case-or had in the first days following the orders given to the Pakistan army to restore order. When authentic first-hand accounts are not to be had the temptation to report anything that comes from any hearsay source is rarely resisted. And when Western reports-news agencies, broadcasts, and newspapers-become the source of information for so many parts of the world, the objections are all the stronger. Figures for those killed in the first days of shooting were often widely beyond anything one person could possibly have observed or calculated. In the period of negotiation between President Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujib expectations of a united East Bengal, standing to arms had grown so strongly that they led to battle lines being drawn were none existed.

By now the picture is a little more clear and a great deal more gruesome. Enough first-hand reports from Dacca itself and from some of the major towns have come into confirm that what is happening is far worse than what might have been expected in a war of East Pakistan is resisting the forces of the Central Government to their demand for independence. The accounts piling up make conditions in East Bengal sound only too much like the massacres that broke out between Muslims and Hindus in the months leading up to the partition of India. Sparks from one fire set another going. Murder here demands vengeance there. And when the forces of order, military or police, are themselves the objects of one side or the other's hatred there are no boundaries to the hysteria of fear and murder. Yet in some ways the killing now in East Pakistan is worse. Hindus and Muslims had always been separate communities, brought up to regard each other as different. Outbreaks of violence between them were nothing new, Apart from Hindus who may have been caught up in the present slaughter there is no religious feeling to divide Punjabi from Bengali. There is unfortunately just enough difference for fear and hysteria to work on. Hence the ready and relished decapitations of any West Pakistanis who may find themselves innocently among the Bengalis. Vengeance is everywhere and no one can tell when he may be its victim,

How much of this must be blamed on the orders given to the Pakistan army in its task of restoring order? If not the orders themselves the manner in which they were carried out seems to have been well calculated to arouse fear and hatred on all sides.

From the evidence available one must conclude that the aim was so wipe out the Awami League leadership that it could no longer provide an effective leadership for any resistance movement. Sheikh Mujib was arrested and may have been taken to West Pakistan. How many of his lieutenants are gone is impossible to say. The slaughter of student in Dacca, as likely organizers of guerrilla operations, seems well attested. If some move to reverse the orders were now to be made, lest the slaughter go on spreading, leaders who might help to moderate the passions on the Bengali side would be lacking. From Pakistan Radio there are still only the assurances that all is well and the army is in control. Nothing has been said or done that will put a stop to the reverberating fear. Yet nothing could be worse than to allow the present muddle of fighting and minor massacre to drift on.

Judging by the Pakistan Government's account of Dacca being restored to normal with civil servants returning to their duty, shops opening and normal life resuming, the expectation is that with a little more time at least all the populated centers of East Bengal will have been brought under control. Reports from East Pakistan, however, would suggest that the Pakistan army has not got the manpower to bring about this result other than in the main towns. Elsewhere popular resistance will be strong enough to control smaller urban pockets, leaving much of the countryside as an undeclared no-man's land. Some sort of lines of control will this be drawn. But what might such conditions presage? President Yahya Khan's conciliatory actions ever since the elections last year can hardly allow him to contemplate settling down to a long campaign merely to entrench the Central Government's authority throughout East Bengal. At some point the dialogue between the Government and the leaders of East Pakistan must be resumed. The sooner the better judging by the horrors of the past few days.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩৭। অস্ত্রের মুখে একতা	ইকনমিস্ট	২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE WEEKLY ECONOMIST LONDON, APRIL 3. 1971.*

### UNITY AT GUNPOINT

*East Pakistan's Sheikh Mujib looks a loser today, but it is more likely that President Yahya has chosen the road that leads to a civil war he cannot win.*

President Yahya has taken desperate action. He has chosen to break the deadlock about Pakistan's future by breaking Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League. No one thought he would dare to try and still less that he would succeed. But now it seems the army, after its sharp and bloody takeover, has the upper hand. The reports from foreign journalists whom the army failed to expel quickly enough show that in Dacca, at least, the army's claim to have won control was accurate. And after prolonged fighting, the same may now be true of Chittagong the provinces main port. How much resistance there still is elsewhere is unclear. The army owed its apparent success to the suddenness with which it struck arresting a number of the Awami League leaders as well as shooting up parts of Dacca-and unprepared ness of the Awami League Organisation.

But though he may have pacified the main cities, shattered the Awami leadership and cowed many Bengalis into submissiveness, President Yahya's problems are only just beginning. He will find it difficult to police the countryside, much of East Pakistan split by innumerable waterways, is the sort of terrain regular soldiers hate but guerrillas love.

Like neighboring West Bengal, East Pakistan has its share of Pro-Peking peasant revolutionaries preaching violence. So long as Sheikh Mujibur promised the fruits of autonomy through negotiation they remained weak and eclipsed by Sheikh Mujib's rising star. But that the army has moved in so bloodily their argument that the violence can only be met with violence may see unanswerable. Presumably their numbers will rise. And so will the level of the Ganges and Brahmaputra which, by the time the monsoon comes in May or June, will make most of East Pakistan impassable for any troops but the men with an automatic and a sack of rice. No doubt the guerrillas will be pretty uncoordinated, because the army seems to have rounded up a good many of their potential leaders, but even a disorganized resistance may be widespread enough to tie down a lot of the 70,000 troops in the eastern region. And President Yahya has a major logistic problem in getting supplies and reinforcement all the way from West Pakistan.

There are other problems for President Yahya besides the threat of guerrilla action. He will have to get the life of the province, which has been running at a trickle for the past month moving again, and this with a population embittered by the re-imposition of the West Pakistan military rule. The bitterness will have been compounded by the Army's apparent disregard for civilians. Some Bengalis willing to serve the Martial Law regime will, of course, be found; a lot of others are just not going to co-operate. President Yahya may well have to import Punjabis to run the civil service, and use the army to run essential services. Nor has he any guarantee that West Pakistan will keep quiet. It

probably will. But the minority provinces of Baluchistan and North-West Frontier have already shown sympathy for Sheikh Mujib's ideas about provincial autonomy. Martial Law will presumably continue to apply in West Pakistan and even Mr. Bhutto may be weary of a situation which prevents him from taking power in any shape.

In the same speech in which he branded Sheikh Mujib a traitor, President Yahya reiterated that his main aim remained the same i.e. the transfer of power to the people's elected representatives "as soon as the situation permits". But when will it permit. And who will be regarded as an acceptable elected representatives of East Pakistan? If Sheikh Mujib is ruled out the President will either have to hope that a quisling will emerge to negotiate with him, or call new elections. Unless these elections are rigged it is hard to see anyone now winning the East Pakistani vote except of a ticket not of autonomy, but of independence. It does seem that unless President Yahya drops his present definition of the unity and integrity of Pakistan he will never shed the office he so fervently disclaims.

The optimistic hope is that tight martial law will cool the situation down to a point where some sort of negotiations on provincial autonomy could start again. This hope depends on whether you believe that President Yahya was negotiating at Dacca in good faith or just buying time for military preparations. There is evidence that he was doing both. But if the President did not think the talks would solve anything, it is difficult not to agree with him. For the talks were only about the conditions of Sheikh Mujib's attendance at the National Assembly; they did not tackle real question of the Sheikh Mujib's six- point plan for East Pakistan. And those six points would inevitably have divided President Yahya and Sheikh Mujib sooner or later. Control of foreign trade would have let East Pakistan to trade with India, which would have given it one main attribute of independent foreign policy. There is no halfway house in the kind of autonomy Sheikh Mujib was demanding. So, however, much one may dislike what President Yahya has done, it is difficult not to agree with him the negotiations over Sheikh Mujib's demands could only result in all or nothing. President Yahya has decided on nothing.

The fact that Bengali resistance seems to have been easily crushed by the army makes it unlikely that anyone abroad is going to offer recognition to Bangladesh. But guerrilla activity may get outside help notably from India. On Wednesday the Indian Parliament unanimously passed a resolution, moved by Mrs. Gandhi, condemning the use of force in East Pakistan. There is pressure on Mrs. Gandhi to go further than this, West Bengalis have already offered arms and shelter to East Pakistani "freedom fighters". But Mrs. Gandhi is alive to the dangers of overt, official support, she has warned Indians that "one wrong step or one wrong word may have an effect entirely different to what we all intend". She should be cautious in her acts as her words. The Pakistani army would crack down the Bengalis all the harder if Indian involvement were suspected.

No doubt Mrs. Gandhi also fears the long-term effects of guerrilla co-operation between East and West Bengal. If Maoist propaganda came to replace Hindu-Muslim mistrust' it could lay the foundations of a united Bengal, independent of India, too. But Mrs. Gandhi will find it hard to seal off India's 900 mile border with East Pakistan; and unofficial Indian support would create the classic RECPE for guerrilla success with East Pakistani guerrillas striking out of a safe Indian hinterland.

Not surprisingly, there has not been a word from Peking about the crisis. The Chinese must be having difficult times in making their minds up. On the one hand they, have helped to equip the army and have supported it over Kashmir, a policy which has won them warm praise from West Pakistanis, and Mr. Bhutto in particular. The Chinese have close links with West Pakistan all weather road through the Himalayas has just been opened and they also have strategic interest in maintaining them, most favorable status in this area, where four nations meet. On the other hand, the Bengali revolt may develop into just the sort of "Liberation War" that Peking usually feels tempted to support. Of course, Maoists are going to play a large part in any guerrilla campaign in East Pakistan. But Chinese support for the Bengalis would mean support for a movement which wants closer relations with India and would jeopardize China's special relationship with West Pakistan.

This is the time Peking had been confronted with such a startle choice between national and ideological interests. The Chinese would probably like to duck the whole dilemma by ignoring it; that will be difficult if a call for help come from the Bengalis. But at the moment outside help will only keep a bloody civil war dragging on. Foreign sympathizers with East Pakistan's plight would be better advised to use such influence as they have in urging President Yahya to offer a resumption of the dialogue with Bengal before he finds himself fighting an insoluble guerrilla war.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩৮। পাকিস্তানের রক্তাক্ত পথ	টেলিগ্রাফ	৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE TELEGRAPH, APRIL , 1971*  
**PAKISTAN'S PATH TO BLOODSHED**

The macabre efficiency with which the West Pakistan army last week all but snuffed out the life of the independence movement of East Pakistan, seeking its self-determination as the people's republic of Bangladesh, was the outcome of two years of the most careful planning by Pakistan's generals and colonels, many of them British-trained, many of them in outward manner, though not inward mildness "more British than the British.

These senior officers are the elite of Pakistan's rigidly stratified society and the core of the military leadership which two years ago pushed the army commander-in-chief, General Yahya Khan, reluctantly into the presidency. These men never believed in the democratic process that Yahya set in motion.

They did not believe in it because they are not democrats by nature, by upbringing or by belief, but autocratic, patriarchal and patrician contemptuous of "the mob", more of the 18th century than the 20th.

They did not believe in it because they saw the power of the East Pakistan popular movement that toppled president Ayub Khan in March 1969. They realized then that unless that great popular nationalist groundswell were contained it would engulf them too.

They realized that their whole future as the dominant group in Pakistan was threatened by another upsurge or even by a peaceful transition to civilian government like the one which, only a month ago, seemed (but never was) so near.

To them, the precisely phased programme that President Yahya and his civilian Cabinet devised for the transfer of power to an elected assembly, was never more than a cloak for the realities of the power structure in Pakistan.

They were counting on December's election producing an indecisive result. This would have provided the most legitimate possible excuse for prolonging military rule.

Instead, it gave an absolute majority to one man and one party, the east wing leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League. From that day, December 6, the generals and colonels knew what they had to do.

It was then simply a matter of waiting for the occasion.

Even as he conferred with Mujib, President Yahya must have known of the preparations that the army was making. It seems hard, on the evidence of the sequence of events to acquit the President of charges of the deepest treachery.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩৯। একটি সাহায্যের আবেদন	গার্ডিয়ান	৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE GUARDIAN WEEKLY, APRIL 4, 1971*

### **A CRY FOR HELP**

*By Martin Woollacott*

The situation in Bangladesh is worsening day by day, and it is a pathetic and heartrending spectacle, for there is hardly a liberation movement of the twentieth-century that can claim such unanimous support from people of all classes, nor one that was ever so ill-prepared and ill-equipped to fight for its rights.

After a 200-mile journey into East Bengal, reaching to Faridpur on the banks of the Ganges, some 90 miles from the Indian border, the main impression is of a people who with every justification but sadly with limited chances of success, are crying out for international help before it is too late. And that, at least as far as the short-term prospects of the liberation movement are concerned, could be very soon indeed.

The Pakistani Army, estimated at strength of over five divisions, is now moving swiftly to take the towns held by the Bangladesh forces before the rainy season begins, and it will probably succeed in doing so

Everywhere I went in Bangladesh during a three-day trip, I heard the same appeal-in the squares of the towns, in the offices of administrators, in barracks, in roadside pharmacies and shops; "Why doesn't the world help us?"

In Magura, between Jessore and Faridpur, a middle-aged lawyer, Mr. Nasir-ul-Islam, who has become effective chief civil administrator, insisted on writing out a lengthy "appeal to the freedom loving humanity" in fine copperplate hand, which began "we appeal to humanity to come to our help in this period of greatest calamity when we, the entire nation of Bangladesh are forced to take up arms against the occupation army of the Punjabis who are up to anything to destroy the last point of civilization."

Watched by a crowd of several hundred people, and feeling something of a charlatan, I placed this ceremoniously in my bag.

One soon forgets one's initial amusement at the flowery Indian English of educated Bengalis when one sees the tragic situation they are in. Crossing the bridge outside Magura we meet a marching column of young men in civilian clothes, armed with 303 rifles. They halt, visibly swelling with pride, their backs stiffened in the approved British military fashion, and their sandalled feet hitting the ground in a manoeuvre designed for soldiers wearing heavy boots, so that the Danish journalist with me can take a photograph.

At least at Magura they have enough rifles for a half company or so. Further on at one river crossing town, the former Pakistani airman in charge of defences tells me that they have four Lee Enfield rifles and two dummy rifles.

At Jhenida and Jessore is a force probably as large as any in the Liberation "army". It consists of perhaps 750 men of whom only about 200 are trained soldiers from the East Pakistan Rifles and the East Bengal Regiment. The rest are militia and freedom fighters. The patchwork administration of Bangladesh shows endless variety. Everywhere the existing administrative cadre went over as one man to the liberation movement, and in some towns they are still running affairs.

In others respected local citizens have been brought in or Awami League assembly members are in charge. In Jhenida, at an irrigation project headquarters, a former police superintendent is military commander.

A tall, handsome man wearing a striped shirt, a webbing belt and with a pistol on a lanyard, he arrived full of euphoria from the Jessore "front" the day I was there. "We

have surrounded them and we will wait till they try to come out We ought to be able to handle a battalion " he reported.

In the cool of evening, a duplicating machine thumps on, turning out directives banning hoarding, ordering Government and other officials to return to their posts, asking all students to report to the command headquarters for military training and other tasks. Grouped round a lantern on the lawn. Captain Mahbubuddin Ahmed and his aides talk of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

"We must have freedom, even socialist freedom but not the Chinese type of freedom where everybody cannot speak and is regimented". Another says: "We just forgot our Bengali identity when we became part of Pakistan You know, they even banned Tagore, the backbone of Bengali literature, just because he was Hindu."

Atrocities stories circulate continually, and some of them are undoubtedly true. In Faridpur District Sports club, which has become the town's military headquarters, a young magistrate from Khulna told me he witnessed the machine-gunning of a protest procession "without any provocation."

Thinking it a dreadful case of some army officer losing his head, he rushed to military headquarters in his jeep and confronted the Punjabi colonel. "The colonel said my complaint was nonsense, and that the next time people were shot. I the magistrate would be one of the first to die."

A young man is led in to recount the story of the death of a Catholic missionary in Jessore because Bengali have a sad conviction that such a death counts higher in our scales than the deaths of many Moslems. Excitedly, he explains that the priest was shot down in his mission, together with some native Christians, and that afterwards a Punjabi brigadier came and apologized, Saying it was an accident.

"The other priest told him how could such a thing be an accident when there is a Red- Cross mark on the roof of the mission," The story has the ring of truth.

Without accepting the inflated stories of the number of deaths, it is more than clear (hat many people will die as the Pakistani Army moves on, and probably not just the young, men manning the roadblocks, or crouched with their Lee Enfield's in the bushes near ditches they have dug across the roads.



And even were the war to stop tomorrow other deaths may be in prospect beside those from fighting. Food, petrol and other essential commodities are in the shortest of supply, and the disruption of water and power services has brought a public health risk.

Returning from Faridpur to Chuadanga with a group of young men with mysterious mission in Calcutta, to do with the setting up of a provisional government, we had a too graphic illustration of the superiority of the Pakistan forces. Crossing the river Gorai by small boat we were strafed by Sabre jets of the Pakistani Air Force. Leaping into the river to take cover among stacks of bricks on the bank, one felt very strongly that Lee Enfield rifles are no match for this sort of thing. Incidentally, a country boat crossing the river is hardly a military target.

Many of the towns are half empty, and the capture of Pabna yesterday put more refugees on the roads out of Kushtia and Kumarkhali. Faridpur itself only a few miles from the main ferry crossing to Dacca is a town populated largely by young men. Partly as a matter of policy, and partly because they could not stop it anyway, women, children and the old have dispersed to their home villages from the towns. Whether they will be safe there is another matter.

The more realistic among the leaders of the liberation zones put their main hopes in the collapse of the West Pakistan economy. A young accountant in Faridpur who has achieved recent renown for devising a plan to stop planting jute and replacing it with rice told me: "Their economy can not sustain this scale of effort for more than six months or a year. They have forgotten that 10 days of fighting in the Indo-Pakistani war shattered the economy."

But in order for this to work. Western nations must cease giving aid to West Pakistan, and one is begged as if one were an ambassador or plenipotentiary of some kind to ensure that Britain at least stops aid.

Most widespread of all is the feeling that Bengal made a tragic mistake in 1947 when it decided to cast its lot with Pakistan. "We were swept by the passion of communalism," says Mr. Nasir-ul-Islam in Magura. "I too made that mistake. We all made it: now we are paying the price." The price paid has already been high, and unless the Bengalis are saved by international intervention, or by some other miracle, it will be higher still in the months to come.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪১। ক্ষমতার সীমানা	টাইমস	১০ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE TIMES, LONDON, APRIL 10, 1971*

### **THE LIMITS OF TOWER**

**Peter Hazelhurst**

Jessore City, 9 April-This is a war that no one can win. On my left is an Army division, holed up in their barracks and surrounded by 2,000 nondescript freedom fighters and about 500 members of the East Pakistan Rifles.

As another shell is fired from the Army cantonment about half a mile away and another house crumbles.

A Bengali volunteer Fires off a round from his Second World War bolt action rifle. The freedom fighters are also equipped with light machineguns and captured mortars.

There has been heavy exchange of fire this morning, but both sides are attempting to conserve ammunition and the firing is now sporadic.

The Bengalis are worried. They know Jessore is a strategic garrison near the Indian border and that the West Pakistan Army is well equipped and well manned.

But although well equipped and well manned, the West Pakistanis are aware that they are surrounded by 75 million Bengalis and that if they attack, they will have to move in one direction and in force, for small groups of troops have been overwhelmed and hacked to death by angry mobs during the past week.

The liberation front's ammunition is, however, running low and the worried freedom fighters believe that the Army will make a three-pronged attack when reinforcements are flown into Jessore airport which is under the control of the Army.

But what can the Army hope to achieve? And even if President Yahya Khan can pacify the biggest urban centers, how does he expect to rule the country.

After an extensive tour of the western regions of the province, I discovered that at best. West Pakistan can hope only to rule the eastern province as an extension of Burma in which the Government's writ will not extend beyond the capital.

Apart from cantonments, there is not an Army man to be seen for hundreds of miles. Bengali nationalism has united every Bengali from the policeman to the civil servant and the border security staff.

With nearly 19,000 troops committed to fight the rebellion and the rebellion divisions committed to the borders of West Pakistan, one cannot see how or where the President will find the people to run the country.

The entire police force has joined the liberation front, the border security force have opened up the frontiers to Indian infiltration and civil servants and district magistrates are

organizing guerilla warfare in villages in the countryside.

But if the Army continued to hold the biggest cities and ports, industry would falter, the economy would come to a standstill and the freedom fighters would be denied petrol and other vital commodities.

With the food distribution system in chaos, there is a trickle of refugees crossing the border into India.

At the Benapole border post, 22 miles west of the besieged city of Jessore, the Bengalis turn a blind eye as journalists move across the border towards Jessore.

As we cross the border, Indian troops at about battalion strength, have moved up to the frontier and are pitching camp. A short walk and we are in East Bengal.

Your correspondent is eventually offered a lift by East Bengal communist freedom fighters who are heading for Jessore. We have heard that heavy shelling has broken out again.

Two armed guards in makeshift uniform clamber aboard the station wagon, and with tyres screeching we head for Jessore. As we pass through the villages, the people and local police wave and greet the freedom fighters with shouts of "Hail, Bengal".

The car stops at the village of Jhikargacha, seven mile west of Jessore. The National Awami Party men have heard that the Pakistan Army might move out of the cantonment at any foment and move up the road to this village to raid the food storage depot.

The villagers, who have no arms, look terrified. Scores of bicycle rickshaws with bags of rice are moving westward to hide the food in the countryside.

New transport is offered and a Jeep takes me on to Jessore.

The Army has been driven out and is at present entrenched in the military cantonment to our left. As we move into the back of the city. I am shown a communal grave of victims of the Army shooting last week. No one can estimate the death toll.

Mr. Kasi Abdul Shahid, organizer of the National Awami Party, says that he saw 100 people shot when the Army moved in to the town last week. Many political leaders in Jessore were arrested and taken back of the military cantonment.

Mr. Shahid estimates that 1,500 people have been killed since the civil war erupted two weeks ago.

An Awami League worker points towards a collapsed house; "about 500 to 600 houses have been burnt and another 100 houses have been destroyed," he says.

In the Kushtia district to the north, I am shown the decomposing bodies of Punjabi soldiers who were hacked to death by villagers last week when the three companies stationed in the region were overwhelmed by a mob of 40,000 people.

Mr. Samsul Alam Dudu, the organizing secretary of the Awami League in Kushtia district, describes how the liberation front of all political parties routed the Army.

"There were about 300 Punjabi soldiers stationed in the town of Kushtia at about midnight on March 3" "They suddenly took up positions and captured the telephone exchange and all main installations. They imposed a curfew in the district without telling anyone and the next morning they started to shoot down people, men and women, like, dogs and cats."

Mr. Dudu estimates that about 200 people were killed on that day. As in all other towns, the army's first target was the East Pakistan Rifles. After capturing the men in Kushtia, they rounded up politicians and all potential leaders in the town.

Mr. Dudu said that they planned their counter-attack at about 4.30 on Monday morning. A huge crowd of about 30,000, armed with sticks and stones, surrounded the 300 Army men who retreated to the district school house. "About 300 East Pakistan Rifles men and Ansars from the district came in with their rifles. The Army men used cannon and mortars on the crowd, but after a 28-hours battle, their ammunition ran out", he said.

Some of them were killed on the spot when the crowd advanced on the school. Others who managed to escape in civilian clothes in the middle of the night, were later recognized by villagers as Punjabis and were beaten (to death).

But the situation is not as bright as the liberation front claims. Mr. Dudu admits that food is running short and the front is without medical supplies. But more seriously, he admits, the resistance is being carried out on an adhoc regional basis, and there does not appear to be any central leadership coordinating the fight.

"The West Pakistan Army controls all the communications links in the major towns, so we have no communications system as such", he adds.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪২। পরিকল্পিত হত্যা	সানডে টাইমস	১১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE SUN DA Y TIMES, APRIL 11, 1971*

**MURDER HAS BEEN ARRANGED  
AFTER DACCA, JESSORE, CHITTAGONG...**

**Nicholas Tomalin reports an East Pakistan Town waiting to die**

By the time those words are in print the town of Dinajpur in "Free Bangladesh" will almost certainly be overwhelmed by West Pakistani troops and Sgt-Major Abdur Rab. Its chief defender will probably be dead.

Only 350 lightly-armed soldiers were dug in around the town, the centre of Bangladesh resistance is the remote north-western province of East Pakistan, when I left it on Friday. Most were untried in battle and their supplies of ammunition from the East Pakistan Rifles armoury in Dinajpur were down to half -a-dozen crates of mortar shells, rockets, and machine-gun bullets.

Several hundred troops of the West Pakistan Frontier Force Regiment were at Saidpur nearby and there were hundreds more at the garrison town of Rangpur. They were heavily armed, veterans of the Indo-Pak war, and had Chinese-made light tanks. These tanks were moving forward. One determined break-through and they could be in Dinajpur within an hour.

Sgt-Major Rab and his forces have no illusions about what will happen when the enemy do attack. They have overheard on their captured military radio official orders from President Yahya Khan's high command that opposition be crushed by slaughtering indiscriminately, destroying indiscriminately and above all, by killing all military, civic and intellectual leaders. "It will be a massacre." says the sergeant-major "It is worse than anything Hitler did. It is deliberate genocide."

Genocide is an over-used word. But in the light of these explicit military orders, to West Pakistan troops-which I have independent reasons to think Sgt. Major Rab has accurately reported-it seems justified. In the light, also of my three visits to East Pakistan in the past few days it seems justified. From there it was difficult to see Yahya Khan's policy as anything other than an effort to kill swiftly so many Bangladesh supporters that resistance will vanish for the next 15 years. The killing is taking place. We have seen the massacres with our own eyes and that radio message appears to prove the deliberate intention.

The only mystery is why the West Pakistani troops did not advance during our two- day stay in Dinajpur. Twice they attacked Sgt. Major Rab's forward positions and could have easily mashed through his entire defense. But then they held back.

Perhaps They believed their own propaganda that Indian troops and ammunition were supporting the Bengali defenders of Dinajpur, which is only 10 miles from the Indian border.

If so we can testify they are wrong. The rutted border trail is virtually deserted. The odd Bangladesh join drives into India to collect a drum of petrol-and may be a pistol or two-from sympathisers at the border town of Gangarampur. It is, after all, a traditional smugglers' trail, scarcely guarded in normal times. But Indian police and troops mindful of the propaganda attacks, have now manned a post there to prevent any movement. The BBC Panorama team and I were temporarily arrested by Indian police as we came out.

As for Pakistani reports that six Indian divisions are threatening the border, these are non-sense. And West Pakistani troops are moving to close the border; there will be scarcely any more movements across it, of troops or journalists.

Meanwhile "Free Dinajpur" is., whatever one's views on the Pakistani civil war-an inspiring place to visit. The local Bengali population is 100 per cent for Bangladesh. Those who were not-Punjab is and other non-Bengalis-have either fled or been butchered. And, unlike Jessore in the south, which we visited 10 days ago. Dinajpur is organized highly efficiently. The new found patriotism and martial spirit, spiced with the characteristic Bengali histrionics, is most impressive.

The 60,000 inhabitants-those who have not left for surrounding villages-are calm. All the banks and about half the shops are functioning normally. The people queue in long, disciplined lines for ration books (although Dinajpur is the area distribution centre for rice and is not yet short of food). Stringent blackout regulations are observed.

The young men train daily in the local stadium under Sgt.-Major Rab and other military leaders learning the proper Sandhurst drill for Lee Enfield rifles and Chinese-made stenguns, marching to and-fro as martial voices exhort them to look like soldiers- head up, chin in, chest forward. They sing a freshly-composed Bangladesh national anthem to bolster their spirits and even hold large, orderly political meetings at which politicians and administrators from the entire north western area tell them what they are to fight for.

This part of East Pakistan was traditionally dominated by supporters of the left-wing radical Maulana Bhashani whose virtually Communist Policies kept them at odds with Sheikh Mujib the main East Pakistan leader. But today the political unity, not surprisingly, is complete.

Two weeks ago, when the Pakistani civil war began. Dinajpur was in a very different situation. The town was garrisoned and controlled by a company of the West Pakistani Frontier Force Regiment reinforced by the Punjabi officers of the East Pakistan Rifles.

On the day Yahya's troops struck in Dacca-Thursday March 25-the local Punjabi troops began moves to dominate the town, moves clearly long planned to co. ordinate with a countrywide military coup.

The first move, comically enough, was an invitation to a party. The Punjabi commanding Officer courteously asked all Bengali troops in Dinajpur to watch his Punjabis dance their traditional khatak and Luddi dances. Come in civvies, unarmed, he said.

But Sgt.-Major Rab, the senior Bengali in the force, suddenly noticed his Punjabi fellow guests were arriving armed. This was clearly a plot to kill or capture all local Bengali troops. The invitation was thus courteously declined: the Punjabi troops danced without an audience.

That night Punjabi troops drove through the streets of Dinajpur. They carefully destroyed crucial installations at the telephone exchange so the town would be isolated, except for their military communications. They visited various important local Bengali political leaders and was told, shot or imprisoned them.

For two days there was a nervous truce, both sides maneuvering for advantage the Punjabi officers and troops still protesting their friendliness. "If I do not stand up for the East Pakistani Rifles you may kill me" said Lieut. Col. Taraq Rasul Qureshi. The commanding officer. And later they did, indeed, try to kill him.

On Saturday, March 27, things got worse. As rumours of the Dacca massacre filtered through all the Punjabi soldiers nervously left the East Pakistani Rifles barracks and mustered at the Commanding Officers' residence, the Circuit House, where in olden days the Raj judges would lodge. They dug trenches and aligned their guns on the Rifles' barracks. As it happened, the Bengalis fired first and for three days a fierce battle raged, shells from both sides falling in the town and causing many casualties.

Sgt-Major Rab could not command his forces because he was caught in his house, between fires. On Sunday six Riflemen forayed out from the barracks and, under protective fire, he ran back with them. By great good luck it happened that this Rifles unit, though officially only a police force, contained three old British Indian Army men. Abdur Rab is one of these; the other two are highly skilled with mortars.

For two days their fire was landing solidly on the Circuit House. Finally the Punjabi's nerve broke. They fled first to the neighboring Bengali deputy commissioner's house- "so that your friends, if they fire on us, will also be killing Bengalis."

Then, in their panic, they suddenly decided that such accurate fire could not be coming from mere Bengali policemen. Deputy Commissioner Ahmed says: "They told me they knew they must be surrounded by the Indian Army, which they thought had crossed the border to intervene. They therefore shot their own batmen, who were Bengalis, and retreated from the town to Saidpur."

So a force of 35 Bengali East Pakistani Rifles routed the Punjabis in Dinajpur and the town for the past 10 days has been solidly under Bangladesh control. Acting on information that it was in Bengali hands, we crossed the unguarded border for a visit last Wednesday. Even then it had the mixed atmosphere of a town celebrating freedom, but expecting disaster.

Sgt-Major Rab, now officially in command of all defense forces, has thrown out a perimeter guard on classic Sandhurst lines.

The local Punjabi troops may have acted cravenly so far; but last week they were moving their tanks forward, they must be returning to destroy the town.

We watched half a dozen of Rab's troops redeploying to "Ten Mile Junction" where the Saidpur road meets the road northwards from Dinajpur, five miles from the town. They had one anti-tank gun (their last remaining artillery), two rocket propelled grenade launchers, and four riflemen.

Refugees, with goats and calves trotting behind them and other meagre possessions balanced on their heads, streamed past. They told of Punjabis burning their villages to the ground, killing all they saw, of wholesale looting and rapes. Although in this civil war, as in all wars, there is perpetual exaggeration, their accounts carried conviction. The soldiers were calm, muted, and sad. They knew they were only there to win a few minutes' time.

Then we visited another defensive position, deep in a bamboo grove. Here the troops were brighter and more optimistic. The local people came with large buckets of rice. "Dal" and poppadums to provide lunch for the troops. Possibly no soldiers in history have been so whole heartedly supported by the local civilian population, inspired both by Bangladesh nationalism and by terror of a massacre.

It was a classic guerrilla war deployment, a dozen men hidden in near-jungle ready to inflict maximum damage then flee.

This is Sgt.-Major Rab's basic strategy. First conventional defense to win time. Then a general dispersal into the surrounding countryside to lure the West Pakistanis into a complacent re-occupation of Dinajpur. Then a long period of steal thy killing.

We talked at length with local politicians who grandly sketched out the future of an independent, non-aligned Bangladesh. But no one seriously pretends the major towns of the country can survive in their control for long. Jessore has already fallen; Dinajpur is even now under assault. The crucial question about the future of the struggle is whether Sgt.-Major Rab's guerrilla tactics can be properly put into practice.

In their favor is the over whelming support of the local population and the pressure of world opinion on Yahya Khan. Against them is the un-military character of The Bengalis and their desperate shortage of ammunition and general supplies.

Dinajpur has escaped relatively unscathed so far. But now it must suffer the fate of Dacca, Chittagong and other major centers.

Meanwhile. Sgt.-Major Rab, if he has not been killed at the front, will have escaped to the bamboo groves and small villages to try to continue the fight. With his crisp police uniform and his manner inherited from the British Raj, he makes an improbable Che Guevara of Bangladesh. But if there are many like him in East Pakistan the civil war is going to continue for a long time.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪৩। হাজারো সন্ত্রাস্ত মানুষ এখনো ঢাকা থেকে পালাচ্ছে	ট্যামস	১৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE TIMES, LONDON, APRIL 13, 1971*

# **THOUSANDS STILL FLEEING FRIGHTENED DACCA**

*From Dennis Neeld*

Dacca, April 11. A forest of green and white Pakistani national flags flutters today over this cowed and submissive city. The flags of Bangladesh, the independent state 75 million Bengalis aspired to set up in the eastern wing of Pakistan, have been hauled down or burned. To display one now would risk summary execution.

President Yahya Khan's troops patrol the city in jeeps and commandeered trucks, their rifles and sub-machine guns at the ready. In the teeming working class districts they roam through a black wilderness of ashes and charred bamboo stumps. The huts burnt like matchwood when the army stormed in to crush the secessionist movement of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the Awami League, on the night of March 25.

Diplomats in Dacca estimate that up to 6,000 people were killed in a well-prepared assault.

The crack of rifle shots still punctuates the night as troops round up Awami League officials, intellectuals and other prominent Bengalis. "This is Gestapo rule", one western diplomat commented. "The army has committed mass murder."

While the army turns a blind eye, looting by non-Bengalis from West Pakistan is commonplace. Thousands of families are still fleeing the city to return to their native villages.

Dacca University remains closed. Student dormitories are strewn with the litter of violence and pocked with bullet holes. Neutral observers estimate that between 300 and 500 students were shot and killed when they attempted to resist the army's takeover of the city.

Eyewitnesses claim that many were lined up against a wall and mown down by machine guns. At least eight prominent faculty professors were shot and killed.

The East Pakistan police have been disarmed, as have survivors of the East Bengal Regiment and the East Pakistan Rifles who led the resistance. Many are held prisoner.

Dacca is clamped under a 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew. To avoid the attention of foraging troops and gangs of non-Bengali looters, many families sit at home at night with their house lights extinguished.

Most senior civil servants are back at their desks although many of their employees have stayed away from work. Shops have reopened and essential services are functioning almost normally.

Troops from West Pakistan continue to pour in by air to step up operations against areas of the country still held by the secessionists.

About 10,000 are believed to have arrived since President Yahya Khan's attempt to keep his country intact. It brings their strength to an estimated 35,000. Previous reports that there were some 70,000. West Pakistani troops in the province are regarded as exaggerated.

Street sellers are doing a roaring trade in Pakistani national flags, the symbol here of surrender. "No one speaks above a whisper of Bangladesh. We have put up Pakistani flag only for fear of the gun": said our Bengali farmer "Bir Bangladesh is still in our hearts."

**A. P. Michael Hornsby writes:**

Pakistan Army units continued to press hard today on towns along the western border of East Bengal still under the tenuous control of the "Bangladesh" independence movement. It seems only a matter of days before the Army establishes itself in this region, thus gaining sway over all the main urban centers in East Pakistan.

Air raids and artillery bombardment were reported by Indian intelligence today on both Dinajpur, in the north, and Kushtia, further south. The towns of Rajshahi and Pabna were also under pressure from the Army. The only regular troops the resistance forces have in these areas are small and poorly equipped contingents of the East Pakistan Rifles and the Bengal Regiment.

Pakistan Army units moving west from Jessore are reported to be within a mile or so of the Indian border. Several thousand refugees have come across the border in the past week.

The Pakistan army appear to have no immediate logistics problem, even though operating more than 1,000 miles from home. Supplies and reinforcement are being flown into Dacca and Jessore as well as the eastern towns of Sylhet and Comilla. The army also has control of the key, waterways.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪৪। বাগাড়ম্বর ও বাস্তব	গার্ডিয়ান	১৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*GUARDIAN, LONDON, APRIL 14, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**RHETORIC AND REALITY**

"Where, after three weeks of messy bloodshed, do the military rulers of Pakistan now stand? Superficially they prosper. Bangladesh's roving bands of "liberation fighters" have never and will never cope with the Pakistani Army in force. That force is being deployed to flatten urban resistance. Yahya Khan will soon have most cities and towns on a tight rein. He will also have all the Chinese spare parts over flying rights, and hire purchase rhetoric he can take. For the moment, the Awami League "miscreants" are dead, incarcerated or negligible. Pakistan is cowed, but united.

"Yet, the true balance sheet is very different. Perhaps (ideally, and even at some cost) Pakistan is better together than apart. Perhaps continual martial law can maintain that state and, as famine saps revolt, bring smouldering servility. But Yahya must be forced to take a wider view. May be a coordinated Bengali resistance movement will need years to organise, but in the meantime Bengalis will remain one of the most populous people on earth, always simmering in crowds always ready to overwhelm and slaughter patrols or lone Punjabi soldiers. The province which-head for head provides a majority of Pakistanis will have to be held down by tanks and planes and large concentrations of troops for as long as any prophet can see. There is no decent hope of passing the buck to some civilian regime, since virtually every civilian politicians-bar the ancient, sickly Nurul Amin-was obliterated at the polls last December. Collaborators with Islamabad will have no democratic justification; they will not be able to appear in public without peril.

"The Eastern prospect, in short, is long, weary gloom-economic stagnation, starvation, murders the slow growth of extremism. Even Chinese friendship has a touch of poison in the embrace. Peking may care little if Maoist Bengalis like Maulana Bhashani find themselves at the wrong end of Yahya's bayonets: anything to worst the pro-American Sheikh Mujib. But once the Awami League is defunct and East Pakistan is given over to wild men of rebellion, then only the most stupid of generals will be surprised to find Chinese arms in every guerilla cache. And in the West there lies bleakness too. Mr. Bhutto may rejoice at army action today; but he will not rejoice long if it keeps him from the power he won at the ballot box. Pakistan is a nation in hock to the World Bank and to the aid-givers of the world: They are already turning away; gorged on brutality Pakistani defense policy (and the whole existence of the generals) rests on confrontation with India over Kashmir. Pakistan alleges that India holds the Pakistani loving Kashmiris in check by steely repression. It is the most ludicrous of cases now. As the junta of Islamabad openly exercises just such repression on 75 million bonafide Pakistanis. The United Nations will surely collapse in bitter laughter if Kashmir comes up again. The issue is as dead as the students of Dacca University.

"Nobody can tell precisely what Yahya's strategists whispered in his car three weeks ago. Nobody can tell, but anyone can deduce. They appear to have thought that cutting off the head would kill Bengali nationalism: precisely the reverse. They appear to have forgotten about world opinion. They appear, most insanely of all, to have ruled India out of the military calculations, so that the uncontrolled border and aid seeping in has them as much by the throat as proliferation-diplomatic complications. To reiterate: the Bangladesh affair is not a second Biafra or the fruits of more interminable wrangling between Delhi and Rawalpindi. It arose simply when a well conducted, peaceful elections produced a result the army could not stand. Sheikh Mujib himself has not, in any. Certain sence declared Bengali independence. He was not asking essentially for more than the programme he legally fought and won the election on. Of course there are shades of grey; of course, responsibility for the carnage is shared. But influential and intelligent Pakistanis in the west can stop that carnage tomorrow if they add up the balance sheet aright and put their soldiers in economic chains. This is not a Sino-Soviet slanging match about Marxist technicalities. It is, at root, a simple matter; of freedom, of morality, and of humanity".

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪৫। বাংলাদেশের রক্ত	নিউজ স্টেটসম্যান	১৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*NEW STATESMAN, APRIL 16, 1971*

### **THE BLOOD OF BANGLADESH**

If blood is (he price of a people's right to independence. Bangladesh has overpaid Of all the recent struggles to bring down governments and change frontiers in the name of national freedom the war in East Bengal may prove the bloodiest and briefest On this level alone, the East Pakistanis have achieved a record of suffering. But even if their movement is destroyed within a few days or weeks, it may only be a temporary defeat in a war of liberation which will eventually be recognized as just. In all such cases, establishment opinion is heavily weighted in favor of the status quo. The chances of any world power declaring support for Bangladesh are minimal. 'The Bengalis' case for statehood may be hard to refute, but it is inconvenient lo everyone else. And yet, by an unusual combination of circumstances. Bangladesh has managed to obey all the rules. So this may be the moment to consider what we, and other countries, mean by those splendid words which recur like a chorus in the United Nations charter: 'the right to self- determination of peoples.' Objectively or subjectively, in Chinese or English, in capitalist or socialist jargon, it is hard to fault the East Bengalis, or justify their abandonment by all the major powers.

Piously required, as third-world countries always are by the West, to make their demands known through the ballot box-they did so. They won an absolute majority in the all-Pakistan Assembly. It was the first general election the country had held, and the result came as a considerable shock. Given the long history of Bengali separatism, from the language and anti-constitution movements of the early Fifties until today, it should not have been so surprising. Loyally became more important than ideology. A Bengali majority was (he result.

Faced with this, the Islamabad government of Yahya Khan, whose strength is based on an army from which the Bengalis arc excluded, panicked. Islamabad fidgeted The result was carnage. We have glimpsed via television and the newspapers what the West Pakistanis call 'restoring unity': the Easterners, genocide. The truth may lie somewhere in between the two But for the foreseeable future pessimism is in order.

As with Biafra. many emotional left-wingers in the West have averted their eyes from the distasteful possibility that non-white people may be ill-treating each other, and concentrated on the humanitarian side. But beyond the salvage operation, it becomes more complicated. East Pakistan really cannot be called a 'breakaway' state in quite the same way. And the 'exploitation' takes a different form. The East Bengalis claim that they have been systematically used to subsidies West Pakistan ever since partition. It began as long ago as 1948. when President Jinnah made the first of several centralizing moves by withdrawing the provinces rights to raise their own income and sales taxes, and keep the major part of their import and export duties. East Pakistan was particularly hard

hit, since its subvention from the central government was never correspondingly increased. Over the last two decades, for instance, 70 per cent of Pakistan's investible funds went to the West and only 30 per cent to the East. Seventy-five per cent of revenue was spent in the West and only 25 per cent in the East. Foreign aid is based on population: yet East Pakistan, with two thirds of the country's people, received only 20 per cent of the cash. East Pakistani economists estimate that since independence, the real transfer of resources from East to West Pakistan has been to the tune of some £3,00m. By this argument, Bangladesh would certainly be more economically viable on its own. Another qualification for statehood fulfilled.

The question of aid leads to that of great power politics. East Bengal does not fit neatly into the cold war pattern, and the positions adopted towards it are particularly complicated. The British are allied with the West Pakistan government in Cento and Seato-mere planning organizations, to be sure, but through which weapons can be channeled. Yahya Khan's links with China, though, are closer and more significant. There are rumors that Peking will create diversionary activity on the Indo-Chinese border if India (backed by the Russians) intervenes in Bengal. China has cynically betrayed the West Bengali communists, who would have liked nothing better than to help their brothers across the border, but could not go it alone. (Perhaps this is final proof that the Chinese have achieved great power status.) As for Britain what our government has to say is regarded, since Singapore, with cynical contempt on all sides.

There are still, however, ritual motions to be gone through and lessons to be learned. The ritual concerns the IJN. The 75 million East Pakistanis feel they have at least as much national' call on the General Assembly as the 45 million Westerners, and are demanding what people always demand in such circumstances: that arms deliveries be stopped, aid cutoff, sanctions imposed and so forth. None of this will happen. As Conor Cruise 'O' Brien put it, the United Nations is like the Delphic Oracle, and always gives the answer; the strongest party to a dispute wants to hear. And there, for the time being, it rests.

But not for ever. Pakistan is only the most recent of the post-imperial , federations to be torn apart. When he drew the lines across the Indian sub-continent, Mountbatten listened too sympathetically to those who took religion more seriously than geography. It was, of course, a plain case of failure to learn from our own parochial experience as the whole unhappy history of Ireland has made only too clear. Since the original foundation of Pakistan, the West Indian, Malaysian, Rhodesian and Arabian federations have all collapsed. Significantly, each of them like Pakistan, was a 'state' created from above for reasons of. political expediency. So the lesson is a simple, if a hard, one that such artificial structures cannot survive. How much ,human misery must be endured before that fact is accepted?

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪৬। হত্যা এবং প্রতিরোধের যুদ্ধ একই সাথে চলছে	টেলিগ্রাফ	১৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, APRIL 16, 1971*  
**SLAUGHTER GOES ON AS E. PAKISTAN FIGHTS FOR LIFE**  
*By David Loshak in Sylhet, East Pakistan*

Savage fighting for control of this key town, the capital of East Pakistan's most remote and isolated district, yesterday reached a crucial stage as central Government forces struggled to wrest control from the "Bangladesh liberation army."

The West Pakistan Army is making a determined effort to wide out resistance before the onset of the monsoon in two weeks' time, but it is meeting stiff opposition, and both sides have suffered severe losses

Last night the West Pakistanis belonging to the 31st Punjab Regiment seemed to have the upper hand, but persistent mortaring, which I observed for the second day running made it clear that the battle was far from over.

Members of the "Mukti Fouz," the untrained and barely organized "liberation army" of East Pakistan, were fighting a last-ditch stand for the town, now a ruined, empty shell. They 'have killed about 200 of the Punjab unit's 800 complement.

Their own losses have been far heavier, but Bengalis in their thousands are continuing the fight and constantly replacing the dead I found their morale consistently high despite their desperate situation and there is no doubt of their readiness to fight to the death.

### Control of countryside

The Mukti Fouz now control almost the entire countryside. They have confined the Army to the area around Salutigar Airport, five miles north of Sylhet. after capturing Khadimnagar cantonment to the east of the town.

The victory brought the Mukti Fouz urgently-needed supplies of arms and ammunition.

I reached Khadimnagar yesterday after a four-day journey through the hills and jungles of Assam in India, and of northern Sylhet Province, then down through fertile plain and tea gardens and paddy fields.

Despite West Pakistani claims, the Indian border is closed, and crossing into Bangladesh is forbidden. In blinding, saturating rain I slipped across the frontier at a point about 40 miles north-west of Sylhet.

The route lay first down winding trails through forests and undergrowth, beneath trees heavy with ripening jackfruit and laced with green cordons of tropical weeds.

Then stumbling along a dried-up river bed thick with logs torn out of the mountains by the surge of monsoon cataracts, and finally through a stretch of reeds and coarse grasses I came to an almost deserted settlement in a jungle clearing.

There I made first contact in this region with the Mukti Fouz. Quite unlike their counterpart in the west of Bangladesh along the West of Bengal border of India, these men were already battle-hardened'.

### **Danger ahead**

No one in Bangladesh gives his real name, and I am not reporting most place names, to avoid reprisals. The local commander, who called himself Capt. Dudu Mia, said it was dangerous to go further that day.

He confirmed what I had seen from the heights of Assam earlier. There, looking down on to the Sylhet Plain, I saw fires burning across a wide landscape and a layer of smoke settled below the cloud.

Capt. Mia said heavy fighting was going on in Sylhet. The area was under constant three-inch mortar and six-inch artillery attack, as well as aerial bombardment from Chinese MIGs and American Sabre jets of the West Pakistan Air Force.

In addition West Pakistan soldiers were making repeated forays from Salutigur Airport, burning villages and tea plantations.

Travel during darkness would be suicide, so I slept in the settlement, a typical "Punji" village consisting of "chang," houses simple thatched dwellings on raised bamboo platforms.

The night was deathly silent, broken only by the baying of piedogs and the buzzing of the local, steely-jawed mosquitoes.

In the morning, I drove with an armed escort towards Sylhet. The communications of the Bangladesh forces are tenuous, and there was no knowing what we might meet.

After the bamboo stockade surrounding the village, my jeep passed through thick woods to British owned tea estates. They were largely deserted, the lush green bushes untended and unpicked.

Plantation workers, looking cowed and bewildered, gazed vacantly from their homes.

While the spirits of the "liberation fighters" are high despite heavy losses, the morale of the peasants seemed at low ebb.

Their situation is appalling. They have no food other than one pound of rice daily. Not much rice can be harvested in the present circumstances.

Stocks cannot last more than two weeks. The Army has burnt and looted many ware houses. There is no money to buy vital supplies such as salt and kerosene, even if these can be obtained from across the border, which is difficult.



### **Small pox and cholera**

Epidemic illness has set in. A village doctor told me there were 10 confirmed smallpox cases and four of cholera. Supplies of serum had run out.

I drove on by jeep to Sylhet. Despite their enthusiasm, the men of the Mukti Fouz are militarily naive. They did not observe even the most elementary defensive precautions against a sudden aerial strafing along the open road, and were not prepared for ambush.

They are pitifully equipped. They have only an assortment of outdated small arms, possibly one or two captured mortars. But otherwise nothing better than spears, bows and arrows and the local, dao knife, like a Gurkha "kukrt".

Like the civilian population, they are short of food and equally vital supplies such as petrol. I visited their one storage depot, near Sylhet, which was unsuccessfully bombed by the West Pakistanis. Supplies are down to the last few hundred gallons.

It is significant that despite such handicaps, the Mukti Fouz has managed to hold back the Army, which has far superior firepower and expertise and is continually re-equipped by air.

### ***Civilians slaughtered***

Mukti Fouz leaders say this is because they are fighting for a cause.

The Army's strategy appears to be solely one of causing maximum distress to the civilian population and lasting damage to the region. Signs of this have been the way soldiers have, on orders, fired blindly into occupied houses, burnt down entire villages and slaughtered the occupants as they fled.

They have also destroyed larger installations such as the light industries of Chhatak and the 10 main jute factories of East Pakistan, the mainstay of the economy not only of East but of West Pakistan.

The Army's aim was clearly to break the morale of the people within 48 hours of launching its first attacks, aborting resistance before it took life.

This failed, but the Government has persisted with the same sterile strategy. This has turned Sylhet, like many other major centers of East Pakistan, into a ghost city.

Almost the entire population of 700,000 has fled into the surrounding countryside, leaving the streets to the helpless old and crippled the corpses, wild dogs and vultures.

Bloated corpses float in the Surma River which flows through Sylhet. They are testimony to the night of March 26, when West Pakistan troops burst into the city and launched a campaign of looting and slaughter.

Special units were assigned to the killing of doctors, advocates, journalists, teachers and other professional people.

### **Resistance link**

Fighting now centres on the King Bridge, connecting Sylhet's two halves. If the Army succeeds in destroying the bridge, it will cut a main link of the Bangladesh resistance.

Yet such a victory would be of small value to the central Government, whose forces are and seem likely to remain, not less hard pressed than the Mukti Fouz.

The Army has no hope of gaining control of the countryside. Heavy pre-monsoon rains are already making movement difficult and the population is hostile to a man.

When the monsoon begins in earnest, late this month, bringing some of the heaviest rainfall in the world for weeks on end, the Army will be completely bogged down.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪৭। শেখ মুজিবের দল সামরিক প্রতিরোধের জন্য প্রস্তুত ছিল না	টেলিগ্রাফ	১৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE SUN DA Y TELEGRA PH, A PRIL 16, 1971*  
**SHEIKH'S SUPPORTERS FAILED TO PREPARE FOR ARMED RESISTANCE**  
*By Simon Dring*

There seems little doubt that effective long-term Bengali resistance to the advancing Pakistan Army in East Pakistan will be over before it ever really has the chance to get under way. Despite reports of significant successes by the so-called "Bengal Liberation Army," it is hardly possible that anything in that form exists.

What opposition there is appears to be mostly in areas where the Pakistan Army has yet to make a coordinated advance, or were elements of the East Bengal Rifles and police are still holding out.'

But there is certainly no countrywide organized resistance movement which would even make much of a show against a determined army attack.

The supporters of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman talked a great deal before the army crackdown last month about how they would fight, but they did virtually nothing about preparing themselves. They led noisy and often violent demonstrations, but they had no organisation, no training, no weapons and, as the army proved in Dacca, no real stomach for war.

Once the Pakistan Army has enough men and equipment to tackle the remaining pockets of resistance they will crush them as effectively and as ruthlessly as they crushed Dacca.

### **Guerrilla haven**

However it is unlikely they will be able or really need to control the countryside. They will probably try to do no more than hold the centers of population

The countryside is a maze of sunken rice fields, banana groves, jute fields, tea plantations, rivers and forest and is ideal for guerrilla warfare. And the Pakistan Army knows it.

But it is unlikely that the Bengalis will be able to do anything until either someone emerges to lead them or, more important, supply them with weapons.

In the three wild March weeks, when Bengali independence was taken for granted. Sheikh Mujib and his Awami League followers did begin to establish a network of village liberation units. I visited several outside Dacca only days before the East Pakistani dream came bloodily and dramatically to an end.

In one complex of villages only 300 people out of over 1, 00,000 had been recruited. Led by a grey-bearded ex-N.C.O. from the British India Army, they drank large amounts of tea in the village shop and talked enthusiastically of what they would do.

But it was sadly obvious that they could achieve little with their sharpened bamboo sticks and their ragged parades that paid more attention to looks than fighting skill.

"We will cut roads and bridges and get guns from our enemy," said one. However there is no reason to believe that he would react any differently from his brothers in Dacca.

### **Dream world**

In the capital the students, reckoned to be the militant hard core of the Awami League, lived a similar dream world. They talked endlessly of fighting to the death.

But they had nothing more than a few rifles from the 1939-45 war, equally ancient pistols, and some homemade bombs which, when the army moved in on March 25 were apparently not used.

Once the shooting started the jeering, the shouting, the open defiance of the military might of the Pakistan Government died a quick death. And this pattern is being repeated throughout the country.

When I toured the devastated areas of the city most people shrugged their shoulders and turned away when questioned about the possibility of resistance.

These were the students, the intellectuals and the businessmen who only days before had raised the flag of Bangladesh over their homes, and who only the previous afternoon had joined anti-Government demonstrations in the streets.

Now with thousands of innocent people massacred, all they can say and quite understandably is "what choice do we have in the face of the guns?"

The only other people who might be able to put up a fight are the underground Left- wing and Communist movements. As yet there have been no reports of any of their leaders being rounded up.

There are three main groups who could eventually be expected to put up some kind of armed resistance. All of them are Peking orientated.

I met several of their members at secret meetings in Dacca early in March. They admitted their organizations were still small and had few arms.

Their only supplies to come from the Naxalites in West Bengal India and possibly some from the Burmese rebels. They operate mainly in the industrial areas around Dacca and Chittagong and to a lesser extent in the rural areas of the north. Most of their support comes from the trade unions.

Their leaders are middle class dropouts aged from 25-60. They are dedicated to a cause but seem to spend a lot of their time squabbling over ideological differences.

During March they capitalized on the chaos in East Pakistan by organizing demonstrations in both cities and scattering leaflets calling for a "bloody revolution to achieve independence."

### **Seeds of resistance**

"We are not fighters," said one Bengali intellectual to me the day after the army moved into Dacca. "We have more talk in us than anything else.

"But the President has now given us a real cause. Even though they might rule us for another 10 years they will find out they have bitten off more than they can chew. The seeds of a very real resistance have been sown and eventually we will strike back."

Perhaps this prophecy will come true. But it will be a long time before it does. And if it happens will be more than likely in the hands of the Communists than a pipe-smoking moderate like Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪৮। বাংলাদেশের স্বপ্ন মিলিয়ে যাচ্ছে	অবজারভার	১৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE OBSERVER, LONDON, APRIL 18, 1971*  
**THE FADING DREAM OF BANGLADESH**

**[Colin Smith, the first British newspaperman to reach Dacca since the foreign Press was expelled, reports on his hazardous journey to East Pakistan's capital. He was accompanied by one Mr. Abdul Rashid who acted as guide up to Dacca.]**

Calcutta, 17 April-Troops from West Pakistan, loyal to General Yahya Khan the country's military ruler, are now rolling up the map of Bangladesh. They have ended for the time being, Bengali dreams of secession and freedom in East Pakistan.

Inspite of their passionate hopes, the un warlike Bengalis have been no match for the Frontier soldiers from the West-traditionally the best and most ruthless warriors on the Indian subcontinent.

But after a 200-mile journey through the tragic landscape of Bangladesh, I am sure that from now on President Yahya will hold his eastern province only by force and that his rule will be harassed by continual resistance, however, ill-organized and futile it may be. The Bengalis will never forget or forgive the happenings of the past few weeks.

At about lunch time on Good Friday, I reached Dacca, the occupied capital of East Pakistan, isolated from the rest of the world on the orders of Yahya Khan. With me was Romano Cagnoni, an Italian freelance photographer based in London.

We had taken four days to travel the 100 miles there from the Indian border in jeeps, trucks, ox-carts, canoes, and for one memorable three-mile stretch-by pony. Apart from an Italian newsman shot through the chest during the fighting on 25 March and too weak to be expelled with the other foreign reporters, we were the first foreign journalist in the city for over a fortnight. Cagnoni had hidden his cameras in two assorted biscuits packets. We wore clean short-sleeved shirts, borrowed from a missionary, in order to lend more credibility to our claim that we were technicians working for the Water and Power Development Authority.

What we saw in Dacca, and in the countryside in the week we spent traveling to and from it, convinced us that there would be no popular uprising in the capital for the moment. Memories of what the soldiers' guns call do are too recent.

### **Hiding Arms**

The war is now really coming to the end of its first phase-the national struggle, when patriotism over-rode all political considerations and Awami Leaguer and Maoist fought, in theory anyway, shoulder to shoulder against a common foe. The second phase is just beginning: a classic guerrilla operation waged by the Left with all the eruptions in East Pakistan society this will mean.

Certainly the bourgeois Awami League-whose stock is already low in some areas foil it's sad inability to defend the people-will be the first to suffer. Some villages are already planning to cache arms and the Indian police say that there have been virtually no Naxalite incidents in West Bengal these past two weeks because all the Indian Maoist extremists are fighting across the border in East Bengal.

One of our first calls in Dacca was to the British Council, the driver of our baby taxi- a sort of rickshaw pulled by a motor scooter-having mistaken this for the British High Commission. There was a large Union Jack on the door which, we learnt later, had not stopped the four police guards in the building from getting shot.

When we reached the High Commission itself, some tempers were on edge. A senior British official in dark glasses shouted that our arrival would get them all killed and probably ourselves as well.

Another man said that it wasn't in their interests for people in Britain to know what was going on. They knew what was going on and that was all that was necessary.

All telex and telephone communications between Dacca and the outside world are cut and the Commission's staff, most of whom had evacuated their families, had just received their first mail for six weeks.

The only civilian aircraft landing at Dacca, the Boeings belonging to Pakistan International Airlines. Each carries 175 young men who travel in white shirts and khaki trousers, but put on the rest of their uniform when they land. Passengers trying to book PIA flights to Dacca from Karachi are told the aircraft are full of officials.

At the American Consulate, things were a little more relaxed and cold beers and a wall map were produced. Like most of the diplomats we spoke to the Americans were generally agreed that the West Pakistan troops had killed about 6,000 men, women and children, among them 300 to 500 students.

Some of the West Pakistan units seem to have been possessed by bloodlust directed against the Hindus of East Pakistan, recalling the massacres of 1947, at the time of Partition. The bodies of uncircumcised Hindu men have been found with their penis cut off.

Dacca is an old city of corrugated iron, bamboo, mud and stone. Some parts are so tumbledown that they could probably be shelled for half an hour without making much noticeable difference. One phosphorous grenade or incendiary bullet into one of its bamboo slums and you've burned down a neighborhood. Twenty-five blocks, perhaps more, were destroyed in this way.

The day after the slaughter, the city's population of crows-dirty, fat, grey birds-seemed to double, and though the bodies were quickly removed the birds have stayed on flapping and cawing above the deserted streets.

The normal population of Dacca city of 800 mosques, is two million; two-thirds have fled to the countryside and those who remain live in terror of the military. The green and white Pakistan flags flying everywhere over the Bengali city are simply tokens of defeat and surrender. Some Pakistan Army officers do not seem to be restrained by a code of honor any more stringent than one drawn up by Attila, the Hun.

The killing began at the University about one in the morning. The students in bed in their residential halls heard the Army vehicles approaching. Most of them thought the military were coming to make a few more arrests.

A few of the militants made sure that the rifles they had collected from the townspeople over the past few weeks were well hidden. Nobody thought he would have to fight. Nobody had more than a few rounds of ammunition, anyway.

Suddenly searchlights were played on the windows, dazzling the students so that they had to quail and turn away. Then came the Punjabi and Baluchi soldiers with their Chinese AK-47 automatic rifles, smashing the window glass with their butts and spraying the dormitories with fire.

A few students got to the rooftops, where they managed to squeeze off one or two shots with their old bolt-action rifles before they were picked up in the searchlights and killed. Others came running out screaming, with their hands 'up only to be stood against the walls of their halls and mown down with machine-gun fire from tanks and armored cars. Survivors were finished off with the bayonet.

Lecturers killed in the attack were: Dr. G. C. Deb, head of the Department of Philosophy; Dr. A. N. Maniruzzaman, head of the Statistics Department; and Dr. Obinosor Chackrobharti, reader of the English Department and Provost of Jagannath Hall, the only Hindu residential hall. Five other lecturers, whose names I was not able to collect, are also thought to be dead. Dr. Innas Ali, head of the Physics Department, is said to be seriously injured.

Resistance at the H.Q. of the East Pakistan Rifles (border police) and city police stations were bloody, but short-lived. Even so, the West Pakistanis are said to have been surprised at the ferocity of the fighting. The races who formed the elite of Britain's Indian Army now live in West Pakistan and share the Imperial Englishman's contempt for the artistic little Bengalis, who usually manage to kill people only when they are scared or angry, as they are now.

### **Rape, Loot And Murder After Dark**

'The Army has taken its licks, too, one diplomat told us. At a place called Kushtia-a rail way town on the banks of the Ganges-the military paid dearly for underestimating the enemy when they split up a company of about 80 Baluchi infantry, stationing some in the automatic telephone exchange, some in the police station and some in other places. Vastly outnumbered, the groups were hacked to pieces one at a time. Most of them fought to the death.



Strolling through the crowded bazars of Dacca, with our guides constantly trying to stop curious crowds from gathering round us and attracting the attention of Army patrols. Radio Pakistan's claims of 'business as usual' seemed reasonable enough. We came across some gutted buildings, but by European standards of devastation the damage was trifling.

Only when we reached the newer, central part of the city did we see the machine-gun posts at every crossroads and rows of empty houses in the Hindu districts, where some of the worst killing is said to have taken place in the sacred name of Islam.

But even the areas where the heaviest fighting took place have been tidied up with astonishing speed. Only fresh horrors-like the layers of rotting bodies discovered by the staff of the Intercontinental Hotel in the city tip along the Narayanganj road-give some idea of the true picture.

There is a shortage of almost everything, from kerosene to food. Prices of some goods have almost doubled. The city's Holy Family Hospital, run by American missionaries, closed down a week ago when its stocks ran out.

The tanks have left the city for the moment. Apparently they went through it so many times that their tracks wore out and they had to be carried off on transporters. The curfew has been relaxed until 9 p.m. but most citizens consider it unsafe to walk the streets after dark because West Pakistani soldiers have taken to robbing people of their watches and wallets at gunpoint.

During the day, troops patrol the streets in jeeps and trucks. There are also some armed Bihari volunteers rushing about in commandeered vehicles. If the West Pakistanis are ever forced out of Bangladesh, then, in the name of humanity, they should take the Biharis with them; otherwise the Bengalis will surely massacre them.

These Urdu-speaking Muslims from the Indian State of Bihar came to East Pakistan as refugees in 1947, to escape Hindu persecution during the Partition troubles. The Biharis, mostly traders, soon took over vacant shops left by Hindus who had run the other way. Now the Biharis have repaid Bengalis, hospitality by acting as scouts and guides for the West Pakistanis, who are also Urdu-speaking and with whom they feel a greater solidarity.

There are Army checkpoints everywhere in Dacca, though, luckily, in most cases only the officers can understand English. A soldier stopped me outside the Dacca Improvement Trust offices and demanded identity papers. He accepted my passport as good enough though it had no entry stamp for East Pakistan. It was a long moment.

A 19 year old student told me he was stopped on his bicycle by an aggressive young Baluchi, about his own age, who demanded to know why he wasn't flying the Pakistan flag from his handlebars. The soldier eventually let him go when he declared his willingness to have Pakistan written in capital letters in blood on his shirt. I told the Baluchi I didn't have a knife myself and offered him my arm for his bayonet. He let me go.'

Now that the fighting is over in the capital. West Pakistani soldiers have taken to entering houses after dark to rape, loot and murder. Girls are sometimes spared if they can recite Muslim' prayers. Proof of circumcision is demanded from the men.

A European who took us to his bungalow for a drink pointed to a house across the road and said that in there were the bodies of four Hindus including two children, who had been shot 'the night befo000re.

We started our journey to Dacca from the Indian border town of Krishnanagar. Here we met some Indian West Bengali supporters of the Mukti Fauj, the Liberation Army. They were taking drums of petrol up to the border in pre-war three-wheeler German pick- up vans flying the red, green and gold banner of Bangladesh.

From the trucks the fuel was transferred to some bamboo ox-carts which trekked off with their load to the East Pakistan village of Kusumpur. We went with them. There were no border checks and only a conical border stone indicated that we had crossed the Radcliffe Line.

There are stories of Indian ammunition going over in bottles of plasma and of companies of the Indian Border Security Force going across disguised as East Pakistan Rifles personnel-not difficult, because they both were old British-style uniforms and would need only to change their shoulder flashes.

I asked the West Bengalis we went in with, what they were going to do, and they said they had just come to show their support. Sure enough, after an hour they left us and turned back towards India. Crossing the border at all is a tremendously emotional thing for a Bengali of either side, because since the 1965 war it has been sealed off. .

Our first night we spent at police station where they had posted perimeter guards and thrown camouflage nets over their vehicles. After the confusion we had witnessed during the fighting at Jessore the week before, it all looked very promising. Later we were to learn that the efficiency of the Liberation Army usually depended on the distance it was away from any actual fighting. In this case Jessore was about 20 miles down the road.

All the way to Dacca our progress was impeded by Bengali hospitality. As any Sangbadik (news carrier) who has been in the area these past weeks will testify, the villagers rarely let the stranger escape without giving him food and drink and a few speeches about fighting to the last drop of their blood.

Even a Baluchi prisoner in village near Kushtia was offered juice from a Dab (green coconut) before they killed him.

He said that he had a small son and that President Yahya had made him come and fight. But one man said that he had a small son, too, and now he was dead. They told him to pray and he made his peace with Allah. Then he opened his shirt and bared his chest and the villagers dug their spears in here, here and here."

For a while, we followed the route taken by a West Pakistan motorized column 48 hours before: there were burnt huts on either side of the road, and in the glass booth of a filling station office near the village of Kaliganj we counted 32 bullet holes.

In some towns we were taken to see whiskery old man with swagger sticks shouting commands in English to squads of youths learning their left from their right as they drilled in columns of threes. Then they would amble off under the trees, where another old soldier began naming the parts of a 25 year old Lee-Enfield rifle.

### **‘ We've Got A Lot To Kill’**

But at the market town of Jhenida we met Captain Mahbubuddin -a 26 year old former assistant superintendent of police. He was tall for a Bengali and looked a bit of a playboy with the lanyard of his police revolver threaded through the collar of a buttoned- down shirt. He is officially credited with starting resistance in his area. As soon as he heard of the Army's attack in Dacca, he opened his armory and handed out the rifles.

He had a nice style, flopping his feet up into a leather-backed armchair in the local government offices where he had set up his headquarters and saying: "Those bastard Punjabis and those bastard Biharis-we've got a lot to kill." I asked him where he learnt his excellent English and he came out with some familiar Maoist phrases about his country being exploited for 200 years, a legacy of the imperialistic yoke.

His men were armed with anything from 12-bore shotguns to AK assault rifles, with which the East Bengal Regiment had been reequipped. They had dug L-shaped slit trenches against air attack and stood out as being a thoughtful, well organised bunch.

For the first 90 miles of the trip-up to the Ganges fishing village of Goalundo- wooden bridges had been burnt down, roads blocked with freshly felled trees, and wide anti-tank ditches dug deep into the tarmac highways. At times we had to detour for miles across dry paddy fields-an operation the Army will not be able to repeat in June when the monsoon starts in earnest.

We saw our first sign of Pakistan Army air activity as we crossed the Ganges from Goalundo to Bilashpur in a packed old motor launch steered by a white-bearded captain who sat cross-legged on a bench behind the wheel. When we were in midstream, an Army helicopter-it looked like a Westerland Wesscx-came quite close and we joined the captain in the wheelhouse.

Coming back, a five-hour journey in a canoe, we stayed under the curved bamboo shelter all the time. When we reached Faridpur, we heard that Goaiundo had been bombed. We went straight there and found that it had. in fact, been straffed with cannon and rocket fire. The villagers showed us bits of aluminum from the rockets. The attack had taken place at about two in the afternoon on Easter Sunday. Four people were killed and eight wounded.

Like the crops in this place overnight the huts looked as if they had been dead for three months: sagging roofs and ashes and an occasional cheap moulded rubber sandal of the kind most Bengali peasants wear when they're not barefoot. There were flies, everywhere, because some of the villagers had received direct hits from the cannon shells and bits of them were still in the ground.

A Mukti Foj mail brought out a grey-faced youth with a blanket round his shoulders and lifted his shirt to show a small hole in his side where a piece of shrapnel had penetrated. He also had a bandage around a head wound. We put him in the back of a pick-up truck loaned to us by the Faridpur branch of the Awami League and took him to the hospital at Rajbari, where the nursing sisters in their white caps and habits looked surprised to see us. On the way we picked up half a dozen unarmed East Pakistan policemen and suddenly realized what a tempting target that blob of khaki at the back might make for an aircraft.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪৯। পাকিস্তান : কথা বলার সময় এসেছে	সানডে টাইমস	১৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE SUNDAY TIMES, APRIL 18, 1971*  
**PAKISTAN: A TIME TO SPEAK OUT**

In the last two issues of The Sunday Times, we have published graphic dispatches from our special correspondent in East Pakistan. These have borne out, and added to, the mass of evidence from other sources, all of it suggesting that a terrible, communal bloodbath has been the result of the West Pakistan decision to quell with bullets the democratically expressed wish of East Pakistan Bengalis for a wide measure of autonomy. On the opposite page, the same correspondent, after visiting West Pakistan, describes the influences and ideas at work there. What emerges, with a force that leaves no room for doubt, is that an appalling error has led to an appalling tragedy. The Indian sub-continent has, unhappily, been witness before now to mass killings by one race of another. But there is no modern precedent in the sub-continent, or elsewhere, for what can only be regarded as the deliberate intention on the part of the central Pakistani Government to wipe out, by killing, as many as possible of the adherents, present and future, of Bengali nationalism.

General Yahya Khan, to do him justice, had a very difficult situation on his hands. It was due to his own, laudable, desire to see democracy restored in Pakistan that general elections took place last autumn, from which Sheikh Mujib and his East Pakistani Awami League emerged triumphant. Faced subsequently with the swelling tide of Bengali separatism, Yahya Khan's duty, as Head of State, was clearly to seek to preserve the unity of the State. But Mujib, in the negotiations which preceded the final break, had never proposed secession whatever his more fiery followers were shouting.

Nor was it ever conceivable, the whatever present successes of West Pakistani forces, that a display of military strength could snuff out (and keep snuffed out) years of Bengali grievance and longing for a new deal. The one certain result of Yahya Khan's fateful decision-other than bloodshed is that the way has now been opened, in East Pakistan, to Maoists. Naxalites and other fishers in troubled waters besides whom Mujib stands out as the epitome of reasonableness.

A deplorable cloud of complacency now seems to be hanging over Islamabad. It is the duty of other governments, the British Government included, to help to dispel it. To say that the East Pakistani drama is an internal affair." as Sir Alec Douglas Home has done, is not enough. Internal affairs can become, as this one has, crimes against justice and humanity. Besides, with India, China, and Russia all with an iron in the fire it is ludicrous to pretend that East Pakistan is a little local difficulty.

The time has come, it is indeed overdue, for the British Government publicly to express its disgust, in far stronger terms than it has yet done, at the course of events in East Pakistan. Using the more traditional, and private, diplomatic channel, it needs to let

Yahya Khan know (if it has not already done so) just how dangerous and mistaken his policies are. If necessary the possibility of concerted action among the suppliers of foreign aid to Pakistan should be considered-even if it is rough justice to make the people of West Pakistan suffer for the follies of their own non-elected military rulers. In the end, some sort of discussion between the central Government in West Pakistan and the popular representatives in East Pakistan is going to have to take place. The sooner General Yahya realizes this, and sends Mujib back to Dacca so that there shall be someone responsible to talk to, the better.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫০। বিশ্বের সাম্প্রতিকতম শরণার্থী	গার্ডিয়ান	৭ মে, ১৯৭১

*THE GUARDIAN, LONDON, MAY 7, 1971*  
**THE WORLD'S LATEST REFUGEES**

The effects of President Yahya Khan's rough military action in East Pakistan are far from over. His army has caused the deaths of many\* of his countrymen, and its operation has made refugees of thousands more. The lives of further thousands are threatened by starvation and lack of shelter. According to Indian sources more than one million people have fled from East Pakistan, taking their economic and social problems with them. Many of these are without doubt the militants of Bangladesh seeking political refuge from the army. But the majority are innocent people seeking shelter in the hope that can go back and continue life as before. India, in addition to the misery of being refugees, they have become involved in the political snarling between India and Pakistan. The world must move fast to counter economic chaos, and to provide food and shelter before the monsoon sets in.

The refugees in India are those most assessable to relief. It makes nonsense that India, with its own refugee and population problems and a frail economy, should have to cope alone with this additional burden. Even if many of those displaced are waiting only for some sort of calm before returning to their villages across the border there is a need for urgent international action to help the Indian Government bear the strain.

The bulk of needy are still where they have always been-in East Pakistan. Those living in the delta, for example, have no border handy that they can cross. They have probably had difficulty in receiving the aid which the Pakistani Government promised them after last November's cyclone disaster to make good lost harvests. Their plight emphasizes the problems of others scattered throughout an area whose economic resources-inadequate at the best of times-have been further dislocated by war. If it is hard to get food distributed now it will be that much harder when the rains start in a month. International action must offset the vicious damage, done and prevent it getting any worse. It must provide East Pakistan's luckless citizen with food and shelter.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫১। শত্রু বিবেক	গার্ডিয়ান	১৩ মে, ১৯৭১

*THE GUARDIAN. LONDON, MAY 13, 1971*

### Editorial

### THE SILENT CONSCIENCE

Tomorrow, framing in the wake of events. Parliament finally gets round to Bangladesh. No one should expect too much by way of enlightenment or action. Time has begun insidiously to silt the issues of Bengali freedom. Too many Indian alarms and diversions, too many damp little statements from Sir Alec Douglas-Home, too many angles for big power play have emerged since that first weekend, seven weeks ago. When West Pakistan's Army started bathing Dacca University in blood. Tomorrow's debaters want HMG to move quickly for peace: but peace has already broken out. at the end of 70,000 bayonets. By most normal diplomatic standards, the moment for vigorous lobbying and moral intervention-the moment when battle was still joined-is past. Nobody (bar the Chinese and Albanians) cares for the generals of Islamabad: but nobody in government can afford to be too cavalier about a ruthless regime with a pivotal place in Asian politicking. What does a harassed Foreign Office do? Stay mum. Since public- bravery now loses credit in Rawalpindi without directly helping a soul in Chittagong? Forget about the whole thing and concentrate on aiding the millions of needy? Wander away down the side channels of refugee movements and relief flights?

Several of these options are necessary anyway; but they must be kept in a firm perspective, and they must be related to morality as well as expediency. Parliament can yet ram that message home. Seven weeks ago the elected leader of East Pakistan (and thus, man for man, the elected leader of all Pakistan) was locked in tough negotiations with an unelected soldier President. These negotiations were not going well. Mujib, cocky after election triumph and pushed from behind by an ideological gaggle, was chancing his arm a bit. Yahya, ostensibly, was continuing to talk with the man he had earlier hailed as the next Prime Minister of Pakistan." Mr. Bhutto, from the West and despised in the East, was fouling discussion wherever he could. Then, abruptly, it was over. Troops poured off the boats and commenced a full assault. Mujib was arrested, many of his followers shot on their lawns. After a few weeks of straggling warfare- featuring jet bombers against bows and arrows, among other weaponry-resistance was largely quelled. How many died? Millions, say the Bangla propagandists. Perhaps 15,000 say Yahya's spokesmen. But-crucially-even fifteen thousand corpses is an absurd price to pay for keeping the two distant giants of Pakistan in miserable liaison.

Arguably (and in the Guardian's opinion) the East Bengalis had more to gain than to lose by remaining in some kind of unity with the West. That, on all published evidence, was certainly Mujib's view. He never declared UDI. He invariably plumped for the autonomy his economists recommended to stop acknowledged exploitation: he had a clear mass mandate for his policy. As long as Yahya bargained on these terms he acted honorably; the moment the President stopped bargaining and started shooting he embarked upon criminal folly. He allowed elections. He now stamps on those men and



those ideas the elections produced. One does not need mindless admiration for the Awami League to separate this chain of events, and this central decision, as the future guide to rights and wrongs, the ultimate arbiter of democratic attitudes.

Naturally a myriad of buzzing problems arise to obscure basic truths. Pakistan and India enmesh Bangladesh in the ancient webs of their enmity. Yahya announces openly (and covertly in lobbying with British Government representatives) that Mujib was a traitor about to lead East Bengal, via armed mutiny, into the arms of Mrs. Gandhi. Getting on for two million Bengalis flee to border camps and prepare to starve. Greater starvation and disaster threaten-according to aid officials—if flood relief work is delayed any longer. China muddies the waters. America and other horrified countries, thinking of choking off Pakistan aid, realize that the sufferers from such action will be illiterate peasants not smug generals.

How should a Government which believes in freedom act in these circumstances? It should not hide behind the diplomatic niceties of "internal matters." It should have an open view. It should manifest the requisite nausea when Yahya's emissaries malign Mujib (for when last did an "evil rebel leader" wait quietly at his home for the troops to take him away?). It should press for an early trial. It should mobilize and offer what relief it can (and it did plenty last November). It should simultaneously marshal the Aid for Pakistan consortium and World Bank and State Department to policies which stop aid for arms buying and defense (sixty per cent of the Pakistan budget) and start aid, all aid, for the millions who need it. It should not allow quasi-democratic exercises-like the impending transfer of negligible power to such stooge Eastern politicians as remain to accept it-to wipe clean Yahya's state. Above everything, it should not let time and boredom condone the initial action.

Few pundits today agree on the eventual fate of Bangladesh: whether, through extremism it will become locked in the struggle for an independent Bengal: whether the Awami League is a broken force, an intellectual collection which must now give way to real guerrilla: whether the campaign will take months or years or decades. But no one in tomorrow's debate-and no Government spokesman defending disgruntled inactivity- should pretend that in the long run Yahya and a united Pakistan can survive. Dissolution can, now, be only a matter of time. The process of dissolution will be better, and less bloody, if Mujib can be freed eventually to conduct it (for Mujib has shown himself, almost pathetically, to be a man of peace). Then the refugees will go home. Then the factories will work again, and the rice will be sown. Islamabad is not an impregnable fortress, simply a rocky redoubt of desperate men. They can be toppled, and already they are falling out with Mr. Bhutto and the businessmen who underpin their illusions. What Parliament decides may matter a bit. How many MPs turn up to debate may matter. How Britain reacts through the next six months will certainly have a profound effect on West Pakistani opinion-and it is this West Pakistani opinion which could yet see the sad doings of past two months undone.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫২। অবিশ্বাস্য দুর্ভোগ	টাইমস	১৫ মে, ১৯৭১

*THE TIMES, LONDON, MAY 15, 1971*

# **UNBELIEVABLE MISERY**

*Peter Hazelhurst*

Bongaon, May 14-An overworked medical officer pointed hopelessly towards the never ending stream of refugees from East Bengal who so far have almost doubled the population of the Indian town of Bongaon, 50 miles north-east of Calcutta "What is to become of them when the monsoon rains come?" he said.

"They don't even have straw huts for shelter, and it is doubtful whether we can control a cholera epidemic under these conditions. They are going to die like flies."

It is estimated that during the past few weeks nearly two million refugees have already crossed the border, and at least 200,000 have been settle in Bongaon and the surrounding district. With fixed stares, the emaciated figures plod across the border as they flee from the terrors of civil war, starvation, and poverty to face an even more hopeless and impoverished future in India.

The lucky ones have been given shelter in the huge camps established by the Indian Government and international relief agencies on the outskirts of Bongaon-but schools, public buildings, and communal tents are already overflowing and newcomers have to fend for themselves.

Those with a little money have managed to purchase flimsy grass matting and have constructed pathetic huts in the fast developing squatter camps on the side of the road. But most of the millions of men women, and children who have fled East Bengal belong to the most impoverished nation on earth where a man earns on average about £30 a year, and they have come across the border with nothing but a few rags on their backs.

With hollow cheeks and sunken eyes, they go wearily down the road out of the overcrowded border town towards the south-west, towards Calcutta, where a million people are already elbowing each other for sleeping space on the pavement.

As we Passed the stream of refugees. Mr. Daniel Dolui of St. Paul's College, Calcutta a student volunteer attached to C.A.S.A., said: "Where is it going to end. Twenty thousand new refugees are arriving in the district every day. We had 11 camps in town two days ago. Now there are 22."

The misery and poverty are unbelievable. The Indian Government has done a magnificent job, but it has been taken by surprise and its resources are limited.

We passed a village school converted into shelter for woman and children. There was a queue of thousands outside the communal kitchens. Some will wait for five hours for their deliberation of cooked rice.

A few lucky children get a half cup of milk from church distribution points.

There are no more canvas awnings and many shelters consist of flimsy grass mats thrown across rough bamboo frames but most of the people are living in the open. Those who have found shelter on the stairs and verandahs of Government buildings, and in forgotten ruins, are jealous guardians of their precious few feet of sleeping space. As men and woman join the food queues, the children are left as the stake to the family's quarters.

Among the hundreds of thousands of Bengalis searching for shelter is Kati Chandra Dey, aged 25, a Hindu laborer from Jessore. We found him clutching his youngest child, surrounded by his family of nine on the outskirts of Bongaon. He said that they had spent three days tramping between one camp and another looking for shelter-but there is nothing.

Why did he leave East Pakistan? "When the Army came we knew they would kill the Hindus. They burnt down my house with petrol but we got away." From the stories of other refugees who have fled into West Bengal it is evident that the Army has sought out Hindus and Bengali Muslims as their main victims.

It is equally evident that most of the killings came in the form of reprisals for communal riots last month, when Bengalis systematically massacred the non-Bengali Muslim immigrants (Biharis) in East Pakistan.

"There are no Bihari refugees," a Bengali social worker told me confidently. "Fourteen of them tried to come into West Bengal two days ago, and the Bengalis beat them to death with spars and stones.

The Army has been equally ruthless and most of the refugees have fled after reports of mass murders and killings.

Hasan Ali is a 25-year-old Muslim peasant of Bengali stock from the district of Jessore. He was in the small CASA field hospital, which has been set up in the old Salvation Army headquarters on the outskirts of Bongaon. He says that the West Pakistan soldiers refused to believe that he was a Muslim and shot him down in his paddy field.

He pointed to the gaping hole in the front of his neck and the wound at the back of his shoulder, and explained that miraculously the bullet had passed through his neck without killing him.

"I was working in my field when Pakistan Army troops came up from behind us. There were about 70 troops and they surrounded three of us. They wanted to know whether we were Hindus or Muslims.

"They refused to believe that we were Muslims. They told us to put our hands up and we began to beg them to spare our lives. Then they started to shoot and I fainted."

Binod Behary Shah, a Hindu laborer aged 70, also from Jessore, had a similar story to tell. He held up fingers torn by a bullet as, with palms folded on his chest, he begged West Pakistan soldiers to spare his life. "I was sleeping when two soldiers ordered me out of my house, which is about 20 yards from the main road. At first they wanted to know whether I was a Bengali or a non-Bengali. Then they wanted to know whether I was a Hindu or a Muslim.

When I told them I was a Hindu, they ordered me to kneel and they began to load their guns. I folded my hands on my chest and begged them not to shoot, but they fired. The bullet went through my hands and the top part of my chest, and I fell to the ground and pretended to be dead."

Ahmed Ali, aged 25, is a cultivator from the village of Diara, about 17 miles east of the Indian border. His right leg and left arm were in plaster casts. He said that about two weeks ago troops entered the village and rounded up all the able-bodied young men they could find, marching them to a small village nearby called Mahadevpur, about a mile to the west.

"They asked us whether we were Bengalis or non-Bengalis and told us to lie down on the ground. They surrounded us and started shooting. A bullet hit me in the arm and I lay still. As they left, they bayoneted me in the groin, and crushed and stamped on my legs."

Mr. Ali explained that he and three other villagers escaped with wounds and were eventually carried to the Indian border for treatment.

Narayan Chandra Biswas another patient in the small CASA hospital and tea stall owner from Jessore, was rounded up by the West Pakistan troops and taken to central market place, where dissident Bengali police had executed an unknown number of West Pakistan civilians and non-Bengalis last month.

The Army alleged that the tea stall owner was a policeman and a Hindu. He was made to kneel and the soldiers began to jab him with bayonets. He pointed to wounds all over his stomach and chest and said he fainted, being revived by friends after the soldiers had left him for dead.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫৩। বাংলার পিড়িত জনগণ	টাইমস	১ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE TIMES, LONDON, JUNE 1, 1971*

**Editorial  
BENGAL'S SUFFERING MILLIONS**

For six weeks now (the flow of refugees from East Pakistan into India has gone on relentlessly, into Tripura in the east, into Assam in the north and heaviest of all into west Bengal. Despite the heroic efforts assembled by the Indian Government and by voluntary agencies there is little hope that this gigantic mass of suffering people will find all their needs can be met. The first and most urgent need is food. As this monsoon rains begin any day now shelter will become more urgent. Worst of all in view of the difficulty of coping with it in such surroundings-is disease. As described in our report today cholera has now take to a hold that could be extremely dangerous. Yet another risk is that of communal tension in a city like Calcutta where the social fabric is brittle at best and where a stream of refugees is beginning to flow in.

The refugees, now present a much greater problem than did those who suffered from the cyclone disaster of last autumn. That was a natural disaster and one often experienced on a smaller scale. The help that was needed went to people who were trying to rebuild their own homes and restore their own land, tasks for which their own energy was readily available and fortified by hope. The refugees coming into India are the blindly fearful sufferers of a man-made disaster. Of that there can be no doubt from the many reports sent by our correspondent from several widely separated crossing points round the border.

The evidence of the refugees does not confirm the claim made by the army authorities in East Pakistan that order has been restored and that life is returning to normal. The refugees had too many stories to tell of wantonly punitive action in villages by the Pakistan Army. Exaggerated many of the stories may have been but in the main the fears of the refugees were plainly started by brutal and indiscriminate action.

Aside from the charges and counter-charges exchanged between India and Pakistan about refugees it does seem that the Pakistan Government has not yet acted with the necessary urgency. They have been no signs yet of effective steps towards reconciliation in East Pakistan. After a long period of silence President Yahya Khan made a statement a week ago but then only to promise a further statement two or three weeks later, on how he would fulfill his promise of handing power back to the people in East Pakistan. Meanwhile what is being done to disperse the hatred that it has accumulated? Has all repressive action now ceased? The Pakistan Government has at least now conceded the need for United Nations help in the task of distributing food and medical supplies. On both sides of the border that is now the absolute priority.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫৪। কলেরা 'নিয়ন্ত্রণে বাইরে'	টেলিগ্রাফ	৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE TELEGRAPH, JUNE 5, 1971*  
**CHOLERA 'OUT OF CONTROL'**  
 By fan Ward in Calcutta

The cholera epidemic in West Bengal is "totally out of control," the State's Health Director, Dr. Mira Harilal Saha, said yesterday.

Repealing urgent requests for international aid he said: "We need anti-cholera vaccine, rapid injection machines, antibiotics, powdered milk, in fact, anything and everything that people can give in any quantity."

Dr. Saha said ten to twelve thousand cases of cholera had been reported along an 800-mile stretch of the East Pakistan frontier.

About 2,550 East Pakistan refugees had died from the disease which has yet to claim a victim among the local people, who have been vaccinated, on the Indian side of the border.

Dr. Saha's plea came as independent relief agencies in Calcutta reported that the flood of evacuees from East Pakistan had swollen the refugee population inside the Indian border by a million in the past week.

The total in the states of Tripura, Assam, Meghalaya and West Bengal is now believed to be nearly five million.

Dr. Saha said the cholera affected frontier stretched from Dinajpur in the north, down through Malda, Murshidabad, and Nadia through to a point on the border opposite Calcutta.

While the problems arising when homeless people flood in to a pitifully poor countryside are immense, wild distortions occur as political interests manipulate statistics to serve their own ends.

Adding to the confusion is a general breakdown in the flow of information from outlying areas.

West Bengal health officials maintain that cholera is "rampant" and "totally out of control." Death estimates range from 5(X) to 5,000, depending on the informant.

Yet the chief medical officer in Nadia, recognized as the hardest hit area, with some 6,000 confirmed cases, refers to the epidemic as "precarious, but certainly not out of control."

The officer, Dr. S. Chakravarty, said yesterday, "It is impossible to tell whether cholera or similar diseases like gastro-enteritis are causing the highest mortality rate."

The extent of the epidemic could not be judged accurately because of the lack of laboratory facilities. The bulk of the victims, he said, were women and children.

Dr. Chakravarty said his department was short of vaccines, drips, saline, glucose and antibiotics. Nursing staff were also needed.

Local Indians, he said were becoming agitated over the possibility of contamination by the refugees.

Bodies of victims had been left on road sides leading from the border and some had been thrown into the local Jalangi river, threatening serious pollution. Guards had been stationed on the river bank to prevent people using the water.

The refugee crisis is shaping up as a major issue between the Central Government in New Delhi and the five separate State authorities that have suddenly had millions of homeless peasants thrust upon lands within their jurisdiction.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫৫। গণহত্যা	সানডে টাইমস	১৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE SUNDAY TIMES, JUNE 13, 1971*

## GENOCIDE

By Anthony Mascarenhas

**[A Sunday Times reporter conies out of Pakistan with the horrifying story of why five million have lied.]**

West Pakistan's Army has been systematically massacring thousands of civilians in East Pakistan since the end of March. This is the horrifying reality behind the news blackout imposed by President Yahya Khan's government since the end of March. This is the reason why more than five million refugees have streamed out of East Pakistan into India, risking cholera and famine.

The curtain of silence is broken today for the first time by Anthony Mascarenhas, the Sunday Times correspondent in Pakistan. He has seen what the Pakistan army has been doing. He has left Pakistan to tell the world.

The army has not merely been killing supporters of the idea of Bangladesh, an independent East Bengal. It has deliberately been massacring others. Hindus and Bengali Muslims. Hindus have been shot and beaten to death with elubs simply because they are Hindus. Villages have been burned.

Sporadic and unconfirmed reports of atrocities by the Pakistan army have been reaching the outside world for some time, notably from refugees, missionaries and diplomats. The report by Anthony Mascarenhas is a detailed eye-witness account of unique precision and authority. He supplies the missing centre-piece of the tragedy of Bengal: why the refugees have fled.

There is a remarkable story behind Anthony Mascarenhas's report.

When, at the end of March, the Pakistan army flew two divisions into East Pakistan to "sort out" the Bengali rebels, it moved in secret. But about two weeks later the Pakistan government invited eight Pakistani journalists to fly to East Bengal. The idea-as government officials left the journalists in no doubt-was to give the people of West Pakistan a reassuring picture of the "return to normalcy" in the eastern half of the country. Seven of the journalists have done as they were intended. But one was Mascarenhas, who is assistant editor of the Morning News in Karachi, and was also The Sunday Times Pakistan correspondent.

On Tuesday, May 18, he arrived, unexpectedly, in The Sunday Times office in London. There was, he told us, a story he wanted to write: the true story of what had happened in East Bengal to drive five million people to flight.



He made it plain that he understood that if he wrote his story there could be no going back to Karachi for him. He said he had made up his mind to leave Pakistan: to give up his house, most of his possessions and his job as one of the most respected journalists in the country. There was only one condition we must not publish his story until he had gone back into Pakistan and brought out his wife and five children.

The Sunday Times agreed, and Mascarenhas went back to Karachi. After a wait of ten days an overseas cable arrived at the private address of a Sunday Times executive.

"Export formalities completed," it read, "Shipment begins Monday."

Mascarenhas had succeeded in getting permission for his wife and family to leave the country. He himself had been forbidden to leave. He found a way of leaving anyway.

On the last leg of his journey inside Pakistan, he found himself silting in a plane across the aisle from a senior Ministry of Information official whom he knew well. A phone call from the airport could have led to his arrest.

There was no phone call, however, and last Tuesday he arrived back in London.

Mascarenhas writes about what he saw in East Pakistan with special authority and objectivity. As a Goan Christian by descent, he is neither a Hindu nor a Muslim. Having lived most of his life in what is now Pakistan, having held a Pakistani passport since the State was created in 1947, and having enjoyed the confidence of many of the leaders of Pakistan since that time, he wrote his report with real personal regret.

"We were told by the Ministry of Information officials to show in a patriotic way the great job the army was doing," he told us.

There was no question of his reporting what he saw for his own paper. He was allowed to file a story, which was published in The Sunday Times on May 2, which reported only the events of March 25/26, when the Bengali troops mutinied and atrocities were committed against non-Bengalis.

Even references to the danger of famine were deleted by the censor. That increased his crisis of conscience.

After some days' hesitation, he decided, in his own words, that "either I would write the full story of what I had seen, or I would have to stop writing; I would never again be able to write with any integrity." And so he got on a plane and came to London.

We have been able to check his story in great detail with other refugees in a position to have had a wide knowledge of events in East Bengal as a whole, and with objective diplomatic sources.

### **GENOCIDE: FULL REPORT**

Abdul Bari had run out of luck. Like thousands of other people in East Bengal, he had made the mistake-the fatal mistake-of running within sight of a Pakistani army patrol.

He was 24 years old, a slight man surrounded by soldiers. He was trembling, because he was about to be shot.

"Normally we would have killed him as he ran," I was informed chattily by Major Rathore, the G-2 Ops. of the 9th Division, as we stood on the outskirts of a tiny village near Mudafarganj, about 20 miles south of Comilla. "But we are checking him out for your sake. You are new here and I see you have a squeamish stomach."

"Why kill him?" I asked with mounting concern.

"Because he might be a Hindu or he might be a rebel, perhaps a student or an Awami Leaguer. They know we are sorting them out and they betray themselves by running."

"But why are you killing them? And why pick on the Hindus?" I persisted.

"Must I remind you". Rathore said severely, "how they have tried to destroy Pakistan? Now under the cover of the fighting we have an excellent opportunity of finishing them off."

"Of course," he added hastily, "We are only killing the Hindu men. We are soldiers, not cowards like the rebels. They kill our women and children."

I was getting my first glimpse of the stain of blood which has spread over the otherwise verdant land of East Bengal. First it was the massacre of the non-Bengalis in a savage outburst of Bengali hatred. Now it was massacre, deliberately carried out by the West Pakistan army.

The pogrom's victims are not only the Hindus of East Bengal—who constitute about 10 per cent of the 75 million populations—but also many thousands of Bengali Muslims. These include university and college students, teachers, Awami League and Left-Wing political cadres and every one the army can catch of the 176,000 Bengali military men and police who mutinied on March 26 in a spectacular, though untimely and ill –started bid to create in an independent Republic of Bangladesh.

What I saw and heard with unbelieving eyes and ears during my 10 days in East Bengal in late April made, it terribly clear that the killings are not the isolated acts of military commanders in the field.

The West Pakistani soldiers are not the only ones who have been killing in East Bengal, of course. On the night of March 25 and this I was allowed to report by the Pakistani censor—the Bengali troops and paramilitary units stationed in East Pakistan mutinied and attacked non-Bengalis with atrocious savagery.

Thousands of families of unfortunate Muslims, many of them refugees from Bihar who chose Pakistan at the time of the partition riots in 1947, were mercilessly wiped out. Women were raped, or had their breasts torn out with specially-fashioned knives. Children did not escape the horror: the lucky ones were killed with their parents; but many thousands of others must go through what life remains for them with eyes gouged out and limbs roughly amputated. More than 20,000 bodies of non-Bengalis have been found in the main towns, such as Chittagong, Khulna and Jessore. The real toll, I was told everywhere in East Bengal, may have been as high as 100,000; for thousands of non- Bengalis have vanished without a trace.

The government of Pakistan has let the world know about that first horror. What it has suppressed is the second and worse horror which followed when its own army took over the killing. West Pakistani officials privately calculate that altogether both sides have killed 250,000 people- not counting those who have died of famine and disease.

Reacting to the almost successful breakaway of the province, which has more than half the country's population. General Yahya Khan's military government is pushing through its own "final solution" of the East Bengal problem.

"We are determined to cleanse East Pakistan once and for all of the threat of secession, even if it means killing off two million people and ruling the province as a colony for 30 years," I was repeatedly told by senior military and civil officers in Dacca and Comilla.

The West Pakistan army in East Bengal is doing exactly that with a terrifying thoroughness.

We had been racing against the setting sun after a visit to Chandpur (the West Pakistan army prudently stays indoors at night in East Bengal) when one of the jawans (privates) crouched in the back of the Toyota Land Cruiser called out sharply: "There's a man running Sahib"

Major Rathore brought the vehicle to an abrupt halt, simultaneously reaching for the Chinese made light machine-gun propped against the door. Less than 200 yards away a man could be seen loping through the knee high paddy.

"For God's sake don't shoot," I cried. "He's unarmed. He's only a villager".

Rathore gave me a dirty look and fired a warning burst.

As the man sank to a crouch in the lush carpet of green, two jawans were already on their way to drag him in.

The thud of a rifle butt across the shoulders preceded the questioning.

"Who are you?"

"Mercy, Sahib! My name is Abdul Bari. I'm a tailor from the New Market in Dacca".

"Don't lie to me. You're a Hindu. Why were you running?" "It's almost curfew time. Sahib, and I was going to my village."

"Tell me the truth, why were you running?"

Before the man could answer he was quickly frisked for weapons by a jawan while another quickly snatched away his lungi. The skinny body that was bared revealed the distinctive traces of circumcision, which is obligatory for Muslims.

### **The truckloads of human targets**

At least it could be plainly seen that Bari was not a Hindu

The interrogation proceeded.

"Tell me. why were you running?"

By this time Bari, wild-eyed and trembling violently, could not answer.

He buckled at the knees.

"He looks like a fauji, sir," volunteered one Jawan as Bari was hauled to his feet. (Fauji is the Urdu word for soldiers, the army uses it for the Bengali rebels it is hounding.)

"Could be," I heard Rathore mutter grimly.

Abdul Bari was clouted several times with the butt end of a rifle, then ominously pushed against a wall. Mercifully his screams brought a young head peeping from the shadows of a nearby hut. Bari shouted something in Bengali. The head vanished. Moments later a bearded old man came haltingly from the hut. Rathore pounced on him.

"Do you know this man?"

"Yes, Sahib. He is Abdul Bari."

"Is he a fauji?"

"No, Sahib, he is a tailor from Dacca."

"Tell me the truth."

"Khuda Kassain (God's oath), Sahib, he is a tailor."

There was a sudden silence. Rathore looked abashed as I told him "For God's sake let him go. What more proof do you want of his innocence?"

But the jawans were apparently unconvinced and kept milling around Bari. It was only after I had once more interceded on his behalf that Rathore ordered Bari to be released. By that time he was a crumpled, speechless heap of terror. But his life had been saved.

Others have not been as fortunate.

For six days as I travelled with the officers of the 9th Division headquarters at Comilla I witnessed at close quarters the extent of the killing. I saw Hindus, hunted from village to village and door to door, shot offhand after a cursory "short-arm inspection" showed they were uncircumcised. I have heard the screams of men bludgeoned to death in the compound of Circuit House (civil administrative headquarters) in Comilla. I have seen truckloads of other human targets and those who had the humanity to try to help them hauled off "for disposal" under the cover of darkness and curfew. I have witnessed the brutality of "kill and burn missions" as the army units, after clearing out the rebels, pursued the pogrom in the towns and the villages.

I have seen whole villages devastated by "punitive action."

And in the officers' mess at night I have listened incredulously as otherwise brave and honorable men proudly chewed over the day's kill.

"How many did you get?"

The answers are seared in my memory.

All this is being done, as any West Pakistani officer will tell you, for the "preservation of the unity, the integrity and the ideology of Pakistan." It is, of course, too late for that. The very military action that is designed to hold together the two wings of the country, separated by a thousand miles of India, has confirmed the ideological and emotional break. East Bengal can only be kept in Pakistan by the heavy hand of the army. And the army is dominated by the Punjabis, who traditionally despise and dislike the Bengalis.

The break is so complete today that few Bengalis will willingly be seen in the company of a West Pakistani. I have a distressing experience of this kind during my visit to Dacca when I went to visit an old friend. "I'm sorry," he told me as he turned away, "things have changed. The Pakistan that you and I knew has ceased to exist. Let us put it behind us."

Hours later a Punjabi army officer, talking about the massacre of the non-Bengalis before the army moved in, told me: "They have treated us more brutally than the Sikhs did in the partition riots in 1947. How can we ever forgive or forget this?"

The bone-crushing military operation has two distinctive features. One is what the authorities like to call "cleansing process": a euphemism for massacre. The other is the "rehabilitation effort." This is a way of describing the moves to turn East Bengal into a docile colony of West Pakistan. These commonly used expressions and the repeated official references to "miscreants" and "infiltrators" are part of the charade which is being enacted for the benefit of the world. Strip away the propaganda, and the reality is colonization-and killing.

The justification for the annihilation of the Hindus was paraphrased by Lt.-Gen. Tikka Khan, the military governor of East Pakistan, in a radio broadcast I heard on April 18. He said: "The Muslims of East Pakistan, who had played a leading part in the creation of Pakistan, are determined to keep it alive. However, the voice of the vast majority had been suppressed through coercion, threats to life and property by a vocal, violent and aggressive minority, which forced the Awami League to adopt the destructive course."

Others, speaking privately, were blunter in seeking justification.

"The Hindus had completely undermined the Muslim masses with their money," Col. Nairn, of 9th Division headquarters, told me in the officer's mess at Comilla. They bled the province white. Money, food and produce flowed across the borders to India. In some cases they made up more than half the teaching staff in the colleges and schools and sent their own children to be educated in Calcutta. It had reached the point where Bengali culture was in fact Hindu culture and East Pakistan was virtually under the control of the Marwari businessmen in Calcutta. We have to sort them out to restore the land of the people and the people to their Faith."

Or take Major Bashir. He came up from the ranks. He is SSO of the 9th Division at Comilla and he boasts of a personal body count of 28. He had his own reasons for what

has happened. This is a war between the pure and the impure, he informed me over a cup of green tea. "The people here may have Muslim names and call themselves Muslims. But they are Hindus at heart. You won't believe that the maulvi (mulla) of the Cantonment mosque here issued a fatwa (edict) during Friday prayers that the people would attain jannat (paradise) if they killed West Pakistanis. We sorted the bastard out and we are now sorting out the others. Those who are left will be real Muslims. We will even teach them Urdu."

Everywhere I found officers and men fashioning imaginative garments of justification from the fabric of their own prejudices. Scapegoats had to be found to legitimize, ever, for their own consciences, the dreadful "solution" to what in essence was a political problem: the Bengalis won the election and wanted to rule. The Punjabis whose ambitions and interests have dominated government policies since the founding of Pakistan in 1947, would brook no erosion of their power. The army backed them up.

Officials privately justify what has been done as retaliation for the massacre of non- Bengalis before the army moved in. But events suggest that the pogrom was not the result of a spontaneous or undisciplined reaction. It was planned.

It seems clear that the "sorting out" began to be planned about the time that Lt.-Gen. Thikka Khan took over the governorship of East Bengal, from the gentle, self-effacing, Admiral Ahsan, and the military command there, from the scholarly Lt-Gen. Sahibzada Khan. That was at the beginning of March, when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's civil disobedience movement was gathering momentum after the postponement of the assembly meeting from which the Bengalis hoped for so much. President Yahya Khan, it is said, acquiesced in the tide of resentment caused in the top echelons of the military establishment by the increasing humiliation of the West Pakistani troops stationed in East Bengal. The Punjabi Eastern Command at Dacca continues to dominate the policies of the Central Government. (It is perhaps worth pointing out that the Khans are not related: Khan is a common surname in Pakistan.)

When the army units fanned out in Dacca on the evening of March 25, in pre-emptive strikes against the mutiny planned for the small hours of the next morning, many of them carried lists of people to be liquidated. These included the Hindus and large numbers of Muslims; students, Awami Leaguers, professors, journalists and those who had been prominent in Sheikh Mujib's movement. The charge, now publicly made, that the army was subjected to mortar attack from the Jagannath Hall, where the Hindu University students lived, hardly justifies the obliteration of two Hindu colonics, built around the temples on Ramna racecourse, and a third in Shankharipatti, in the heart of the old city. Nor does it explain why the sizeable Hindu populations of Dacca and the neighboring industrial town of Narayanganj should have vanished so completely during the round-the- clock curfew on March 26 and 27. There is similarly no trace of scores of Muslims who were rounded up during the curfew hours. These people were eliminated in a planned operation: an improvised response to Hindu aggression would have had vastly different results.

### **A pencil flick, a man 'disposed'**

Touring Dacca on April 15 I found the heads of four students lying rotting on the roof of the Iqbal Hall hostel. The caretaker said they had been killed on the night of March 25. I also found heavy traces of blood on the two staircases and in four of the rooms. Behind Iqbal Hall a large residential building seemed to have been singled out for special attention by the army. The walls were pitted with bullet holes and a foul smell still lingered on the staircase, although it had been heavily powdered with DDT. Neighbors said the bodies of 23 women and children had been carted away only hours before. They had been decomposing on the roof since March 25. It was only after much questioning that I was able to ascertain that the victims belonged to the near-by Hindu shanties. They had sought shelter in the building as the army closed in.

This is Genocide conducted with amazing casualness. Sitting in the office of Major Agha, Martial Law Administrator of Comilla City, on the morning of April 19, I saw the offhand manner in which sentences were meted out. A Bihari sub-inspector of police had walked in with a list of prisoners being held in the police lock-up. Agha looked it over. Then, with a flick of his pencil, he casually ticked off four names on the list.

"Bring these four to me this evening for disposal," he said. He look at the list again. The pencil flicked once more. ".. and bring this thief along with them."

The death sentence had been pronounced over a glass of coconut milk. I was informed that two of the prisoners were Hindus, the third a 'student,' and the fourth an Awami league organizer. The "thief," it transpired, was a lad named Sebastian who had been caught moving the household effects of a Hindu friend to his own house.

Later that evening I saw these men, their hands and legs tied loosely with a single rope, being led down the road to the Circuit House compound. A little after curfew, which was at 6 o'clock, a flock of squawking mynah birds were disturbed in their play by the thwacking sound of wooden clubs meeting bone and flesh.

Captain Azmat of the Baluch Regiment had two claims to fame according to the mess banter. One was his job as ADC to Major-Gen. Shaukat Raza, commanding officer of the 9th Division. The other was thrust on him by his colleagues' ragging.

Azmat, it transpired, was the only officer in the group who had not made a "kill." Major Bashir needled him mercilessly.

"Come on Azmat," Bashir told him one night, "we are going to make a man of you. Tomorrow we will see how you can make them run. It's so easy."

To underscore the point Bashir went into one of his long spiels. Apart from his duties as SSO, Bashir was also "education officer" at Headquarters. He was the only Punjabi officer I found who could speak Bengali fluently. By general agreement Bashir was also a self taught bore who gloried in the sound of his own voice.

A dhari walla (bearded man), we were told, had come to see Bashir that morning to inquire about his brother, a prominent Awami League organizer of Comilla who

had been netted by the army some days earlier. Dhor gaya, Bashir said he told him: "he has run

away." The old man couldn't comprehend how his brother could have escaped on a broken leg. Neither could I. So Major Bashir, with a broad wink, enlightened me.

The record would show *Dhor gaya*: "shot while escaping."

I Never did find out whether Captain Azmat got his kill. The rebel Bengali forces who had dug in at Feni, seventy miles north of Chittagong on the highway to Camilla, had tied down the 9th Division by destroying all the bridges and culverts in the area. General Raza was getting hell from Eastern Command at Dacca which was anxious to have the south-eastern border sealed against escaping rebels. It was also desperately urgent to open this only land route to the north to much-needed supplies that had been piling up in the port at Chittagong.

So General Raza was understandably waspish. He flew over the area almost daily. He also spent hours haranguing the bridge that was bogged down at Feni. Captain Azmat, as usual, was the General's shadow. I did not see him again. But if experience is any pointer, Azmat, probably had to sweat out his "kill"-and the ragging-for another three weeks. It was only on May 8 that the 9th Division was able to clear Feni and the surrounding area. By then the Bengali rebels, forced out by relentless bombing and artillery barrages, had escaped with their weapons across the neighboring border into India.

The escape of such large numbers of armed, hard-core regulars among the Bengali rebels was a matter of grave concern to Lt.-Gen. Aslam Baig, G-lt 9th Division headquarters. "The Indians," he explained will obviously not allow them to settle there. It would be too dangerous. So they will be allowed in on sufferance as long as they keep making sorties across the border. Unless we can kill them off, we are going to have serious trouble for a long time."

Lt.-Col. Baig was a popular artillery officer who had done a stint in China after the India-Pakistan war when units of the Pakistan army were converting to Chinese equipment. He was said to be a proud family man. He also loved flowers. He told me with unconcealed pride that during a previous posting at Comilla he had brought from China the giant scarlet water lilies that adorn the pond opposite headquarters. Major Bashir adored him. Extolling one officer's decisiveness, Bashir told me that once they had caught a rebel officer; there was a big fuss about what should be done with him. "While the others were telephoning all over for instructions," he said, "he solved the problem. Dliorgaya. Only the man's foot was left sticking out of the ditch."

It is hard to imagine so much brutality in the midst of so much beauty. Comilla was blooming when I went there towards the end of April. The rich green carpet of rice paddies spreading to the horizon on both sides of the road was broken here and there by bright splashes of red. That was the *Go/ Mohor*, aptly dubbed the "Flame of the Forest," coming to full bloom. Mango and coconut trees in the villages dotting the countryside were heavy with fruit. Even the terrier-sized goat's skip ping across the road gave evidence of the abundance of nature in Bengal. "The only way you can tell the male from the female", they told me, "is that all the she-goats are pregnant."



### **Fire and murder their vengeance**

In one of the most crowded areas of the entire world-Comilla district has a population density of 1,900 to the square mile-only man was nowhere to be seen.

"Where are the Bengalis?" I had asked my escorts in the strangely empty streets of Dacca a few days earlier. "They have gone to the villages," was the stock reply. Now, in the countryside, there still no Bengalis. Comilla town, like Dacca, was heavily shuttered. And in ten miles on the road to Laksham, past silent villages, the peasants I saw could have been counted on the fingers of both hands.

There were, of course, soldiers-hundreds of unsmiling men in khaki each with an automatic rifle. According to orders, the rifles never left their hands. The roads are constantly patrolled by tough, trigger-happy men. Wherever the army is, you won't find Bengalis.

Martial law orders constantly repeated on the radio and in the Press proclaim the death penalty for anyone caught in the act of sabotage. If a road is obstructed or a bridge damaged or destroyed, all houses within 100 yards of the spot are liable to be demolished and their inhabitants rounded up.

The practice is even more terrible than anything the words could suggest. "Punitive action" is something that the Bengalis have come to dread.

We saw what this meant when we were approaching Hajiganj, which straddles the road to Chandpur, on the morning of April 17. A few miles before Hajiganj, a 15-foot bridge had been damaged the previous night by rebels who were still active in the area. According to Major Rathore (G-2 Ops.) an army unit had immediately been sent out to take punitive action. Long spirals of smoke could be seen on all sides up to a distance of H quarter of a mile from the damaged bridge. And as we carefully drove over a bed of wooden boards,' with which it had been hastily repaired, we could see house in the village on the right beginning to catch fire.

At the back of the village somp jawans were spreading the flames with dried coconut fronds. They make excellent kindling and are normally used for cooking. We could also see a body sprawled between the coconut trees at the entrance to the village. On the other side of the road another village in the rice paddies showed evidence of the fire that had gutted more than a dozen bamboo arid mat huts. Hundreds of villagers had escaped before the army came. Others, like the man among the coconut trees, were slow to get away.

As we drove on. Major Rathore said. "They brought it on themselves." I said it was surely too terrible a vengeance on innocent people for the acts of a handful of rebels. He did not answer.

A few hours later when we were again passing through Hajiganj on the way back from Chandpur, I had my first exposure to the savagery of a "kill and burn mission."

We were still caught up in the aftermath of a tropical storm which had bit the area that afternoon. A heavy overcast made ghostly shadows on the mosque towering above

the town. Light drizzle was beginning to wet the uniforms of Captain Azhar and the four jawans riding in the exposed escort jeep behind us.

We turned a corner and found a convoy of trucks parked outside the mosque. I counted seven, all filled with jawans in battledress. At the head of the column was a jeep. Across the road two men, supervised by a third, were trying to batter down the door of one of more than a hundred shuttered shops lining the road. The studded teak wood door was beginning to give under the combined assault of two axes as Major Rathore brought the Toyota to a halt.

"What the hell are you doing?"

The tallest of the trio, who was supervising the break in, turned and peered at us. "Moia," (Fatty) he shouted, "what the hell do you think we are doing?"

Recognising the voice, Rathore grew a water-melon smile. It was, he informed me, his old friend "Ifty"-Major Iftikhar of the 12th Frontier Force Rifles.

Rathore: "I thought someone was looting"

Iftikhar: "Looting? No. We are on kill and burn."

Waving his hand to take in the shops, he said he was going to destroy the lot.

Rathore: "How many did you get?"

Iftikhar smiled bashfully.

Rathore: "Come on. How many did you get?"

Iftikhar: "Only twelve. And by God we were lucky to get them. We would have lost those, too, if I hadn't sent my men from the back."

Prodded by Major Rathore, Iftikhar then went on to describe vividly how after much searching in Hajiganj he had discovered twelve Hindus hiding in a house on the outskirts of the town. These had been "disposed of." Now Major Iftikhar was on the second part of his mission: burn.

In front of the shop a small display cabinet was crammed with patent medicines, cough syrups, some bottles of mango squash, imitation jewellery, reels of coloured thread and packets of knicker elastic. Iftikhar kicked it over, smashing the light woodwork into kindling. Next he readied out for some jute shopping bags on one shelf. He took some plastic toys from another. A bundle of handkerchiefs and a small bolt of red cloth joined the pile on the floor. Iftikhar heaped them all together and borrowed a box from one of the jawans sitting in our Toyota. The jawan had ideas of his own. Jumping from the vehicle he ran to the shop and tried to pull down one of the umbrellas hanging from the low ceiling of shop. Iftikhar ordered him out.

Looting, he was sharply reminded, was against orders.

Iftikhar soon had a fire going. He threw burning jute bags into one corner of the shop; the bolt of cloth into another. The shop began to blaze. Within minutes we could hear the

crackle of flames behind shuttered doors as the fire spread to the shop on the left, then on to the next one.

At this point Rathore was beginning to get anxious about the gathering darkness. So we drove on.

When I chanced to meet Major Iftikhar the next day he ruefully told me, I burnt only sixty houses "If it hadn't rained I would have got the whole bloody lot."

Approaching a village a few miles from Mudafarganj we were forced to a halt by what appeared to be a man crouching against a mud wall. One of the jawans warned it might be fauji sniper. But after careful scouting it turned out to be a lovely young Hindu girl. She sat there with the placidity of her people, waiting for God knows who. One of the jawans had been ten years with the East Pakistan Rifles and could speak bazaar Bengali. He was told to order her into the village. She mumbled something in reply, but stayed where she was, but was ordered a second time. She was still sitting there as we drove away. "She has," I was informed, "nowhere to go-no family, no home."

Major Iftikhar was one of several officers assigned to kill and burn missions. They moved in after the rebels had been cleared by the army with the freedom to comb out and destroy Hindus and "miscreants" (the official jargon for rebels) and to bum down everything in the areas from which the army had been fired at.

This lanky Puhjabi officer liked to talk about his job. Riding with Iftikhar to the Circuit House in Cbmilla on another occasion he told me about his latest exploit.

"We got an old one," he said. "The bastard had grown a beard and was posing as a devout Muslim. Even called himself Abdul Mannan. But we give him a medical inspection and the game was up."

Iftikhar continued: "I wanted to finish him there and then, but my men told me such a bastard deserved three shots. So I gave him one in the balls, then one in the stomach, then I finished him off with a shot in the head. "

When I left Major Iftikhar he was headed north to Brahmanbaria. His mission: another kill and burn.

Overwhelmed with terror the Bengalis have one of two reactions. Those who can run away just seem to vanish. Whole towns have been abandoned as the army approached. Those who can't run about a cringing servility which only adds humiliation to their plight.

Chandpur was an example of the first.

In the past this key river port on the Meghna was noted for its thriving business houses and gay life. At night thousands of small country boats anchored on the river's edge made it a fairyland of lights. On April 18 Chandpur was deserted. No people, no boats. Barely one per cent of the population had remained. The rest, particularly the Hindus who constituted nearly half the population, had fled.

Weirdly they had left behind thousands of Pakistani flags fluttering from every house, shop and rooftop. The effect was like a national day celebration without the crowds. It only served to emphasize the haunted look.

The Hags were by way of insurance.

Somehow the word had got around that the army considered any structure without a Pakistani flag to be hostile and consequently to be destroyed. It did not matter how the Pakistani flags were made, so long as they were adorned with crescent and star. So they came in all sizes shapes and colors. Some flaunted blue fields, instead of the regulation green. Obviously they had been hastily put together with the same material that had been used for the blue Bangladesh flag. Indeed blue Pakistani flags 'were more common than the green. The scene in Chandpur was repeated in Hajiganj, Mudafarganj, Kasba, Barhmanbaria; all ghost towns gay, with flags.

A 'parade' and a knowing wink

Laksham was an example of the other reaction: cringing.

When I drove into the town the morning after it had been cleared of the rebels, all I could see was the army and literally thousands of Pakistani flags. The major in charge there had camped in the police station, and it was there that Major Rathore took us my colleague a Pakistani TV Cameraman, to make a propaganda film about the, "return to normalcy" in Laksham-one of the endless series broadcast daily showing welcome parades and "peace meetings."

I wondered how he could manage it, but the Major said it would be no sweat. "There are enough of these bastards left to put on a good show. Give me 20 minutes."

Lieutenant Javed of the 39th Baluch was assigned the task of rounding up a crowd. He called out to an elderly bearded man who had apparently been brought in for questioning. The man, who later gave his name as Moulana Said Mohammad Saidul Huq, insisted he was a "staunch Muslim Leaguer and not from the Awami League." (The Muslim League led the movement for an independent Pakistan in 1947) He was all too eager to, please. "I will very definitely get you at least 60 men in 20 minutes," he told Javed, "But if you give me two hours I will bring 200."

Moulana Saidul Huq was as good as his word. We had hardly drunk our fill of the deliciously refreshing coconut milk that had been thoughtfully supplied by the Major when he heard shouts in the distance. "Pakistan Zindabad!" "Pakistan army Zindabad!" "Muslim League Zindabad" they" were chanting. (Zindabad is Urdu for "Long live") Moments later they marched into view, a motley crowd of about 50 old and decrepit men and knee- high children, all waving Pakistani flags and shouting at the top of their voices. Lt. Javed gave me a knowing wink.

Within minutes the "parade" had grown into a "public meeting" complete with a make-shift public address system and a rapidly multiplying group of would-be speakers.

Mr. Mahbub-ur-Rahman was pushed forward to make the address of welcome to the army. He introduced himself as "N.F. College professor of English and Arabic, who had

also tried for History and is a life-time member of the great Muslim League Party."

Introduction over, Mahbub-ur-Rahmam gave forth with gusto. "Punjabis and Bengalis," he said, "had united for Pakistan and we had our own traditions and culture. But we were terrorized by the Hindus and the Awami Leaguers and led astray. Now we thank God that the Punjabi soldiers have saved us. They are the best soldiers in the world and heroes of humanity. We love and respect them from the bottom of our hearts." And so on, interminably, in the same vein.

After the "meeting" I asked the Major what he thought about the speech. "Serves the purpose," he said, "but I don't trust that bastard. I'll put him on my list."

The Agony of East Bengal is not over. Perhaps the worst is yet to come. The army is determined to go on until the "clean-up" is complete. So far the job is only half done. Two divisions of Pakistan Army, the 9th and the 16th, were flown out from West Pakistan to "sort out" the Bengali rebels and the Hindus. This was a considerable logistical feat for a country of Pakistan's resources. More than 25,000 men were moved from the west to the east. On March 28 the two divisions were given 48 hours notice to move. They were brought by train to Karachi from Kharian and Multan. Carrying only light bed rolls and battle packs (their equipment was to follow by sea the troops were flown out to Dacca by PIA, the national airline. Its fleet of seven Boeings was taken off international and domestic routes and flew the long haul via Ceylon continuously for 14 days. A few Air Force transport aircraft helped.

The troops went into action immediately with equipment borrowed from the 14th Division which till then constituted the Eastern Command. The 9th Division, operating from Comilla, was ordered to seal the border in the east against the movement of rebels and their supplies. The 16th Division, with headquarters at Jessore, had a similar task in the Western sector of the province. They completed their assignments by the third week of May. With the rebels-those who have not been able to escape to India-boxed in a ring of steel and fire, the two-army divisions are beginning to converge in a relentless comb-out operation. This will undoubtedly mean that the tenor experienced in the border areas will now spread to the middle. It could also be more painful. The human targets will have nowhere to run to.

On April 20 Lt.-Col. Baig, the flower-loving G-I of the 9th Division, thought that the comp-out would take two months, to the middle in June. But this planning seems to have misfired. The rebel forces, using guerrilla tactics, have not been subdued as easily as the army expected. Isolated and apparently uncoordinated, the rebels have nonetheless bogged down the Pakistan Army in many places by the systematic destruction of roads and railways, without which the army cannot move. The 9th Division for one was hopelessly behind schedule. Now the monsoon threatens to shut down the military operation with three months of cloudbursts.

For the rainy season, the Pakistan Government obtained from China in the second week of May nine shallow-draught river gunboats. More are to come. These 80 ton gunboats with massive firepower will take over some of the responsibilities hitherto allotted to the air force and artillery, which will not be as effective when it rains. They

will be supported by several hundred country-craft which have been requisitioned and converted for military use by the addition of outboard motors. The army intends to take to the water in pursuit of the rebels.

### **Colonization of East Bengal**

There is also the clear prospect of famine, because of the breakdown of the distribution system. Seventeen of the 23 districts of East Pakistan are normally short of food and have to be supplied by massive imports of rice and wheat. This will not be possible this year because of the civil war. Six major bridges and thousands of smaller ones have been destroyed, making the roads impassible in many places. The railway system has been similarly disrupted, though the government claims it is "almost normal."

The road and rail tracks between the port of Chittagong and the north have been completely disrupted by the rebels who held Feni, a key road and rail junction, until May 7. Food stocks cannot move because of this devastation. In normal times only 15 per cent of food movement from Chittagong to up country areas were made by boat. The remaining 85 per cent was moved by road and rail. Even a 100 percent increase in the effectiveness of river movement will leave 70 per cent of the food stocks in the warehouses of Chittagong.

Two other factors must be added. One is large-scale hoarding of grain by people who have begun to anticipate the famine. This makes a tight position infinitely more difficult. This other is the government of Pakistan's refusal to acknowledge the danger of famine publicly. Lt Gen. Tikka Khan, the military governor of East Bengal, acknowledged in a radio broadcast on April 18 that he was gravely concerned about food supplies. Since then the entire government machinery has been used to suppress the fact of the food shortage. The reason is that a famine, like the cyclone before it, could result in a massive outpouring of foreign aid-and with it the prospect of external inspection of distribution methods. That would make it impossible to conceal from the world the scale of the pogrom. So the hungry will be left to die until the clean-up is complete.

Discussing the problem in his plush air-conditioned office in Karachi recently the chairman of the Agricultural Development Bank, Mr. Qarni, said bluntly: "The famine is the result of their acts of sabotage. So let them die. Perhaps then the Bengali will come to their senses."

The Military Government's East Bengal policy is so apparently contradictory and self-defeating that it would seem to justify the assumption that the men who rule Pakistan cannot make up their minds. Having committed the initial error by resorting to force, the Government, on this view, is stubbornly and stupidly mudding through.

There is, superficially, logic in this reasoning.

On the one hand, it is true that there is no let up in the reign of terror. The policy of subjugation is certainly being pursued with vigour in East Bengal. This is making thousands of new enemies for the Government every day and making only more definitive the separation of the two wings of Pakistan.

On the other hand, no government could be unaware that this policy must fail. (There are just not enough West Pakistanis to hold down the much greater numbers in East Bengal indefinitely.) For hard administrative and economic reason, and because of the crucial consideration of external development assistance, especially from America, it will be necessary to achieve a political settlement as quickly as possible. President Yahya Khan's Press conference on May 25 suggests that he acknowledges the force of these factors: And he said he would announce his plan for representative government in the middle of June.

All this would seem to indicate that Pakistan's military Government is moving paradoxically, in opposite directions, to compound the gravest crisis in the country's 24 years history.

This is a widely held view. It sounds logical. But is it true?

My own view is that it is not. It has been my unhappy privilege to have had the opportunity to observe at first hand both what Pakistan's leaders say in the West, and what they are doing in the East.

I think that in reality there is no contradiction in the Government's East Bengal policy. East Bengal is being colonized.

This is not an arbitrary opinion of mine. The facts speak for themselves.

The first consideration of the army has been and still is the obliteration of every trace of separatism in East Bengal. This proposition is upheld by the continuing slaughter and by everything else that the government has done in both East and West Pakistan since March 25. The decision was coldly taken by the military leaders, and they are going through with it-all too coldly.

No meaningful or viable political solution is possible in East Bengal while the pogrom continues.

The crucial question is: will killing stop?

I was given the army's answer by Major-General Shaukat Raza, commanding officer of the 9th Division, during our first meeting at Comilla on April 16.

"You must be absolutely sure," he said, "that we have not undertaken such a drastic and expensive operation-expensive both in men and money for nothing. We've undertaken a job. We are going to finish it, not had it over half done to the politicians so that they can mess it up again. The army can't keep coming back like this every three or four years. It has a more important task. I assure you that when we have got through with what we are doing there will never be need again for such an operation."

Major-General Shaukat Raza one of three divisional commanders in the field. He is in a key position. He is not given to talking through his hat.

Significantly, General Shaukat Raza's ideas were echoed by every military officer I talked to during my 10 days in East Bengal. And President Yahya Khan knows that The men who lead the troop on the ground are the de facto arbiters of Pakistan's destiny.

The single-mindedness of the army is underscored by the military operation itself. By any standard, it is a major venture. It is not something that can be switched on and off without the most grave consequences.

### **Army committed to remain**

The army has already taken a terrible toll in dead and injured. It was privately said in Dacca that more officers have been killed than men and that the casualty list in East Bengal already exceeds the losses in the India-Pakistan war of September, 1965. The army will certainly not write off these "sacrifices" for illusory political considerations that have proved to be so worthless in the past.

Military-and it is soldiers who will be taking the decision-to call a halt to the operation at this stage would be indefensible. It would only mean more trouble with the Bengali rebels. Implacable hatred has been displayed on both sides.

There can be no truce or negotiated settlement; only total victory or total defeat. Time is on the side of the Pakistan Army, not of the isolated, uncoordinated and ill-equipped rebel groups. Other circumstances, such as an expanded conflict which takes in other powers, could of course alter the picture. But as it stands today the Pakistan Army has no reason to doubt that it will eventually achieve its objective. That is why the casualties are solidly accepted.

The enormous financial outlay already made on the East Bengal operation and its continuing heavy cost also testify to the Government's determination. The reckless manner in which funds have been poured out makes clear that the military hierarchy, having taken a calculated decision to use force, has accepted the financial outlay as a necessary investment. It was not for nothing that 25,000 soldiers were air-lifted to East Bengal, a daring and expensive exercise. These two divisions, the 9th and the 16th, constituted the military reserve in West Pakistan. They have now been replaced there by expensive new recruitment.

The Chinese have helped with equipment, which is pouring down the Karakorum highway. There is some evidence that the flood is slowing down: perhaps the Chinese are having second thoughts about their commitments to the military rulers of Pakistan. But the Pakistan government has not hesitated to pay cash from the bottom of the foreign exchange barrel for more than \$1-million-worth of ammunition to European arms suppliers.

Conversations with senior military officers in Dacca, Rawalpindi and Karachi confirm that they see the solution to this problem in the speedy completion of the East Bengal operation, not in terms of a pullout. The money required for that purpose now takes precedence over all other government expenditure. Developments have virtually come to a halt.

In one sentence, the government is too far committed militarily to abandon the East Bengal operation, which it would have to do if it sincerely wanted a political solution. President Yahya Khan is riding on the back of a tiger. But he took a calculated decision to climb up there.



So the army is not going to pull out. The Government's policy for East Bengal was spelled out to me in the Eastern Command headquarters at Dacca. It has three elements :-

(1)The Bengalis have proved themselves "unreliable" and must be ruled by West Pakistanis;

(2)The Bengalis will have to be re-educated along proper Islamic lines. The "Islamisation of the masses"-this is the official jargon-is intended to eliminate secessionist tendencies and provide a strong religious bond with West Pakistan:

(3)When the Hindus have been eliminated by death and flight, their property will be used as a golden carrot to win over the under -privileged Muslim middleclass. This will provide the base for erecting administrative and political structures in the future.

This policy is being pursued with the utmost blatancy.

Because of the mutiny, it has been officially decreed that there will not for the present be any further recruitment of Bengalis in the defense forces. Senior Air Force and Navy officers, who were not in any way involved, have been moved "as a precaution" to non-sensitive positions. Bengali fighter pilots, among them some of the aces of the Air Force, had the humiliation of being grounded and moved to non-flying duties. Even PIA air crews operating between the two wings of the country have been strained clean of Bengalis.

The East Pakistan Rifles, once almost exclusively a Bengali paramilitary force, has ceased to exist since the mutiny., A new force the Civil Defense Force, has been raised by recruiting Biharis and volunteers from West Pakistan. Biharis, instead of Bengalis are also being used as the basic material for the police. They are supervised by officers sent out from West Pakistan and by secondment from the army. The new Superintendent of Police at Chandpur at the end of April was a Military Police major.

Hundreds of West Pakistani government civil servants, doctors, and technicians for the radio, TV, telegraph and telephone services have already been sent out to East Pakistan. More are being encouraged to go with the promise of one and two-step promotions. But the transfer, when made, is obligatory. President Yahya, recently issued an order making it possible to transfer civil servants to any part of Pakistan against their will.

### **The universities 'sorted out'**

I was told that all the Commissioners of East Bengal and the district Deputy Commissioner will in future be either Biharis or civil officers from West Pakistan. The Deputy Commissioners of districts were said to be too closely involved with the Awami league secessionist movement. In some cases, such as that of the Deputy Commissioner of Comilla, they were caught and shot. That particular officer had incurred the wrath of army on March 20 when he refused to requisition petrol and food supplies "without a letter from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman."

The Government has, also come down hard on the universities and colleges of East Bengal. They were considered the hot beds of conspiracy and they are being "sorted out".

Many professors have fled. Some have been shot. They will be replaced by fresh recruitment from West Pakistan.

Bengali officers are also being weeded out of sensitive positions in the Civil and Foreign Services. All are currently being subjected to the most exhaustive screening.

This colonization process quite obviously does not work even half as efficiently as the administration wishes. I was given vivid evidence of this by Major Agha, martial law administrator of Comilla. He had been having a problem getting the local Bengali executive engineers to go out and repair the bridges and roads that had been destroyed or damaged by the rebels. This task kept getting snarled in red tape, and the bridges remained unrepaired. Agha, of course, knew the reason. "You can't expect them to work," he told me, "when you have been killing them and destroying their country. That at least is their point of view, and we are paying for it."

Captain Durrani of the Baluch Regiment, who was in charge of the company guarding the Comilla airport, had his own methods of dealing with the problem. "I have told them," he said with reference to the Bengalis maintaining the control tower, "that I will shoot anyone who even looks like he is doing something suspicious." Durrani had made good his word. A Bengali who had approached the airport a few nights earlier was shot. "Could have been a rebel," I was told. Durrani had another claim to fame. He had personally accounted for "more than 60 men" while clearing the villages surrounding the airport.

The harsh reality of colonization in the East is being concealed by shameless window dressing. For several weeks President Yahya Khan and Lt.-Gen. Tikka Khan have been trying to get political support in East Pakistan for what they are doing. The results have not exactly been satisfying. The support forthcoming so far has been from people like Moulvi Farid Ahmad, a Bengali lawyer in Dacca, Fazlul Quadeer Chaudhury and Professor Ghulam Azam of the Jamat Islami. All of whom were soundly beaten in the General Elections last December.

The only prominent personality to emerge for this purpose has been Mr. Nurul Amin, an old Muslim Leaguer and former Chief Minister of the Province who was one of only two non Awami Leaguers to be elected to the National Assembly. He is now in his seventies. But even Nurul Amin has been careful not to be too effusive. His two public statements to date have been concerned only with the "Indian interference."

Bengalis look with scorn on the few who "collaborate." Farid Ahmad and Fazlul Quadeer Chaudhury are painfully aware of this. Farid Ahmad makes a point of keeping his windows shuttered and only those who have been scrutinized and recognized through a peephole in the front door are allowed into the house.

By singularly blunt methods the Government has been able to get a grudging acquiescence from 31 Awami Leaguers who had been elected to the national and provincial assemblies. They are being kept on ice in Dacca, secluded from all put their immediate families, for the big occasion when "representative government" is to be installed. But clearly they now represent no one but themselves.

Abdul Ban the tailor, who was lucky to survive, is 24 years old. That is the same age as Pakistan. The army can of course hold the country together by force. But the meaning of what it has done in East Bengal is that the dream of the men who hoped in 1947 that they were founding a Muslim nation in two equal parts has now faded. There is now little chance for a long time to come that Punjabis in the West and Bengalis in the East will feel themselves equal fellow-citizens of one nation. For the Bengalis, the future is now bleak: the unhappy submission of a colony to its conquerors.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫৬। যুদ্ধ এবং শরণার্থী পরিস্থিতি	ডেইলী টেলিগ্রাফ	৯ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, JULY 9, 1971*

## **WAR SPIRIT GROWS ON TRIGGER-HAPPY PAKISTAN BORDER**

By Clare Hollingworth in Bendpole, East Pakistan

Pakistani and Indian soldiers now confront one another dangerously across from five to 50 yards of no-man's-land at every main road crossing along the 1,500-mile frontier between East Pakistan and India.,

The daily sporadic firing of small arms two-inch mortars, with the occasional round of artillery, has caused a marked escalation in tension on the borders during the past few weeks. The West Pakistan soldiers are obviously enjoying the near-war situation.

They are digging themselves bunkers, defensive position and generally preparing to hold a far larger section of the border than they could defend for five minutes against a small but determined assault force.

Frequent alerts-some real but others false—when everyone is forced into waterlogged dugouts, add flavor to this dangerous war game which an unexpected incident could so easily turn into the real thing.

For fingers are increasingly trigger-happy and the hatred for "the enemy" is fed each day by the press and radio of both sides.

At many points on the Pakistani side the Army has already fought, hard, to take over defended permanent frontier posts which were occupied by the East Pakistan Rifles when they defected to Bangladesh as the West Pakistan Army took over on March 25.

This former frontier force then turned their guns and their permanently constructed positions round to fight their former comrades in arms.

### **Tension kept up**

They are still operating on the Indian side of the frontier, where they can be seen through field glasses occupying forward positions. From time to time they open fire to keep their spirits up and maintain the tension, thus ensuring that the Pakistani Army cannot withdraw troops from the border.

Members of the East Pakistan Rifles and the East Bengal Regt, too, are training the Bangladesh guerrillas in camps just inside India.

Six weeks ago, just a few hundred yards further down this three-lane main truck road inside India I witnessed six or seven mortar bombs land from the Pakistan side and noted the Indian army had constructed well camouflaged bunkers and defensive positions.

Bangladesh guerrillas cross the frontier every night to lay mines, leave time bombs in deserted villages which the army patrols, and throw hand grenades into outposts. The guerrillas are becoming an increasing menace to communication in the border areas, where almost all telephone wires and electric cables have now been cut.

### **Brisk smuggling**

Naturally each side knows what the other is doing, as scores of agents cross each day and there is still a brisk smuggling business.

While the Indian side is packed with refugees and it is not easy for the Army to move around the Pakistani forces operate in a completely deserted countryside, passing through villages, even towns, in which one or two old cripples or a blind man have been left behind

It is hardly surprising refugees are not returning in any appreciable numbers to the reception centers the Pakistan authorities have prepared for them. A few families-five or six-cross by "unauthorized routes" here each night and they are generally picked up by the Army.

They are taken to transit camps where they are fed, given anti-cholera shots and questioned to substantiate their claim to be "from Pakistan".

The civil authorities, and indeed senior officers on both sides, are genuinely anxious to defuse border.

The presence of a United Nations peace-keeping force would be the best solution, in view of the ever-rising tempers and bellicose attitudes of battalion and company commanders.

### **INDIAN STATE SWAMPED BY REFUGEES**

By Peter Gill in Tripura

As fresh waves of East Pakistani refugees break on the tiny Indian state of Tripura, anxious officials are fighting a "do or die" battle to preserve their desperately tenuous supply routes with the outside world

Bengali peasants, most of them Moslems and some with hideous shell and mortar- bomb wounds, are now fleeing into Tripura at a rate of at least 10,000 a day.

With a resident population of 1,600,000 to feed through the lean monsoon period, the Tripura authorities now have an additional, and entirely unproductive, 1m refugee.

During visits to border areas along Tripura's 560-mile frontier with East Pakistan over the past few days, I have seen Indian villages swollen in a matter of hours by hordes of tearful, uprooted Pakistani peasants.

### **Killing crossfire**

They have been caught in a murderous crossfire between the Pakistan Army and the Mukti Foj guerrillas fighting for an independent East Bengal. One young farmer who crossed near the Indian border post at Debipur showed me fragments of four mortar bombs which he had collected that day from his village.

A girl of 12 was pushed towards our Jeep as we drove through another border village. Shivering with shock, she held out a limp and roughly bandaged hand that had been hit by a shell splinter earlier in the day. Blood was still oozing from the wound.

These developments have made Government officials in Tripura openly sceptical of the chances of a return to normality in East Pakistan.

Now the Pakistan Army is involved in a full-scale war against its guerrilla enemies. And massive reprisals against villages suspected of harbouring guerrillas are driving out both Hindus and Moslems.

Refugee accounts of the scale of the fighting in East Pakistan are amply corroborated by senior officers in the Indian Border Security Force, Long range artillery, using "air burst" shells as anti-personnel weapons, mortar bombs and machine guns have all been deployed by the Pakistan Army against villages.

Once on Indian soil, the refugees admit their involvement with the guerrillas, "We're all Mukti Fouj now," said one villager in a refugee camp at Bazalghat, near Agartala.

The supply situation here will soon become critical, with everything having to come over 1,000 miles from Calcutta round the entire East Pakistan border.

Privately, Tripura officials are .critical of what they regard as the uncaring attitude of the Indian Central Government towards the State. Direct mercy flights from the Australian. Air Force with food and shelter, they complain, have been inexplicably rerouted to Calcutta.

### **8m Homeless: E. Pakistan problem**

Our Staff Correspondent in Dacca cables: There are even more "refugees" inside East Pakistan than in India. Indeed large groups of people, Moslem as well as Hindu, are wandering round the country, always frightened, sometimes completely lost, but ready to bed down in an unoccupied village,

Major-General Farman Ali, in charge of civil affairs in East Pakistan, admitted that these seven or eight million displaced people were extremely difficult to handle.

Many smaller groups are attempting to take over shops, petrol pumps, market stalls, and other shacks on the main roads and this is creating even bigger problems.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫৭। ধর্মাত্ম ও পান্ডবদের রাজত্ব	সানডে টাইমস	১১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE SUNDAY TIMES, LONDON, JULY 11, 1971*

## **A REGIME OF THUGS AND BIGOTS**

*An account by Murray Sayle*

The Pakistan military regime last week repeated its claim that East Pakistan is rapidly returning to "normalcy" after its prolonged military operation against "rebels and miscreants" and that the way was open for refugees to return from India and resume their normal lives.

I spent last week touring one of the areas from which many thousands of refugees fled and found that this is untrue: that in fact a repulsive political system is rapidly taking shape which may well make it impossible for them to return.

If the refugees do ever go home, it will be to places like Lotapaharpur village, a collection of mud-brick houses with palm-thatched roofs six miles north of Khulna, East Pakistan's biggest river port. Lotapaharpur stands a little way off the main road between Khulna and Jessore which I found busy with military traffic, big shiny American trucks full of soldiers from West Pakistan, armed incongruously with Chinese automatic rifles, and an occasional civilian carrying a 303 Lee Enfield rifle.

I drove along a side road perched high on an embankment, across a landscape looking like a green and silver chessboard, lush standing crops alternating with ponds and flooded fields.

Here and there a few farmers were ploughing the wide wet prairie with cows and water buffaloes; but there seemed very few people at work for such a crowded country.

Then I stumbled on Lotapaharpur. It was just off the road up a muddy track which twisted through the palm trees. The village is like any other in East Pakistan. A score or so of houses stand in a neat circle on an earthen platform a few feet above the flood-plain. But there were no men in loincloth, no women in bright saris, no brown children and ginger dogs playing among the banana trees.

I have seen many East Bengal villages which have been burnt, or which was seemingly seem to have strangely few people. This was the first I saw which was seemingly undamaged and completely deserted.

### **No clue**

With my interpreter I looked around. A colored picture of the elephant headed God Ganesh, the remover of obstacles, showed that this had been a Hindu village. But why had the villagers gone? There was no clue in the empty houses. Then, timidly, a woman in a tattered sari, with three young children at her heels, came forward.

She was a Muslim and a refugee herself. Her husband had been killed and she had run away and found this empty village, as we had by accident. She had been living on some rice the Hindus left behind. But it was finished and she was at her wit's end to feed

her children. She did not want to go to the authorities because she was afraid they would find out her husband was "Joy Bangla"-"Victory to Bengal" the slogan of the banned and smashed Awami League.

Then more people came up, Muslim farmers from a village a few hundred yards away named Aramghata. The story they told was like many I have heard in the past week.

Two local men named Ali Hamed and Shaukat both claimed possession of a corrugated iron shed. Sometime in April Hamed had returned to the village accompanying two truckloads of West Pakistan soldiers. An argument broke out between the soldiers and the villagers, there was shooting by the soldiers, and six villagers were killed.

Two of the dead were members of the local council: Indu Babu, a farmer, and relative, Profulla Babu, Headmaster of a local high school. Both are Hindu names. The other 150 Hindus in the village fled with a few belongings as soon as the soldiers went.

I asked them why were telling me about this incident. They said I had not heard the end of the story. Some Muslims from their village had come up to see what was going on. The soldiers grabbed four of them and told them to recite something from the Holy Koran.

They said the four Muslims were terrified but managed to begin "Bismillah-ir -rahman-if-rahim " (the opening words of the Koran). They said the soldiers shouted: "These are not Muslims! They have been taught to say this to trick us!" They then shot all four.

The villagers told me they were angry about this, as they had never had any trouble with their Hindu neighbours. Hamed, they said, now had the iron shed. They said he carried a rifle and they thought he was a "razakar" (volunteer), a term we meet again.

What had happened to the Hindus' land? The villagers pointed to the surrounding emerald green fields. It was a standing crop of linseed, a valuable cash crop. In June some people from the Martial Law administration had conducted an auction of 2,000 acres in the absence of the owners.

It was normally worth Rs. 300 an acre. It had been sold for Rs. 1½ an acre. But the buyers had not got much of a bargain. They could not hire people to harvest most of it and the rest was now flooded and worthless.

### **True Position**

Lotapaharpur summarized for me the true position about the refugees. No one here really expects them to return in any numbers, because there is an atmosphere of terror in East Pakistan, because the material difficulties in the way of their returning are almost insuperable, and their homes, farms, crops, small businesses, and other assets are being transferred under paper-thin legal devices to people who have strong motives to make sure they never come back-in fact to their political and religious enemies. But the military administration has indeed opened "reception centers" and "transit camps."

I drove up to Benapole, close to the Indian border, to inspect these preparations. I was received by the officer in charge of the whole khulna district, Lt.-Col. Shams-uz-



Zaman, in his headquarters near the frontier. Col. Shams said there were frequent mortar exchanges with the Indian troops over the border-always, he said, begun by the Indians.

"They certainly need us here to defend them," he said. "These Bengalis don't know how to fight. Now, I come from the North- West Frontier, where fighting is in our blood. I have been using a rifle since I was ten. We've got guts.

Col. Shams directed the military operations of the past three months in this area, beginning with the "securing" of Khulna town during the period March 25-29. He told me that it was only in the past month that his troops had been able to get the upper hand all over the district from "miscreants and rebels".

It appears that it was Shams who began the system of razakars by the distributing police rifles to civilians in Khulna-"good chaps, good Muslims and loyal Pakistanis" he explained.

There are now, according to the military authorities, 5,000 razakars in East Pakistan, 300 of them in Khulna district. They are paid Rs 3 a day (25 pence at the official rate) and receive seven days' training which appears to consist entirely of learning how to shoot a police Lee Enfield rifle. Their work consists of "security checks"-guiding the West Pakistan troops to the homes of supporters of the Awami League. They are supposed to be under the orders of local "peace committees" which are selected by the military authorities on a similar basis of "loyalty to Pakistan". These people are, in fact, representatives of the political parties which were routed at the last elections, with an admixture of men with criminal records and bigoted Muslims who have been persuaded that strong arm methods are needed to protect their religion-a mixture weirdly reminiscent of the Orange Lodges. "B Specials and political terrorists of Northern Ireland.

But at least there are a lot of Protestants in Ulster. The election results in Khulna district show how minute the non-criminal political base of the peace committee and razakars really is : the now banned Awami League won all eight seats in the district and scored 75% of the total votes cast. The three branches of the Muslim League got 3 to 4% between them and the fanatical Jamate-Islami 6% .

I asked Shams whether he expected refugees to come over the border at Benapole- the main road from Calcutta to Dacca, opposite some of the biggest refugee camps in West Bengal-when his men had blocked the road with a truck and were covering it with machine-guns.

He said they would have no trouble coming by "unauthorized routes" which included rowing down rivers and wading through rice fields. "Miscreants, rebels and Indian infiltrators" could not, however, sneak across so easily because he was maintaining constant and vigilant patrols. "Let them come, we're ready for them," he said.

My notes leave it unclear whether he meant the Indian Army, or the refugees.

I walked back with a captain assigned to me by Col. Shams from the border to the Benapole refugee reception centre, about a mile away.

"We have a problem here," said the captain, who wore a heavy upcurving moustache and parachutist's wings. "Look at them," he said, indicating Bengali farmers in conical straw hats squatting to plant rice in the flooded green fields. "They all look the same to us. How can we tell the miscreants and rebels from the ordinary people?"

### **Forlorn Dogs**

The entire population of the Benapole reception centre was five forlorn dogs.

The captain said the centre was probably closed because of its proximity to the border and directed me to a camp further back at Satkhira. I drove to this camp and found that there were 13 refugees in residence, three of them Hindus. The number tallied with the arrivals and departures noted on the camp's admissions board. As I walked around I got a snappy military salute from two razakars, two young men armed with shotguns. I was told that they were there to guard the camp. ( From whom? From miscreants, rebels, etc.) and to help with security checks. I was asking the people in charge of the camp (ordinary Bengali menial workers whose sincerity I fully accept) whether the presence of unknown armed men asking about people's political views was, in the climate of East Pakistan, the way to make a returned refugee feel at ease when the sudden arrival of another 100 refugees was announced.

These people looked well fed and dressed and told me they had all come from the same place in India, Hasnabad, just over the border had all been there the same time, 22 days, and had all come back together.

None of them could produce an Indian ration card because, they said, they had not been given any. I asked the people in charge of the camp, which has enough room in an old school house and adjoining buildings for 2,000 people, whether refugees who had not actually been over the Indian border were eligible for help at the Satkhira centre. I was told they were not.

From Satkhira I proceeded to Khulna, administrative capital of the district. On the way I passed a bridge being hastily rebuilt. It had been blown up by saboteurs ten days ago-presumably by members of the Mukti Fauj, the "Freedom army", which now claims to be operating underground. Local people told me-I thought with some glee-that the bridge had been defended by 25 razakars who had fled at the first burst of gunfire. I was unable to confirm this when I later met the razakar high command.

A quarter of the population of the whole district, which was more than three million at the last census, is missing, dead or gone to India. The local civil authorities estimate that one half of the land in the district is not being cultivated. On orders of the Government in Dacca arrangements are being made to put abandoned land, shops and property in the hands of "caretakers" who are to be selected by the peace committees.

The ordinary work of civil administration is close to a standstill. The Senior Magistrate, Rajendra Lai Sarkar (a Hindu) is missing, believed killed, while Khulna was being "secured".

The senior Muslim magistrate, Chaudri Senwar Ali, has been arrested by the army and his whereabouts is at present unknown.

The police chief, Superintendent Abdul Rakib Khondaker, has been transferred and the District Commissioner, Nurul Islam Khan, has been informed that he will be transferred.

### **Musical Chairs**

This is part of the game of administrative musical chairs going on in East Pakistan. Officials of Bengali origin like all the above men are being moved about at dizzying speed.

Of the 300 clerical workers employed by the local authority, 66 were Hindus. Only two are now left and the rest, if still alive, have been automatically suspended.

I have been repeatedly told that there exists a confidential directive that "members of the minority community"-official jargon for Hindus-are to receive a "stringent security check" before being given a Government job, which would amount to a thinly veiled blacklist.

This is officially denied. However, a young Hindu, Arabinda Sen came first among 500 entrants in the competitive examinations for clerical jobs with the Khulna administration last February. He is still unemployed, although the administration is desperately short-handed.

The work of the Khulna civic authorities has been severely hampered by army requisitions of their equipment. All the launches of the district administration used for food distribution, flood control work, and similar needs (half the district can only be reached by boat) have been taken, over by the army and navy who have mounted. 50 calibre machine guns on them and are using them on river patrols for "miscreants." The civil authorities are urgently trying to get them back, or get new boats as there are alarming reports that farmers, down river have not been able to repair many dykes round low-lying Islands. If salt water were to flood this land it would ruin it for many years to come.

A tugboat belonging to the Pakistan River Services was sunk by a shell from a Pakistan Navy gunboat in the centre of the town. The local naval chief, Commander AI Haj Gul Zarin, told me that his men had to sink the tug because miscreants had seized it and were attempting to ram a naval vessel. Local boatman said the normal crew were aboard the tug but failed to answer a challenge, never having heard one before, as they steamed noisily past the naval base.

The work of the local peace committee and razakar high command could hardly be said to have achieved "normalcy" either. Two of its members, Ghulam Sirwar Mullah, vice-chairman of the district council, and Abdul Hamid, vice-chairman of the Khulna municipality, were killed by unknown masked assailants within the past month. And the official records indicate that 21 members of local peace committees throughout the district have been killed in the same period, while 12 are in Khulna hospital at the moment suffering from gunshot wounds and four with wounds caused by knives or daggers.

But a razakar field commander, Abdul Wahab Mahalder, aged 31, whom I met leading his platoon to an operation, told me he believed that 200 razakars and peace committee members had been killed in Khulna district in recent weeks. Mahalder said that his own group had a body count of two "miscreants" killed.

This may correspond to two allegations of murder which have been lodged with the Khulna city police against razakar. The police were informed that two school-teachers were shot down without warning or provocation.

The police cannot, however, investigate these cases as a military directive states that complaints against razakars are to be investigated by the military authorities. Nor can the Khulna civil police proceed with the investigation of charges brought against Moti Ullah, a non-Bengali member of the Central Peace Committee of Khulna, of possession of explosives on the day before the army began "securing" the town.

### A "Goonda"

Moti Ullah has previously been charged with aggravated assault and demanding money with menaces and was actually on bail on the explosives charge when appointed to the peace committee. There was an explosion at the back of his house where neighbours alleged he was storing dynamite for use in riots. The same man had been refused a gun licence on grounds of bad character, and a police report describes him as a "goonda" - a professional criminal specializing in violence.

I have been unable to arrive at even an estimate of how many people have been killed in rioting and army security operations in Khulna and the surrounding district. One observer, a magistrate confined to his riverside home by the army-imposed three-day curfew, counted 48 bodies floating down the river in one 10 minute period during the height of the operation. There are many areas in the town which have been burnt out-in what is described by the authorities as "slum clearance"-and one road leading to the Khulna news-print mill has been completely demolished on both sides- for more than a mile.

Col. Shams told me he had a hard fight with "rebels" but had not used heavy weapons. He told me that the large holes in reinforced concrete buildings has been caused by miscreants using petrol bombs. Army casualties during the operation in the town were reported to me (not by Col. Shams) as none killed and seven wounded.

In the period around the army operation, Khulna hospital admitted 159 cases of bullet wounds, 25 gunshot wounds and 70 puncture wounds of the kind caused by knife, dagger or bayonet. It is likely that some of the deaths were caused by fighting or massacre of non-Bengalis by Bengalis, as well as by non-Bengalis killing Bengalis, and by the army operation. But it seems clear the army had all the fire-power. The truth may never be known as no official inquiries are under way about casualties or damage, in sharp contrast to the normal practice of the Pakistan police who have to submit a written report every time they fire one round and may only do so with the permission of a magistrate.

Even more obscure is what happened in the down-river port area of Mangla, which is reached by boat from Khulna. The whole waterfront and market area of this small port

has been burnt out, and shell holes can be seen in some waterfront buildings of brick and reinforced concrete.

The local police chief, Sub-Inspector Hadi Khan, is a non-Bengali promoted in the past month from a job not requiring an examination test of literacy to one that does, although there have been no examinations. He told me that the damage, proportionately the worst I have seen so far, was caused by an accidental fire ignited when a lamp overturned in the market place, "or something like that."

But commander Zarin of PNS Titumir said: "We had a sharp engagement with the miscreants of Mangla. The rascals opened upon us with a shore battery-a big home-made gun made out of some sort of iron pipe. But it blew up when they tried to fire it and burnt half the place down."

The Commander laughed heartily at this reminiscence, he could offer no explanation for the shell holes in waterside buildings. I could not pursue the matter in Mangla because on this occasion I had to put up with the unasked and unwanted presence of two soldiers wished 011 me for my "security". They clung to my heels like leeches and, in their presence local people shrank away.

It would be wearisome to catalogue any more of the weird explanations offered by the Pakistan military authorities of what has evidently gone on and is still going on.

### **Welcome Doubtful**

One the refugees issue, it is clear that only a very brave or very foolish refugee would even try to return as things are, and that his welcome would be very doubtful if he did. Only a peaceful joint operation by India and Pakistan will get any substantial number of refugees home and this seems totally out of the question as things stand.

Even more alarming is the development, with the peace committees and razakars, of two parallel Government in East Pakistan; one the normal civil administration, which is well-intentioned, reasonably efficient, but now speedily approaching complete impotence; the other a regime of paid informers, bigots and thugs answerable to no one and apparently above whatever law is left in East Pakistan.

The pacification methods used on the North-West Frontier by the British of long ago, burning villages and gunning down their inhabitants, are bad enough when imported into a heavily populated and peaceful place like East Pakistan. The introduction of the political methods of Hitler and Mussolini even less defensible.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫৯। বাঙালীদের দেশ ত্যাগ এখনো চলছে	সানডে টেলিগ্রাফ	২৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, LONDON, JULY 25, 1971*  
**STILL NO END TO BENGAL FLIGHT**

By Peter Gill who has spend the last two months reporting on the crisis in East Bengal.

After two month with the Bengalis, you become pretty good at sorting out the refugees from the rest, without so much as winding down the car window to the warm monsoon rain, you can tell who's who and quite a bit besides.

Sheer numbers are a guide, of course, as a Time magazine correspondent and I drove the 12 miles from Bangaon near Calcutta, over the East Bengal border to Bogra last Wednesday, an endless sodden column tramped silently past the steamy windows. They will still be marching during the British Sunday breakfast, the British Sunday lunch and the Sunday evening snack in front of the television feature film.

Hindus and Moslems mingled, their only sin being that they were Bengali Hindus and Bengali Moslems.

Moslem men wear lungi, a strip of cloth that is wound round the waist and falls free to the calf. Hindus are more likely to wear the dhoti complicated Gandhian garment that also falls loose and free to the grond. There were both Hindu and Moslem men on the tramp for survival that day.

Widows in the column could also be distinguished. Instead of the colored saris worn by pretty girls and married women, they dress in plain white ones manufactured of the cheapest fabric in the markets of East Bengal. Many are old and frail and lame, but they too have to be led through the mud and the rain from East Bengal to the camps in India.

Refugees carry everything and nothing, all tied up in dirty sacking and old saris. One old man in Bogra sat listless on his hunches dabbling his fingers in a stone jar of little fish brought from over the border. A nutritionist from abroad-and there are one or two doing the rounds-could have told him that those fish were the last protein he would be getting.

Our route through the refugees led to a comer of East Bengal that had once been Pakistan and is now independent Bangladesh.

Two men from the Bangladesh mission in Calcutta were with us. One had a little tape recorder with which he was going to record the sentiments of the liberated peasantry and the other quoted several appropriate lines of Sir. Walter Raleigh on patriotism.

The local guerrilla commander came to meet us, "You've already seen how high the morale is of the people here" he said.

To be honest, I hadn't. They were not on the march to the refugee camps of India, and

that was something. But their enthusiasm for the Bangladesh cause appeared about as limited, as their enthusiasm for united Pakistan. If the guerrillas would go away, and if the Pakistan Army would keep its distance, they could then carry on growing their crops and selling them in peace.

It was, in fact, market day in the village of Bangdah. The guerrilla commander's map of the area said: "Bangdab-markets on Wednesday and Saturday." The man with the tape recorder fixed up his microphone and then men from the local guerrilla force-soldiers proper and student volunteers-waited for the cheers to begin.

"Sheikh Mujibur Rahman," yelled the man with the mike.

"Zindabad" (live forever, came the response in unison.

For the refugees filing slowly past us and those they will join in India the grandiloquence of Governments has done little in two months. India has tried, but her accomplishments are small, Pakistan has enticed, but has offered nothing; the West has condemned and deplored, but has largely stood aloof.

Even the well-intentioned relief efforts of the West have become bogged down in the monsoon mud. The sterling from London, the dollars from Washington and the tonnages from Geneva look fine on paper. It is simply that there is not a Bengali refugee in India who is better fed more adequately sheltered or healthier than he was two months go.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬০। বাংলায় পাকিস্তানীদের দিন শেষ হয়ে এসেছে	ইকনমিস্ট	৩১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE ECONOMIST, LONDON, JULY 31, 1971*

### **TIME IS RUNNING OUT IN BENGAL**

A first small step to getting Bengal refugees back home has been achieved in Pakistan's acceptance of United Nations observers in East Pakistan. India rejected this week the suggestion that there should be observers on its side of the border too. But the main obstacle to the refugees' return remains the situation deep inside East Pakistan.

This is not helped by the fact that the Pakistani army has had nothing but praise from President Yahya, when it is obvious to anyone who travels around East Pakistan that it has used excessive force. The damage done throughout the province has been colossal, and there was a methodicalness about it that belies the official story that the soldiers only fired when fired upon. Worst hit are the bazaar areas, where they could wreak the maximum damage with the maximum of firepower.

The province's main roads are lined with burnt-out huts, and most areas around crossroads and bridges have been more or less cleared of human habitation. The army's claim that only eight soldiers, none of officers, have been punished for excesses is hardly reassuring. There are reports that at least one brigadier has been relieved of his command. It might impress foreign aid donors and the refugees if the authorities made this sort of disciplinary action police. But West Pakistanis are terribly touchy about any criticism of the army, which has played a central part in their lives since the creation of Pakistan.

Most of the refugees are Hindus—nearly 6 million out of a total of nearly 7 million. The reassurance which the president has offered the Hindus have been offset by his insistence that new constitution will be more Islamic than ever; and it still unclear how far the army has stopped the Hindu-bashing in which it clearly indulged earlier. On June 21st two days after one of the president's speeches of reassurance, Dacca's most famous Hindu temple was pulled down. And since then the villages that have been sacked for "harboring miscreants" have been mainly Hindu ones.

Hindu refugees are still pouring out of East Pakistan. Those interviewed, on the border all say they are leaving because it is being made clear to them that they will have no place in the future Pakistan. Apart from the army, the people they complain of are the Bengali members of the right-wing religious parties Jamaat Islami and the Moslem League, which were crushed in last December 'elections' and the Biharis who came as Moslem refugees from India.

It is these two groups that the new "peace committees" have been formed. Until now these committees have been busy providing the army with information about Awami League members and Hindus. But now that so many people have fled they play an important part in the forming of allotment committees that appoint "caretakers" for abandoned property. Officially, half of the income from this property should go into a relief fund and the property should be handed back intact to any refugees who return. Since so few have



returned it is impossible to establish whether this will happen in practice. Returning refugees will probably have difficulty in recovering their property from the hands of Biharis and Moslem fanatics who are now high in the favor of the military authorities.

Under the peace committees come the razakars, Home Guard-type volunteers who are paid a small wage are armed to help the police in preventing sabotage by the Mukti Fauj. Many of them are simply local thugs. There are cases of criminal charges dropped if the accused men join the razakars, and one case of a man who, although legally disqualified for life from ever carrying a weapon, is now using a Lee Enfield.

It is the peace committees and razakars, a mixture of opportunist collaborators, bigots and toughs whom the Mukti Fauj guerrillas have chosen as their prime target. They have killed a fair number of them. The military authorities in Dacca are conscious of the need to attract more respectable civilian support. Indeed General Farman Ali, who is in charge of civil affairs in East Pakistan has publicly admitted that there are some bad characters on the peace committees.

But time is not on the military government's side. The Mukti Fauj has shown that it can operate even in Dacca and its actions are already a powerful deterrent to those Bengalis who might be willing to play along with the authorities. And so long as the Mukti Fauj continues to operate however sporadically the government will find it difficult to treat any Bengali in any position of authority. Apart from the 60,000 troops and 5,000 West Pakistani police it has brought in, the government seems to have tried to keep its "colonial profile" as low as possible. But West Pakistani civil servants have been brought in to head home department and information ministry and as district commissioners for Dacca and Chittagong: there has been a purge of Pakistan International Airlines where some 850 flight and ground staff have been dismissed since March. Security is essential in PIA because it is the only link between the country's two wings.

Nor is time on the president's side if the Mukti Fauj continue to make the economy another of their prime targets. Quite apart from their sabotaging of bridges and communications, which is largely aimed at hamstringing army movements they have started a concerted campaign against East Pakistan main crops; jute and tea. Very Little- which is Pakistan's main foreign exchange earner is reaching the mills, because growers and dealers have received anonymous letters from the Mukti Fauj telling them not to move it. Many of the letters bear smudged postmarks indicating that postal workers are helping the guerrillas in their own. And little of the jute that gets to the mills is being baled because of labor troubles between Bengalis and Biharis. Tea which is grown near Sylhet in the north-east, has been badly hit. Some estates have been shelled from across the Indian border and the Mukti Fauj has blown up eight processing factories.

But so far there seems to be little pressure on President Yahya from West Pakistan. News about East Pakistan is heavily censored, and the only West Pakistanis learn about army casualties is from Indian broadcast. And although the economic squeeze is already on, the business lobby is too timid to make representations to the President. Only Mr. Bhutto makes occasional complaints about continued martial law, and that simply because he wants to use his electoral majority in West Pakistan.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬১। বাংলাদেশের অবস্থা ভাল নয়	টেলিগ্রাফ	১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE SUN DA Y TELEGRA PH, A UGUST 1, 1971*

### **YAHYA TO VISIT DACCA**

*By Clare Hollingworth in Dacca*

President Yahya is expected to visit East Pakistan today or next Tuesday. He will arrive in Dacca at the height of a psychological warfare campaign by Bangladesh guerrillas.

This is designed not against the West Pakistanis or the Army but rather to frighten the Bengali population from the areas of future actions.

The guerrillas claim they will soon take "dramatic action." The Bengalis have been warned not go near the airport.

### **6 Die in clash**

There was a clash on Friday night at Farmgate, an industrial suburb between the city and the airport, between the guerrillas and the army.

The exchange of automatic fire and loud explosions could be heard throughout the city and six guerrillas are reported killed.

Far more serious was the destruction by the Army of three Christian villages of Loodaria, Nalchata and Daripara near Dacca, situated on the branch railway line which runs from Tongi to Arikhola on a high embankment.

### **Train Derailed**

This is the first time the defense forces have been involved in the burning and flattening of houses of purely Christian communities. The guerrillas had derailed train some miles away along the line-I saw the results of this action.

At the moment these villages are completely surrounded by water and many of the men who live there work in offices and hotels in Dacca. They say that between 3,000 and 4,000 Christians have been rendered homeless and a few hundred were taken away by Army for questioning.

Although these events took place on Wednesday I have been unable to obtain any comment from the military spokesman, who has not been available since then. The Catholic clergy in the area are deeply concerned by this first attack on members of their community.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬২। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে দুভিক্ষ অনিবার্য	টেলিগ্রাফ	৩১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE TELEGRAPH, AUGUST 31, 1971*

### **EAST PAKISTAN FAMINE INEVITABLE THIS WINTER**

*By Clare Hollingworth in Dacca*

With an acute shortage of foodstuffs already in parts of East Pakistan a winter famine in isolated areas is inevitable.

This is the view of American and other foreign experts who have been attempting for six months to assess the food and transport situation in the province.

Whether or not the shortage becomes a famine now depends on the efficiency of the distribution system.

Many foreigners are deeply disturbed by the refusal of Lt-Gen. Tikka Khan, military governor of East Pakistan, to allow food to be distributed by foreign voluntary organizations working under the United Nations.

He insists that this powerful political weapon remains firmly in the hands of the Pakistan administration which will naturally operate under the West Pakistan Army.

#### **Armed Volunteers**

This means in practice that food will be handed out by peace committees and the armed volunteers they employ.

A handful of the men who form the peace committees are sincere members of the Moslem League thrust into the political wilderness by the popularity of the now outlawed Awami League.

But the majority are opportunists, glad of a chance to gain local power by co-operation with the West Pakistan Army.

It is the local peace committees who technically employ the armed volunteer home guards, the Razakars, who in many areas, have acquired reputations for thuggery and violence.

There are genuine fears that those who make a show of collaborating with the Army will receive more rice and wheal than those known to support an independent East Pakistan.

Baghat EI Tawil, United Nations man on the spot, has done something to overcome this and there will soon be about 73 officials working to sec that food reaches the right mouths.

But they are hardly sufficient to cover the 65 to 70 million people believed to be living in East Pakistan.

**Jeeps taken over**

In some areas the Army is still using the UNICEF jeeps they "took over" when they moved in to "restore order" on March 25, although a handful have been returned to their rightful users.

There are already considerable stocks of rice and other food in Chittagong and Khulna ports while America and on a more minor scale, China, are rushing food to East Pakistan.

Unhappily since boats were bought and hired to move grain along rivers to inland ports, there has been a serious deterioration in the internal security situation.

The Mukti Foj Guerrillas have laid so many mines on roads and harassed small boats so much that night travel is no longer possible and even movement by day can be dangerous.

The recent severe floods have added to the dangers of famine. The rice crop from 2,600,000 acres has been lost.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬৩। বাংলাদেশকে স্বাধীন করভেই হবে	নিউ স্টেটসম্যান	১০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*NEW STATESMAN, SEPTEMBER 10. 1971*  
**BANGLADESH MUST BE FREED**

*By Peter Shore who has just returned from a visit to India which included a tour of Bangladesh refugee camps.*

At the heart of the great crisis in Bengal is the break-up of the state of Pakistan. What Jinnah created with his fanatical resolve in 1947 has now been irrevocably destroyed by the stupidity of Yahya Khan and the ferocity of his generals.

Of course, at no stage in the 24 years of its existence as a single state could it have been easy by to hold together and weld into one political community, the 50 million people of West Pakistan and the 75 million people in far away East Bengal. But whatever the chances were, the successors of Jinnah have thrown them away.

Ironically, last year's election, with its overwhelming victory for the Bengal-based Awami League and the subsequent negotiation for far-reaching autonomy between Sheikh Mujib and the Pakistan President, offered the last chance for a single Pakistan. It was destroyed not by the declaration of independence by the Sheikh, but by the President's prior command to his troops to destroy the Awami League and to teach the Bengalis a lesson they would never forget.

Try as he may to disguise it, the situation is no longer in the President's hands. The fury of Tikka Khan's soldiers has released forces that will sooner or later destroy not only them but Pakistan. The key question for the world now is, not whether Pakistan can continue but how, without provoking conflict with other powers and without inflicting insupportable further misery on Bengal itself, its rule in Bengal can be brought to an end. There is indeed great danger. Vicious repression of the inconvenient results of a democratic election are not unknown in human affairs, if the March repression had been limited to the elected representatives and key supporters of the Awami League, world opinion might have been brought reluctantly to accept it, but repression carried out as brutally and for so long that people have fled, not just from their homes but from their country at the incredible rate of 1 and a half million a month for the past 5 months-and still with no sign of abatement-indicates a near lunacy in the misuse of oppressive power. No wonder, then, that there is a growing tension far beyond the borders of Pakistan. No wonder that India in particular, waits and watches with strained intensity and feels obliged to sign a mutual security pact with the Soviet Union.

It would of course, be a desperate throw if Pakistan's rulers were now to launch a military attack on India. But India is right to take the threat seriously. For the one slender hope that the Pakistan junta has of holding East Bengal is to seek to transform their own internal conflict with democracy and Bengali nationalism into a communal clash between Muslim and Hindu, and into an external confrontation with India.

This is the crazy logic behind the repressive overkill of the last few months. While the first great wave of refugees was overwhelmingly Muslim Awami League supporters, succeeding waves-until very recently when Muslim refugees began again to increase- have been overwhelmingly Hindu as the army and the razakars, or special constabulary, have incited and, at times, compelled the civilian population to turn against their Hindu neighbors. Pakistan propaganda for both home and external consumption has sought to present the whole Bengal problem as the work of a handful of treacherous politicians. Hindu money and Indian intervention. In so far as Yahya Khan is convincing on this, he can hope to mobilize, for his regime at least some Bengali opinion inside Bengal, win popular support in the Punjab and provide outside nations, uneasy as ever about internal conflicts, with some excuse, however feeble, for their own shameful silence.

For precisely the same reason, because India knows that this is Pakistan's purpose and because India wants the world to see the crisis as it is, as a problem for Pakistan the Indian government declines to respond. Resolutely insisting that this is an 'internal' Pakistan crisis, maintaining strict discipline over the army's response to border incidents, concealing the communal character of the repression in Bengal, avoiding a direct confrontation with Pakistan in the Security Council, the Indian posture is grimly defensive.

Meanwhile she has to accept the pain and the cost and disruption of an unprecedented influx of refugees, swamping West Bengal, Tripura and Assam and totally overshadowing the short-term outlook of the whole Indian economy. At one level it seems as if they are involved in a dreadful contest to establish whether Pakistan's capacity to inflict suffering is greater or less than India's capacity to absorb it. So far India has held her own-and the danger of a direct Pakistan military attack has slightly receded with the signing of the Indo-Soviet pact.

But the contest is not yet over. The 8 million people who have swamped West Bengal and the other provinces of India are refugees not of hunger but of oppression and fear. In the next few months as hunger spreads inside East Bengal a second wave of people, the refugees of hunger, could well flow across the frontier in numbers difficult even to visualize. In facing these problems, India has the right to expect aid and encouragement from Britain, and from other powers in both West and East. But while assistance for India on a scale commensurate with her vast burdens must be forthcoming, this can be no more than a palliative. For the problem is not India but Pakistan, and the overriding aim of policy must therefore be to bring Pakistan as quickly as possible to accept freedom and self-government in East Bengal.

Yahya Khan must not be allowed for a moment to believe that the ponderous diplomatic offensive launched this week, has even a hope of success. When Mr. Bhutto describes the recall of Tikka Khan and the appointment of a civilian as Governor of Bengal as "whitewash" and when the Pakistan government announces the easing censorship on the very day that the British High Commission has to suspend the distribution of British newspapers in Pakistan one need not perhaps worry unduly. But it should be recognized that these and other moves by the Pakistan government are designed to give some vestige of responsibility to their regime in East Bengal and thus to

open a way for a resumption of economic aid from the West.

It is imperative that these manoeuvres do not succeed. There must be no resumption of consortium aid to Pakistan this October. In this decision, Britain will have a considerable voice and it should be our particular objective to persuade this irresolute US Administration to keep in stop, not on with consortium aid but in stopping other economic and military aid programmes. The Pakistan economy is in fact vulnerable to the continued cut-off economic aid but, more than anything else a clear decision in this matter would had to shatter the complacency and self-decision about 'getting away with it' which play so important a part in Islamabad policies.

Finally, there is a role for diplomatic. It would be surprising if there were not good deal of common ground between the major powers, at least on the prognosis the coming collapse of Pakistan and perhaps on the need for a measure of stability in the East Bengal area....

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬৪। আরো শরণার্থী আসতে পারে	ইভনিং স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৮ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*EVENING STANDARD, OCTOBER 8, 1971*  
**INDIA FACES NEW FLOW OF REFUGEES**

Calcutta. Friday. -The East Pakistani refugee population in India already over the nine million mark-is expected to be boosted by a massive new influx in the next three months.

Observers give two main reasons for the expected additions. Famine and an upsurge of military activity.

Any increase in activities by either the Pakistani Army or East Pakistani fighters, known as the Mukti Bahini (liberation forces), would undoubtedly add to the flow of refugees who-six months after the martial law crack-down began in their country-are still crossing the border at the rate of 15,000 to 40,000 a day.

Observers expect a Pakistani Army offensive to begin when the floodwaters of this year's monsoon finally drain away late this month or early November.

**Struggle**

The Mukti Bahini undoubtedly view the next six weeks as a crucial period in their struggle for independence.

Some observers even expect a Mukti Bahini campaign on the scale of the Vietcong offensive in South Vietnam.

But an exact replica is unlikely because the Mukti Bahini are still hampered by a shortage of heavy artillery which the Indian government has consistently-refused to supply.

Despite the lack of arms, it is believed there will be a serious attempt to counter any Pakistani military initiative with intensified guerrilla activity.

The inevitable increase in refugees that would result from such activity could only make the short term prospects of the refugees already, inside India even bleaker. (Reuter)

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬৫। পাকিস্তানীদের প্রতিশোধমূলক হত্যা	টেলিগ্রাফ	২৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, LONDON, OCTOBER 27, 1971*  
**50 DIE IN PAKISTANI REPRISAL**

About 50 unarmed civilians have been killed by Pakistan army, police and volunteers in the Dayaganj residential district of Dacca.

May more civilians were wounded in the raid which took place a week ago just after two men, believed to be members of Mukti Bahini, the Bangladesh freedom army, shot six Pakistani soldiers, killing four of them.

Thus a reprisal the army, aided by police and razakars, went from house to house firing into rooms and setting buildings alight, according to eye-witnesses.

At least 60 homes occupied by shop-keepers, workers and Government officials were burned down. The incident was one of a series, of exchanges of fire which are said to occur almost nightly throughout the capital city.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬৬। নিরস্ত্র বাঙালীদের উপর অত্যাচার অব্যাহত	ফাইন্যান্সিয়াল টাইমস	২৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE FINANCIAL TIMES, LONDON, OCTOBER 27, 1971*  
**REPRISALS CONTINUE AGAINST UNARMED EAST PAKISTANIS**  
 AP Report from Dacca

In spite of the military regime's persisted denials, the Pakistan army, and police continue to take reprisals against unarmed civilians living where the Bengali rebels operate, even within sight of the residence of the new civilian governor in the middle of Dacca. Authoritative sources say the American Government also continues to urge the Pakistani army to halt the attacks in an effort to create a tranquil atmosphere to attract back some of the millions of refugees who have left East down Pakistan since March 25, when the army cracked against the Awami League and its leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, throwing the predominantly Bengali province of 75 million people into civil War.

The sources said American Congressman Peter H.B. Freling Huysen (Rep.. New Jersey) was instructed to ask President Yahya Khan about attacks on unarmed persons when he met the military leader in Rawalpindi during his tour of Pakistan earlier this month.

According to the sources, the President denied shootings are taking place and would not concede they might even have happened accidentally. Evidence of reprisal is a burned strip 200 yards square in the Dayaganj residential district astride the railway line connecting Dacca to its river port of Narayanganj, 11 miles away.

According to eyewitnesses, troops, police and volunteer "razakars" burned dozens of homes and shot scores of people a week ago, an hour after two men believed to be members of Mukti Bahini, the Bangladesh freedom army, gunned down in daylight six soldiers in a patrol. Survivors claimed the reprisals took the lives of at least 50 persons and many others were wounded as forces carrying automatic weapons went from house to house firing into rooms and setting buildings afire.

From the top one bridge one can count at least 60 homes razed to the ground. Residents said the families have fled from most of the 300 houses in the neighborhood of shopkeepers, laborers, and petty Government officials. "There was, no Mukti Bahini when the army came", said one civil servant. "I'm a Government servant and I tell you no person had a weapon". The residents readily spoke to AP about the attack, despite the presence of armed guards at a nearby rail bridge and crossing, but they refused to give their names for publication and one shopkeeper said the people feared agents of the criminal investigation division of the police.

The neighbourhood is about three miles from the residence of the new Bengali civilian governor, Dr. A.M. Malik. The scene of burned houses, twisted corrugated iron roofs and rubble is reminiscent of the appearance of Dacca after the army struck last

March 25. The bridge guards said the Mukti Bahini killed at least four soldiers and wounded two others. Apparently the rebels disappeared without being harmed. The incident was one of a series of exchanges of fire, which residents said are occurring almost nightly throughout the capital city. Houses in Dayaganj still had blood splattered walls, floors, and rents torn in their bamboo doors and walls by bayonets. The army had no immediate comment but officers have said frequently-troops are ordered only to fire when fired upon.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬৭। গেরিলারা ১২ মাস ব্যাপী যুদ্ধের লক্ষ্য স্থির করেছে	গার্ডিয়ান	৩ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*GUARDIAN, NOVEMBER 3, 1971*  
**GUERRILLAS SET A 12-MONTH TARGET**

*Jim Hoagland Reports From A Base on The Indo-Pakistan Frontier*

India's military explosive border with East Pakistan lies several hundred yards from the small frontier post of Boyra, where a smiling young Indian Army lieutenant stood in ankle deep mud gesturing toward the frontier. "I will not be going with you," he told a half-dozen foreign journalists about to set off on foot across the frontier, "International law says we must not cross the border."

The officer repeated this stilted comment several times for the correspondents he had escorted through Indian Army lines to Boyra. He had evidently eagerly rehearsed his words which reflect India's sensitivity to events in East Pakistan and India's disputed role in them.

The Indian lieutenant passed the journalists on to a wizened man of perhaps 60 who carried an old carbine identified himself as "Mukti Bahini"-the guerrilla military arm- and then set off at a brisk pace through a drenching rainstorm. Floundering in the thick mud, the journalists followed him on a twisting four-mile hike through rice paddies and beside a border marker dividing India and East Pakistan. At the end of the march was an abandoned school house, now identified by a banner as sub-sector headquarters for the 'liberation Forces of Bangladesh.'

Major Najmul Huda, a 33-year-old precisely spoken man who said he had been a captain in the Pakistani Army, asserted that from the school house he controls an area of 150 square miles. He has a company of about a hundred regular soldiers who defected to the rebel cause, and 7,000 villagers trained by his forces. The guerrillas claim to have implanted such headquarters throughout East Pakistan, and say they are intensifying an insurgency that will drive the regular Pakistani Army from the territory in a year or so.

It is impossible to judge the validity of their claims on a quick hike in and out of the rebel zone. But impartial analysis credit the guerrilla organisation with having expanded within seven months from zero to a force of 80,000 to 100,000 men, a figure roughly equal to the number of regular Pakistani soldiers deployed against them. These analysts feel that the Mukti Bahini may be developing from a rag-tag hurriedly thrown together force into something of an organisation with increasing capability for coordinated actions.

Authoritative reports circulating in the diplomatic community here also support Major Huda's assertion that the Mukti Bahini has "become more aggressive and effective within recent weeks." In the past 20 days, rebel attacks concentrated on communications and logistics lines show a pattern of increasing sophistication in the guerrilla arms supplies and training, according to these reports, which add to the speculation that India

may have recently stepped up tactical support for the guerrillas. They have been helped b) the dispersal of Pakistani troops around the frontier over the past two weeks.

The guerrillas' success in the interior has apparently led to increasing retaliation by Pakistani forces against Indian border areas suspected of harboring them. There are daily reports of shillings of villages and in a few cases Indian areas are said to have been strafed by Pakistani aircraft.

Boyra is in an area that was shelled last week. An indications are that the Indian troops camped there have not crossed into East Pakistan to help the guerrillas. Whether they support them in other ways is a matter of bitter dispute. While the Indians deny that they do. Pakistan as a matter of routine describes the guerrillas as Indian agents or puppets.

Major Huda denied that his men receive arms or training from the Indians. He attributed what he described as it significant increase in the number of weapons available to his men in the past few weeks to the increased capture of rifles distributed by the Pakistani Army to loyal civilians.

Rut there are persistent reports that a major influx of new arms began coming into the Indian border areas about 10 days ago. According to one version, which cannot be confirmed, Indian arms deliveries to the guerrillas were stepped up after the Soviet Union assured India that it would replace .Soviet weapons sent on to the rebel forces.

Wounded guerrillas are sent across the border into India for medical care, and the villagers in his area receive food from the Indian Red Cross and from Oxfam, Major Huda said.

The guerrilla and the Indian military also undoubtedly exchange intelligence. Observers feel that official leaks in New Delhi to the Indian press, confirmed by reliable Indian sources here, show a detailed knowledge on the Indian side of the positioning of Pakistani forces throughout country.

The apparent growing cohesion within the Mukti Bahini and the emergence of officers like Major Huda as de facto district administrators are trends that are being carefully scrutinized by Western observers.

"Some of us assume that East Pakistan will in fact be an independent country at some point," said one Western diplomat. "We don't know if it will take six months or six years. But if it does happen there will be a new generation of leaders who have been formed in the guerrilla battle, and it will be important to know what they are." - Washington Post.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬৮। গেরিলা বাহিনী রাস্তায় রাস্তায় যুদ্ধ শুরু করেছে	টেলিগ্রাফ	৩ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, NOVEMBER 3, 1971*

## **GUERRILLAS START STREET WARFARE IN EAST PAKISTAN**

*By Clare Hollingworth in Dacca*

Forty Thousand Bangladesh Guerrillas are now operating inside East Pakistan, and posing grim problems for the West Pakistan Army, which is generally deployed along the 1,300-mile frontier with India.

There are now at least 20 military casualties a day as the Mukti Fouj, the guerrillas, increase their activities inside the towns. They are becoming more aware of their strength, which is based on whole-hearted local support.

Two Pakistani soldiers, one policeman, and a guerrilla were killed in a noon gun battle the other day in Chittagong market.

This is the first time street fighting has taken place in daylight since the martial law authorities took over last March.

In Dacca there are prolonged exchanges of fire in the old part of the town and three or four explosions in the residential areas every night. Several bodies, generally unidentified, are found each morning.

### **Wave of Support**

One Pakistan Army officer said to me: "Open support for the Mukti Fouj has risen during the past two months like a gigantic tidal wave sweeping over the country."

This has left the Army in an over-stretched position-manning the frontiers with too few men to retain control of the countryside, especially those areas away from the main routes which are now "liberated" by the guerrillas not only during the night but also during the day as well.

Two bombs destroyed a garage and a petrol station in Dacca yesterday. The building in the centre of the city which houses the Election Commission was blown up on Sunday night. A few nights earlier, guerrillas bombed the television studios building.

Bank robberies are frequent because the three groups of guerrillas now deployed inside the city require far more money for food and lodgings than those operating in the countryside.

Schools have also been attacked. Many parents now keep their children at home.

### **Growing audacity**

The authorities are pressing the Government in Islamabad to introduce "punitive levies" on local inhabitants. Under this, the nearest inhabitants to any guerrilla activity would be forced to pay a collective fine.

But it will be difficult to enforce if the audacity of the Mukti fouj continues at its present rate. One thousand guerrillas held a conference last weekend near the port of Barisal. Banners proclaiming their independence were flying only three miles from the nearest army outpost.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬৯। যে যুদ্ধ বিশ্বের প্রতি হুমকি স্বরূপ	ডেইলি মিরর	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY MIRROR, LONDON, DECEMBER 4, 1971*

### **THE WAR THAT THREATENS THE WORLD**

The one salient truth on the Indian sub-continent today has not, it seems, reached Britain. The truth is that Pakistan, not India, has forced all of West Asia to the point of war.

This is not meant to over-simplify a confused situation, nor is it meant to condone all of India's recent actions.

But a culpably ignorant and dangerous view appears to be forming in Britain that says India is the "aggressor".

The danger in this view, which takes no account of events of the past eight months, is that it will isolate India, leaving her friendless, stripping away what options for peace she has left, and contribute to a war which will involve China, the United States and Russia.

If such a view is allowed to gather strength the United Nations, and perhaps even the British Government, will be coerced into mediation on behalf of a Pakistani junta who have murdered, since March, perhaps 1,000,000 people.

Let us get our recent history correct. In March, Field-Marshal Yahya Khan and his Generals crushed the democratically elected Government of East Pakistan, now Bangladesh.

Since then, they have conducted a formulated policy of genocide against the 75,000,000 people of East Bengal.

They have worked their way through a list of thousands of elected politicians, teachers, students, doctors and businessmen.

At the same time, they have allowed their mostly Punjabi troops to operate an assembly line of atrocities.

They have drained blood from young people. They have publicly cast rated. They have burned and killed and raped.

So widespread has been their terrorizing that 11,000,000 people fled into India, where most of them are now suffering pain I cannot describe.

For those who cannot escape, they have provided the specter of perhaps food and relief and turn away from recognizing the enormity of this crime.

Arms shipments to West Pakistan have continued, and so has trade.

During this time. Field Marshal Yahya Khan, who would be reminiscent of a mildly amusing Victorian figure in a Gilbert and Sullivan opera if he were not so powerful, has

tormented India by ordering the shelling of civilians and refugees in border towns, week after week.

Eleven days ago, India, her exchequer almost drained for caring for the refugees of her neighbor, and her pleas to Western Governments for help at best cynically shelved, decided she could take no more.

She hit back at the Pakistan army in a border action designed to give the Bangladesh guerrillas some chance against the superior Pakistani fire power.

This was not altogether successful, but still India held back. Certainly, no modern leader has shown such restraint as Indira Gandhi.

Since then, the Pakistani shelling has intensified, and on Thursday, three Pakistani jets bombed an airfield in India's Tripura State, killing" five and wounding forty-five.

At the same time, Pakistan requested a United Nations "cease-fire", knowing that U.N. intervention would shore up its attempts to maintain a sovereignty over Bangladesh, as well as its hold over the Bengali people.

India, having moved its forces into Bangladesh, would be cast in the role of aggressor.

Mrs. Gandhi has just said: "If any country thinks that by calling us aggressor, it can press us to forget our national interest, then that country is living in its own fool's paradise .

"The times have passed when any nation sitting three or four thousand miles away could give orders to Indians on the basis of their color superiority to do as they wished, India has changed and is no more a country of natives".

The choice of war or peace is no longer Mrs. Gandhi's. It is the choice of those Governments who now support and listen to a desperate group of Generals in Pakistan.

If the wrong choice is made, there may be a war which will involve directly not only Indians and Pakistanis, a war for which no one bargained.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭০। অবরুদ্ধ ঢাকা	টাইমস	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE TIMES, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1971*

**DACCA EATS BY CANDLELIGHT AFTER DAY OF STRAFING**  
**A Dog howls, children watch A spectacular air show from rooftops..**  
**Life goes on in an embattled capital**

*From James P. Sterba Dacca, December 7 (delayed)*

The city is in darkness at 8.30 pm. Nothing moves. A 5.30 pm curfew sent people from the streets. Curtains are pulled, candles burn shaded from windows. There are few sounds. A dog howls now and then, a Jeep or lorry slips by, lights out.

The clouds have dimmed the moonlight, the stars are faint. The crows, after a day of soaring overhead among Indian and Pakistan warplanes, have ceased their noisy vigil. The capital of East Pakistan is listening and waiting.

At 8.32 pm Dacca hears three booms in the distance. A siren wails. No sounds of jets. Another deeper-tone siren.

Now at 8.37 pm. the whoosh of a jet can be heard. It is high and far away. There is more than one, none firing so far.

Families of United Nations workers, contractors, relief-agency people-Americans. Britons, Australians and others-have crammed into the Intercontinental Hotel with hastily packed suitcases, waiting to be evacuated.

They have been told a United Nations aircraft, an American C-130 Hercules, is coming from Bangkok to take them out. Children are confused; some whine The hotel's hall lights are on but room and ground-floor lights have been blacked out and the windows taped.

The Scottish chef has prepared another buffet for dinner chicken and lamb curries, rice, cucumbers fish, cold plates; no beer or Coke left. The waiter said the hoarding began this afternoon. Diners eat by candlelight, talking of rumours and whether things will get worse or better Most seem to think worse.

About 50 journalists are in the hotel punching their typewriters by candlelight and collecting scraps of information. Photographers and film crews and writers are worried about getting their films and articles out. There is constant tuning of radios in search of outside news.

The hotel filled in the afternoon. Besides evacuees Pakistan International Airlines workers from the airport piled in, three and four to a room. Nine of their co-workers were killed in the Indian raids on the airport today. They said the raids started last night at about 3am and ended by mid afternoon.

"Of course, they have got to break for tea", someone said.

Now it's 9.14 pm and there is another dull boom far away, another siren.

The Government information official said at 7 : 30 P m that 31 Indian aircraft were shot down in both wings of Pakistan today, but no one really believes it. Thirteen were brought down in East Pakistan, he said. Reporters saw four shot down over Dacca during the day and three others smoking from hits by anti-aircraft fire.

Pakistan Air Force sources claim the capture of nine Indian pilots, including a wing commander. They also say an Indian SU 7, a Soviet-built fighter, was forced to land intact at the airstrip.

Two Pakistan F -86 fighters were shot down, they said, one hit by Pakistan ground fire while chasing an Indian MIG 21 "It was quite unfortunate, but at least the Indians did not get it", they added.

The raids provided a spectacular show for thousands of Dacca residents. Tiny children in rags scurried out for better views as the Indian MIGs passed on a strafing and rocketing run on their way to the airport from the middle of town.

People watched from the tops of buildings ducking sometimes when anti-aircraft shells exploded too close. Hotel residents climbed on the roof, where color-television cameras recorded ballet-like dogfights and raids on the airport.

One film crew worked in bathing suits saying they might as well get a suntan. Others had room service deliver cold drinks and lunch.

As a MiG passed over tailed by two Sabres and then flew in low over the airport, a cameraman turned to a waiter to say: "Oh waiter, waiter. Make that a double order-fruit cocktail and iced tea with lime"

At 12.30 p.m. journalists were taken to the airport by military officers to see an Indian MiG which had been shot down. They arrived just in time to be strafed by MIG's that destroyed two of three small single-engine United Nations aircraft parked by a hangar only a few yards away.

Several television cameramen lay on their backs, filming the Indian aircraft through a blaze of anti-aircraft fire, as they made four passes. One was hit, burst into flames and crashed nearby.

The aircraft-MIG's, Gnats and SU 7's-fired rockets and strafed, but did not bomb, according to a Government official. Their targets were the aircraft and hangars. They did not raid the military cantonment nearby or damage the air strip.

Officials said the only other town hit by Indian aircraft was Chittagong, the targets there being fuel storage tanks and a refinery

At 10.02 p.m. it is quiet again. No air raids yet tonight. A dog is yelping.

*-New York Times News Service*

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭১। জীবিত এবং মুক্ত	ডেইলি মিরর	২৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE DAILY MIRROR DECEMBER 7, 1971

### ALIVE AND FREE

*The Mirror's John Pilger reports on the birth of Bangladesh, a nation that cheated the executioners*

Calcutta, Monday. Five months ago I crossed the border between India and what was then East Pakistan, and reported that a nation called Bangladesh existed; and that its people were being murdered in their thousands for wishing to be free.

On that day, the mirror's front page said "Death of a Nation." Bangladesh, it seemed, was to be stillborn, for already 5'00,000 people had been killed by the Pakistan Army, and 7,000,000 had fled to India, where unaccountable numbers died from diseases like cholera.

Then we in the West cared briefly, we gave charity until the story of their suffering was no longer immediate news.

But, really, we did not care about these *boxwallahs* of our colonial past; we did not care or understand about their uprising against that colonial past, and its legates, the military despots of West Pakistan whose almost comical delusions of Aryan superiority had parallels in Nazi Germany, and whose determination to rule Bengal included a policy of genocide: to be exact, the death of a nation.

I now report the birth of a nation. Bangladesh, Clive of India's Golden Bengal, having in the last year lost more than 1,000.(X)0 people through violence, cyclone and disease, and now facing perhaps the greatest famine of our time, has survived.

### Moral movement

This morning, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, comprising 2 percent of the human race, was formally recognized by the Indian Government, whose army is now attacking the army of West Pakistan on twenty-two fronts inside Bangladesh.

Tonight and tomorrow at least a dozen other countries are expected to offer recognition.

Like other reporters here, who have worked on this story alongside Bangalees. I do not conceal my support for Bangladesh, which I believe embodies the most moral national movement since the cause of those who fought the Spanish Civil War and lost.

My feelings stem not only from my regard for the Bengalese who are among the most attractive and resilient people on earth, but also from the knowledge that their triumph today-as yet to be confirmed by India's victory in this war-is in spite of an enforced poverty typical of two-thirds of the human race, and unimaginable in the West.

Usually we in the West, who are the world's rich, watch the new nations, who are the poor, fall quickly to systems of dictatorship and corruption.

This has been true in Latin America, African countries like the Congo, and in West Pakistan.

We have preached to the poor nations, which have problems of survival we cannot comprehend, that they must first erect a parliamentary democracy on the Westminster or Washington models, before they can receive our blessing, which, at best, will be aid with political strings attached.

### **Refugee camp**

Somehow, Bangladesh has called our bluff. Somehow last December 98 percent of the East Bengali people voted for a parliamentary democracy, and for a moderate man as Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

They did not vote for independence from the government of West Pakistan, a thousand miles away: they asked only for democratic autonomy within the state of Pakistan. For this, they were crushed last March by the army of Yahya Khan.

Since then, no people, not even the Jews, have suffered as much as the Bengalis. The 'People who stayed in their country died by violence or by starvation. Those who fled to India walked along corridors of agony to the refugee camps, for they ceased, it seemed, to be human.

Even before Yahya's army struck a cyclone last November killed a quarter of a million. Bengal and the Ganges delta have always been a geographical coffin.

And long before that, Clive of India stripped Golden Bengal of what he described as hidden "inexhaustible riches" and there followed according to an historian of the time, a period when enormous fortunes were made in Calcutta while 30,000,000 human beings were reduced to an extremity of wretchedness.

Finally, in 1947, Britain divided Bengal into two parts and assured her poverty, some say, for a century or more.

Bengal's and India's greatest poet, Tagore, wrote of his people: "Man's body is so small: his strength in suffering so immense." But this afternoon as my taxi approached the Bangladesh mission in Circus avenue, Calcutta, history's gloom had gone.

### **Arms linked**

From a block away I could hear the humming and singing of several hundred Bengalis (in politics and in song they are like the Welsh) and when I arrived people were standing together, arms linked: and many were crying (in their emotions they are like the Jews).

A transistor radio was still blipping the news that, after centuries, Bengal was officially a nation. The only equivalent of this I can think of is the recognition of the State of Israel.

In the garden of the mission exiled parliamentarians, in suits and white shirts, stood with young bearded men of the Mukti Bahini, the Bangladesh freedom fighters. The nationalism they expressed was, like them, gentle. They sang this anthem:

*Oh Golden Bengal, I love you!  
your groves are heady with  
fragrance*

*The air intoxicates like wine-  
Come autumn. I see the honeyed  
smile of your ,harvest laden fields.  
Oh Golden Bengal!*

### **Pecking garbage**

And then they marched into the streets of Calcutta into the flyblown remains of the Raj's Golden Bengal past the little bundles in the gutters which are asleep or ill or dead, and the birdlike children pecking at the garbage, and the beggars and lepers and one or two white Sahibs.

Old men and ragged women with children, and angry-eyed young men came out of doorways and alleyways and off trams and buses to march with them, and to shout "Joi Bangla," which means "Long live the Bengali nation."

As I left the mission a friend, Moudud Ahmed, who is one of the many young ones in the new, hopefully non-aligned government, shouted to me: "Remember your 'Death of a Nation.' Please tell them that a new headline is necessary now: Birth of a Nation."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭২। বাংলাদেশ মুক্ত	ডেইলি মিরর	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*DAILY MIRROR, DECEMBER 9, 1971*

### **LIBERATED!**

This is a city (Jessore) of which we knew almost nothing eight months ago. It is impoverished and flyblown and. I suppose, of no consequence to anybody save those who have attempted to survive here.

Today it was liberated and it might have been Paris in 1944.

There is no attempt to exaggerate in this comparison.

When, shortly after noon, we arrived at the outskirts of Jessore in a convoy of army trucks, jeeps and rickshaws, the first foreigners to enter the city since the Pakistan army began its occupation in March, we were confronted by a spectacle none of us had expected.

The main street, the city square, every doorway and window, were filled with people cheering and saluting and singing hymns.

### **Assault**

The night before last the Indian army began its direct assault on Jessore, the last important town of Bangladesh, to fall before Dacca the capital.

Jessore was the Pakistan army's Maginot line: a network of bunkers and was, we had written, to be one of Asia's greatest sieges. And yet they ran away.

Jessore yesterday was the headquarters of the Pakistan army's Ninth division: six thousand men who dug in, waiting for the Indian army to attack.

### **Tough**

And then, as the Indian army's own Ninth division swept into the city, Pakistanis who are well trained and tough soldiers, fled to the river forty miles away.

In their advance on the city, the Indians defeated four-and-a-half Pakistani battalions and then halted on the outskirts to watch another two-and-a-half battalions-some 2,000 men-suddenly turn and retreat in lorries and commandeered buses and bicycles and rickshaws.

Some 300 of them, many of them with their wives and families, have reached a town twelve miles away where they are tonight surrounded.

Major-General Dalbir Singh, the Indian commander said: "We don't know what to do with them.

"We have asked them to come out with their hands up. If they do not do as we say, we shall have to finish them off."

On each side of the road to Jessore were villages which had been blasted as part of the Pakistan army's scorched-earth policy.

Many public buildings and houses were in ruins and fields were pocked with bunkers.

And it was only after we had walked several miles that we realized that the people walking with us, their entire belongings on their heads and backs, were the advance scouts of 11,000,000 refugees in India returning to see if a Bangladesh really existed.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭০। স্বাধীন বাংলা	সান	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE SUN, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1971  
**BANGLADESH HAILS ITS DAY OF FREEDOM'**  
**Dancing in streets as key city falls to India**

Singing, dancing East Pakistanis went wild with joy in Jessore yesterday as Indian soldiers marched in triumph through the town.

Indian tanks roared down the main street-while Radio Pakistan was insisting: 'We still hold Jessore.'

The townspeople were out in their thousands, shouting themselves hoarse with cries of "Joi Bangla!"-"Glory to Free Bengali-

**Appalling**

For them, the Indian division means an end to the terror and appalling cruelty of the Pakistan Army gun law imposed firing the Bangladesh rebellion earlier this year.

At every window, the green-and-yellow flag of the new rebel state was waving.

After a fierce three day battle outside the town. Pakistani troops had led in the dark, through the last remaining chink in the wall of Indian armor.

At dawn, hundreds of Bangladesh guerrillas swarmed over makeshift barricades and into the town.

They swept into the jail and freed 650 prisoners.

Among them were two relief workers jailed for illegally entering East Pakistan on a charity mission-21 -year-old Gordon slaven, from Hampstead, and 27 year-old American Mrs. Ellen Connet.

**Mission**

Military observers were astonished that Jessore was given up so easily. But it seemed that Pakistan President Yahya Khan had ordered a general retreat in the Eastern province, for a determined stand around the capital, Dacca.

Yesterday the ring of stell around Dacca tightened still more.

According to the Indians, they were only 22 miles from Dacca.

**Claimed**

But Radio Pakistan insisted that Comma-like Jessore and Sylhet, also claimed by the Indians-was still firmly in Pakistan Army hands in the west, Pakistani troops were said to have launched a fierce new attack against Indian positions.

A Pakistani spokesman at Islamabad said: "Our troops continue to dominate Indian forces in the Chamb area."

An Indian spokesman admitted: "Our troops are hard pressed."



শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭৪। পাকিস্তানীদের প্রতিরোধ ব্যবস্থা যথেষ্ট নয়	ডেইলি টেলিগ্রাফ	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, DECEMBER 9, 1971*  
**AIRFIELD FALLS AS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SEEKS WAY OUT  
 AMII) ROW OVER SETTLEMENT  
 WILL TO RESIST IN DOUBT AS INDIANS PRESS FOR DACCA**  
*By Peter Gill in Calcutta*

As Indian troops continued their advance into the heart of East Bengal last week, there were doubts whether Pakistani resistance has been as stiff as Indian Army statements in Calcutta claim.

Lending weight to this impression was the hectoring note struck by "Sam" Manekshaw, Chief of Staff of the Indian Army, in his broadcast last night to Pakistani troops in East Bengal.

Unlike his earlier messages, it was broadcast in English as well as Urdu. Hindi and Pathan and was thus clearly aimed at officers.

"I know that you are concentrating in the Narayanganj (8 miles south-east of Dacca) and Barisal (70 miles south of Dacca) areas," the General said. "And I know that you hope that you will be able to escape or be picked up.

"Should you not heed the advice to surrender and endeavor to escape, I assure you that certain death awaits you. Do not say that I have not warned you."

#### **Columns advance**

In striking out from the strategic western cantonment town of Jessore, captured on Tuesday, two Indian columns were yesterday pursuing Pakistani troops towards Khulna and Faridpur.

Journalists who have recently visited Jessore say that even with moderate resistance, it could have withstood an Indian Army assault for far longer than the 24 hours it actually did.

It is argued that although the "hard shell", of defenses has been breached, the "soft interior" will not fall to the Indians quite so quickly as Indian Eastern Command are predicting.

The most significant advance made yesterday by Indian troops was to within a few miles of the border at Comilla, in the eastern part of the Pakistan province. Moynamoti cantonment, a few miles to the west, acted as a divisional headquarters until recently when it was moved north into the interior at Asukanj.

#### **Airfield falls.**

Although the cantonment is resisting Indian assaults, its troops have been reduced to "a remnant," according to Eastern Command, and its final collapse is imminent.

The Indian Army yesterday captured Comilla airfield, which lies between the town and the cantonment. The town is already in Indian hands.

Within hours of the capture of the airfield, Lt-Gen. J. S. Arora, GOC of Eastern Command, flew there from Agartala, the remote capital of the east Indian state of Tripura. A wildly cheering reception by the "liberated" population was reported by the Army.

Gen. Arora made a tour of inspection of Indian troops who have already pushed westwards from Comilla to within 25 miles of Dacca. Eastern Command described the tour as a "morale booster," further indication that the war in East Bengal is far from over.

Pakistani casualties over the last four days of fighting were given by Indian officials last night as one officer and 331 men killed and 181 injured. Nine officers have been captured along with 21 junior commissioned officers and 285 other ranks.

### **No time to count**

But Eastern Command has released no figures for Pakistan dead and wounded in the 24 hour battle for Jessore. Maj Gen. J. F. R. Jacob, Chief of Staff of Eastern Command, said troops "did not have time to count"

The inability of Eastern Command to produce large casualty figures to match their spectacular capture of Jessore may be an indication that the cantonment town fell to the Indians more easily than they are prepared to admit.

Eastern Command has resolutely declined to reveal details of Indian casualties in East Bengal, saying only that they are "always light, and never heavy."

Commentators suggest that the fall of Jessore may have had less to do with brilliant Indian tactics than with Pakistan's desire to maintain defenses in the interior as her 80,000 troops in East Bengal are hopelessly outnumbered.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭৫। ঢাকার উপর ছাত্রী সেনা	ইভনিং স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	১১ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*EVENING STANDARD, LONDON, DECEMBER 11, 1971*

### **SKY TROOPERS DROP ON DACCA**

*Standard Foreign News Desk*

Indian" paratroopers today made an airborne assault on the Pakistani Positions on the outskirts of the East Pakistani capital of Dacca.

A Calcutta dispatch by United Press International reporter Kenneth Braddick said an estimated 5000 paratroopers were seen boarding about 50 C7 and C119 "Flying Box-car" aircraft at the city's Dum Dum airport for an airborne assault.

Military and diplomatic sources said the target for the drop, the First in the present war with Pakistan, was "the outskirts of Dacca."

Indian forces had earlier established a bridgehead across the Meghna river 40 miles north-east of Dacca.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭৬। পশ্চাদগামী পাকিস্তানীদের প্রতিশোধ	ওয়ার্কার প্রেস	১১ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*WORKER PRESS, DECEMBER 11, 1971*  
**RETREATING PAKISTANIS TAKE THEIR  
 REVENGE ON BENGALIS**

*By A foreign reporter*

Retreating Pakistani soldiers in E. Bengal are taking a terrible revenge on the local population for their defeats at the hands of the Indian army and the Mukti Bahini liberation forces.

Reports from Chittagong still in the hands of Yahya Khans forces, indicate that workers in the town are being massacred in hundreds by the Pakistan troops.

Army units are believed to be making for Chittagong to prepare a sea-borne break-out as Indian troops advance.

A centre of militant trade unionism with a concentrated working class Chittagong was one of the most active centers of Bengali resistance to Khan's forces in the first days of repression in Bangladesh.

Unable to hold onto E. Bengal, the Pakistan military seems bent on killing as many Bengali workers as it can in a last malevolent burst of hatred against Bangladesh.

When Indian troops entered Jessore earlier this week they found systematic destruction of houses and livestock in the surrounding villages.

In the city itself, Italian Catholic priests who lived through the Pakistan occupation told correspondents that the last weeks before liberation had been very severe.

The repression, they said, became more and more brutal, with shootings and pillaging in the very heart of the Jessore cantonment.

On Tuesday afternoon, as India troops were approaching the town's outskirts, the Pakistani troops were still executing 'hostages.'

Leaders of the Awami League, which heads the Indian-backed provisional government of Bangladesh, are appealing for restraint in dealing with razakars who collaborated in these repressions.

These leaders now face the problem of imposing their authority over the many areas of Bangladesh, where committees of liberation have already set up locally-based administrations.

With 150,000 Bengali irregulars under arms, the Awami League leaders are trying to ensure that the popular movement does not get out of their control.

This explains the reactionary suggestion made earlier this week by the New Delhi representative Humayun Choudhury that Mukti Bahini forces should be sent to India's western frontier to take part in the fight against W. Pakistan.

But the workers and Peasants of Bangladesh have no interest in assisting India to annexe Kashmir which is the main aim of India's war in the West.

Choudhury's proposal is the first step towards disarming the Bengali resistance fighters in order to ensure that bourgeois rule continues in Bangladesh in collaboration with the Indian ruling class.

Pravda yesterday distinctly indicated that the Soviet Union is not planning at present to join India in recognizing Bangladesh. Veteran commentator Yuri Zhukov once again stressed Moscow's call on the Pakistan government to take steps towards a political settlement in E. Pakistan.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭৭। ঢাকা ডায়েরী	অবজারভার	১২ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE OBSERVER, DECEMBER 12. 1971

### DACCA DAIRY

**Gavin Young, who has reported many wars for 'The Observer,' has been in Dacca since the Indo-Pakistan war erupted. During the week the following messages have reached us from him; he was able to transmit only single short cables at any one time.**

Tuesday: I have had series of the closest views of the undersides of Indian MiG jets that I could ever wish for. I had gone with other journalists to Dacca Airport to view a shot down Indian plane. And while there we were trapped by a new attack.

I was recumbent under an inadequate palm tree, feeling like the lady surprised in her bath with only a sponge to wear.

They came back and back, wheeling in from different directions, very low-say. 20 to 30 feet directly overhead-banking away after releasing their rockets.

The noise was shattering, but the Pakistani anti-aircraft guns-a wide variety-out-shattered them. Bits of shrapnel fell around. A United Nations plane went up in smoke; rockets ploughed through a hangar. It was an exhilarating show. If the Indians had bombs under their wings, or napalm, few journalists would be left alive.

Wednesday: Today I drove to Narayanganj, the big river port 12 miles from Dacca. I had heard of devastation there, but saw little. Barbed wire and guns were everywhere.

Bombing at night, Indian pilots had hit the sleeping heart of a pauper residential area half a mile from a power station. Four or five hundred civilians were killed and 150 were in hospital; the dead were buried in the mud as they slept.

Other things, remind us that all is not black and white-some hamlets demolished by fire on the roadside, not by bombs but by the Pakistan Army.

God knows what editors in London are making of the news they get about Dacca. Correspondents of daily newspapers and agencies here are still receiving much delayed cables from London demanding to know why they have received no daily file on events and details of life, smells and sounds. Don't they know we can't get out? And that cables have massive delays? One newsman was asked why he could not fly out by Pakistan International Airlines if others were suspended. Does his editors really think that any airline at all has been coming here since last Friday?

**Thursday:** The worst of it till now is the horror of the Islamic orphanage, hit by Indian bombs at 4 o'clock this morning.

Three hundred boys and girls were sleeping there. I saw the place soon after dawn. Bombs had ploughed everyone into a vast and hideous mud-cake, most of them dead. Some under the head were breathing, no doubt, but how far down, how badly injured, no one could tell.

Bombing at night is a deadly thing, and unnecessary here. These bombs were aimed at the airport runway, but the Indians had been attacking it for five days by daylight. Only at midday today did a jet pilot finally put a bomb right on it.

But up to then we had all agreed with an Australian correspondent here who muttered on the first day: The Indians couldn't bit a bull in the bum with a banjo.' That was when we saw the Indian jets careening out of the sky, shot down one by one, seven or nine of them, probably more. The big Sukhoi- 7 Russian bombers are the most spectacular in their fall, slow and graceful, like a sad ballet. That seems a month ago.

After the bombing we emerge into the streets and I look at my fellow cover-takers. We make a grotesque miscellany.

Dapper clerks in white shirts and trousers and black shoes and with glistening hair; clouds of impassive, lean rickshaw men careering in packs through the dogs and crows picking at offal in the roads; strange groups of tattered people, dark-skinned, wild eyes in bony faces, crouching under a huge banyan tree-the ultimate poor.

What do they make of the sirens, the earth-shaking noise of bombs? The old man striding nowhere through the city, his dirty white locks flying, with a bundle and a long stick, like a mad prophet possessed by the belief that he would see his strangest prophecy come true if he can only get there, somewhere, in time.

Friday Morning: The sirens drowned out the muazzin's early call to prayer.

And now we hear the guns. The front can't be far away. The propeller-driven Indian aircraft drop huge bombs. The tall steel structure of the Intercontinental Hotel quivers like a sapling.

Again the mercy flights scheduled for the umpteenth time by the UN and today by the RAF in Singapore, have been cancelled. The women and children are stranded.

Who, we ask here with increasing indignation, is preventing these innocents from leaving-the Indian Government? The Pakistanis have no reason to do so.

One thing international opinion could do is to urge the Indians to stop night bombing, at which they are as inept as most other air forces. Another is to try to have Dacca declared an open city. I believe the Pakistanis would agree to this under certain conditions designed solely to prevent massacres and a civilian uprising and shoot-out in these teeming streets where two rickshaws abreast can cause a traffic block.

There has been a calmness in the city, despite the raids. Banks and shops go on as before. People shelter under doorways and walls when the Indian jets go over or the shrapnel from the Pakistani anti-aircraft guns falls. Slit trenches are everywhere: the hotel lawns have been cut into neatly and in straight lines like a sliced cake. Is there to be a heroic last stand, a miniature...for East Pakistan? Impossible to say.

We listen to the BBC and learn that the Indian Army has armored personnel carriers and can throw a bridge across the waterways hereabouts with air speed. But the armies are probably about on the line of the real rivers, the Ganges on the west and its biggest tributary to the east. These are huge stretches of water, as big as lakes. It is not easy to

throw an army across them if they are defended. Besides, the ground is too wet and cut across with canals which are natural tank traps. All this could help the Pakistanis, provided they still have supplies, communications and ammunition. But do they?

**Friday Evening** A United Nations attempt to make Dacca an open city failed today. The Indians would not agree, I understand, fearing some tactical disadvantage for themselves. The UN (U Thant in person at the behest of Paul Marc Henri, the UN representative here) urged the Plan on humanitarian ground. Henri, a bustling figure of almost Falstaffian proportions who might easily have made an outstanding Gaullist Minister, has now decked out the UN compound with blue and white signs on neutrality. He is in daily conference with consular representatives, to arrange flights out for the women and children.

One objection after another arises and has to be eradicated-the Indians insist on relief planes flying into Dacca through Calcutta, to emphasize the existence of a 'Bangladesh' government there. So we are now nearly a week without those flights. An Indian bomb fell not far from the UN complex this morning. But there, later, was Henti and his group, shooting off messages to New York surrounded by papers and files and half empty whisky glasses.

Rumors abound, some spreading from radio sets which pick up snippets and stories from Delhi. One strong rumor two days ago was that the Pakistani commander. General Niazi had skipped but of Dacca in a small propeller driven plane at night. The story was heard on the news from Delhi. But the rumor was proved also today when Niazi appeared in the Dacca streets, large as life (which is very large) in the middle jeep of three surrounded by his escort. Niazi has never been faulted for his courage. He wears the ribbon of a Military Cross won in the Second World War fighting the Japanese.

Second to him. Major-General Farman Ali Khan has once or twice in the past week appeared to journalists, but he too. like all the small in-group of top administrators here, has been working relentlessly round the clock. And there was nothing much they cared to say. Their lot is not a happy one.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭৮। সাত কোটি মানুষের যুদ্ধ	সানডে টাইমস	১২ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*SUNDAY TIMES, DECEMBER 12, 1971*

**PAKISTAN GAMBLE THAT FAILED  
THE WAR OF THE 700 MILLION**

*Sunday Times reporters" at the bloody birth of Bangladesh*

**DAY 1**

From the front row of the stalls. Sayle was watching the curtain rise on the third, decisive act of a tragedy which has been in the making since partition in 1947. The first act was the Pakistan Army's repression of Bengali nationalism, beginning on March 25. The second act started on November 22. when the Indian Army first openly intervened in East Bengal on the side of the Mukti Bahini guerrillas.

The third act was general war, all out and on all fronts. Two countries with a combined population of 685 million people are fighting from the foothills of the Karakorums to the Great Indian Desert, and from the irrigated farmlands of the Indus headwaters to the waterlogged islands at the mouth of the Ganges.

With increasing urgency over the past few weeks, Murray Sayle reports from Rawalpindi. General Yahya Khan has been urged by many of the officers in his inner circle to lake some of the Indian pressure of East Pakistan with a series of blows in the West.

The Pakistani commander in the East, Lt-Gen Amin Abdullah Khan Niazi was told that he had to keep the Mukti Bahini guerrillas in check until mid-February. By that time, the beginning of the rainy seasons would swell the rivers and give his soldiers some protection. By that time, too Niazi was told, some sort of political compromise would have been reached so that the guerrillas would begin to lose their support in the countryside. There was, as we shall see, some foundation for this last hope: though in the end it proved to be based on a miscalculation.

Niazi was told he could expect no reinforcements, and he was given enough supplies and ammunition to last until, mid-February. But his orders were based on the assumption that the Indians would limit themselves to shelling across the border and to supporting the guerrillas.

But the Indians stepped up the pressure and from November 22 openly joined in the fighting. The only way the outnumbered Pakistanis could hold them was by laying down curtains of fire, the most wasteful possible use of ammunition. On Wednesday, December 1 Niazi reported to Yahya Khan that his ammunition stocks would not last more than a week at the rate they were being used.

The same day an order went out to the troops in East Pakistan that ammunition was to be conserved at all costs and that every shot must be made to count.

It was not an order calculated to help morale, even of the excellent troops in East Pakistan. And it convinced Yahya that a surrender on the scale of Britain's at Singapore, which is a disaster much on the mines of the Pakistani generals, was imminent in the East unless something was done.

### **DAY 2: Failure of the Pakistan quick-Kill**

A Few Minutes after midnight on Saturday, Mrs. Gandhi arrived back in Delhi from Calcutta, where she cut short a brief visit after she heard the news. In a radio broadcast, she said that India was on a "war footing." Later in the day she made a statement to Parliament. The politicians banged their desks with enthusiasm and quickly passed a Defense of India bill, giving her sweeping emergency powers.

### **DAY 3: Retreat-or Face Mukti**

On Sunday, a change in tactics brought a noticeable spurt in the Indian Army's offensive on the Eastern front. Instead of wasting men, material and time on the conquest of well-fortified Pakistan Army positions: a two-pronged attack was launched on Dacca.

The Indians objective was to grab the provincial capital as quickly as possible and, by slicing the province in two, to isolate well-entrenched Pakistan Army units in both halves. These would either have to fall back on Dacca or dig in and be picked off by the Mukti Bahini or the Indian Army at their leisure. This plan had the added advantage of keeping damage to the province to a minimum-an important factor since India would be expected to help re-establish the economy were a Bangladesh government to come to power.

Forty miles to the south, another Indian column moved across the border below Comilla into the rail junction of Laksham. From here, there was an excellent road to Daudkandi, a key ferry point on the Meghna just 22 miles east of Dacca.

The operations in these areas were facilitated by Indian air supremacy. There were no tactical air strikes by Pakistan Air Force. The Indians claimed to have destroyed all but four of the Sabres stationed in East Pakistan and these were grounded at Dacca airport by repeated Indian bombing of the only jet runway in the province.

Accordingly Indian Army units investing Jessore, instead of risking a head-on clash with the 5,000 to 7,000 Pakistani troops there moved to by-pass and outflank them in the direction of Dacca.

On the Eastern border of East Bengal, an Indian Army column moving through Agartala began to move westwards towards Ashuganj, where a major bridge offered access to Dacca.

Chittagong, the eastern terminal of the long supply line from Karachi, was kept bottled up by fighters operating from the Indian aircraft carrier Vikrant. And Chittagong's vital road and railway link with Dacca and the north was threatened by an Indian Army thrust towards Feni, an important communications centre half way to Comilla.

**DAY 4 : Enter tanks-and the vultures**

On Monday December 6, India made its long-expected recognition of the "Republic of Bangladesh."

Mrs. Gandhi told cheering MP's in the Lok Sabha (House of the People) that"... Pakistan is totally incapable of bringing the people of Bangladesh back under its control. Now that Pakistan is waging war against India, the normal hesitation on our part not to do anything which might be construed as intervention has lost its significance..."

Pakistan retaliated by formally breaking off diplomatic relations with India, the first such break since both countries became independent in 1947.

In the East the fall of Feni to Indian troops cut Chittagong off completely from Dacca. The Indians now pushed on towards Ashuganj and Daudkandi where they hoped to ford the River Meghna for the assault on Dacca.

**DAY 6: 'The Pak's morale is in their boots'**

On Wednesday, Indian aircraft bombed and strafed Karachi, and Russian-built Indian missile boats bombarded Karachi from the sea. damaging three freighters, one of them British. But the main Indian thrust of the day was on the ground, in East Bengal.

*Philip Jacob son after a brief disagreeable stint in the Presidency jail in Calcutta along with our photographer. Penny Tweedie, and three other journalists (for crossing the border without the right permission from the Indian Army) crossed again in rime to watch the Indian Army's biggest success of the war to date: the capture of Jessore. This had been the HQ of the Pakistani. 16th Division and the strongest fortified point on the whole western border of East Bengal. Jacobson also began to understand why Pakistani resistance was collapsing in the East.*

The total collapse of the Pakistani Army's resistance in Jessore is one of the most intriguing puzzles of the war in the East. For weeks, Indian Army sources and other expert observers had been predicting that a stern siege, involving heavy Indian casualties, would be needed to take the Jessore cantonment-a vast military complex covering an area of several miles just outside Jessore town.

At the beginning of last week, Indian intelligence reported that a full infantry brigade-some 5,000 men-was defending the cantonment, supported by heavy artillery, about 40 tanks, a formidable network of minefields, reinforced bunkers and dug-in anti- tank emplacements. All the signs were that the Pakistanis would stand and fight.

Instead, in the stinging words of Colonel P. S. Deshpande, the jaunty commanding officer of the Indian 9th Division: "They ran away." In less than 24 hours, Indian tanks and infantry took an objective they had estimated might require up to a week's bitter fighting. The vital Jessore airstrip was captured, literally, without a single-shot being fired: "Now one round," Colonel Deshpande repeated gleefully.

The reason for this astonishing collapse lies, more than anything else, in the utter demoralization of most of the Pakistani Army in Bangladesh. Throughout last week, Pakistani units were surrendering without resistance. At Kalampur, the garrison of 160

men of the 31 Baluch-a good fighting regiment-gave up without firing a shot. Near Comilla, the commanding officer of the 25 Frontier Force, another good unit, surrendered with 100 of his men to a platoon of Indians. In the strategic railhead town of Akhaura, a vital link in the defense of Dacca, the Pakistanis had rushed in extra troops, armour and artillery, yet the whole force chucked it in after only symbolic resistance.

It is not hard to see why, in the vivid phrase of Colonel Deshpande 'the Paks' morale is in their boots." Senior officers have been slipping away to Dacca with wives and families for the past fortnight. The unconfirmed rumors of special flights to get them out to West Pakistan would certainly have percolated through to the ordinary soldiers. And they already have plenty to worry about. The Indians are bombarding them through loudspeakers, leaflets, and radio broadcasts with a simple but stark message:

Surrender to us before the Mukti Bahini (the Bangladesh guerrillas) get to you."

There are some terrible scores to be settled and the settling has already begun; the first mangled corpse of Pakistani soldiers are beginning to turn up in the scrub or floating down the rivers in areas where the Mukti Bahini won control before the Indian Army arrived.

The lightning advances of the Indian Army in last week's fighting only added to the demoralization of the Pakistanis. In a few areas, they have fought bravely are well: the Indians are keeping very quiet about the Hill sector where an outnumbered and totally isolated Pakistani force seems to be holding out.

Closer to Jessore, there were two sharp engagements-or "extremely good fights" in Colonel Deshpande's enthusiastic phrase-but they failed to halt the headlong attack on the town and the cantonment.

It is clear that the Pakistanis badly misjudged the speed of the Indian advance, in the map lined operations room at Jessore the charts of Indian positions as seen by the offenders suggest they had not expected a full scale attack for another day.

When the hasty evacuations began at 4.20 pm on Wednesday, the Indians were a bare 6,000 yard away. The Pakistanis left so hurriedly that the orders of the day were still on the duplicator and there were half-prepared meals in the officers' mess.

The bulk of the Pakistani troops seem to have escaped, though only to the dubious security of the road to Khulna, and they seem to have taken most of their artillery pieces with them. These were probably several miles behind the cantonment and would therefore be easier to save. I saw only one burned-out Pakistani tank in the cantonment itself. The Pakistanis left behind them about 6,000 tons of ammunition and general supplies which will be badly missed in the retreat.

We had reached Jessore in what was certainly one of the most bizarre columns to pass through the gates of the cantonment. A fleet of rickety yellow taxis and venerable private cars carried us the 85 miles from Calcutta in a bone-jarring, five hour journey. As we rattled past the frontier post at Petrapole, the first of the jubilant crowds appeared. From there right through to Jessore, 25 miles away, the road was lined with cheering, beaming villagers waving the new red, white, gold and green flag of Bangladesh and

ecstatically chanting the familiar "Joi Bangla" slogan. Now that Bangladesh is victorious, the new fashion is to emphasize the Joi.

Driving through the beautifully lush countryside, a chessboard of dark green paddies, brown water and brilliant vegetation, the evidence of the Pakistani Army's precipitate retreat was everywhere. Well concealed, reinforced bunkers has been abandoned without a fight, often with a substantial pile of arms left in them.

To the surprise and relief of the Indian engineers, the retreating Pakistanis had not tried to destroy the vital tarmac road or even mine the areas around it. Even where a bridge had been blown, as at Navaran on the Betna River, the Indians were able to cut a dirt road across country and bypass the obstacle: A stream of army lorries and halftracks was churning up swirling clouds of choking brown dust but the traffic kept moving.

It was at Jhingergacha, too, that we found the first disturbing evidence that a new wave of killing can be expected before the bloodstained nation of Bangladesh settles down to anything like normality. Sprawled by the single track railway were the bodies of three youngish men, clad only in lungis, the flowing skirt-like costume of this region.

They were blindfolded, their arms and legs cruelly roped behind their backs. Their throats had been cut and the blood had soaked into the dry, brown earth.

According to the villagers, the murdered men were collaborators, traitors who had helped the Pakistani troops rape, loot and murder. But nobody would admit that the Mukti Bahini had killed them. In the past few weeks, however, there have been persistent rumors that the Mukti are taking a terrible revenge on those they consider to have betrayed Bangladesh. There are dark rumors of mass "trials" at kangaroo courts which invariably end with summary execution.

Yet, like so many other places in Bangladesh, Jhingergacha has every reason to indulge its hatred. When the Pakistanis began pulling out last week, they were alleged to have massacred up to 100 villagers in final spasm of savagery.

### **DAY 7: The headlong fight from Jessore**

The Indian Troops after taking Jessore town and Jessore cantonment, fought their way on down the road to Khulna, a major river port and one of the biggest cities in East Bengal. Again Philip Jacobsan was with them:

The gruesome trail that marked the headlong retreat of the Pakistani Army from its "impregnable" position in Jessore began a few miles outside the town. The tarmac road was scarred and fun-owed by machinegun bullets and rockets. A dozen burnt-out jeeps and lorries lay twisted in the ditches: Pakistani regulars frozen in grotesque poses of agony. Some were charred and blackened; others had terrible, fly-covered wounds.

They were the first dead Pakistani soldiers we had seen in this sector since the war began. They had been caught by Indian tanks tearing through Jessore and by jet fighters: they had abandoned their vehicles and ran vainly for the ditches. A large and cheerful crowd of locals posed proudly around the corpses, right arms erect in the "Joy Bangla!" salute.

A mile further down the road were the remains of Rupdia, a hamlet unlucky enough to be the scene of a delaying action by Pakistani infantry, desperately covering the rear of a 2,000 strong column which included almost 1,000 wives and families of officers formerly stationed at Jessore. The flattened huts were still burning and three buses used for a barricade had been raked with bullets from-end to end.

Moving forward through a battalion of the Madras Regiment-small, cheerful men who waved and smiled at everyone-our photographer Penny Tweedie and I hitched a short ride on a Russian-built T55 tank of the India 63rd Cavalry. Clanking and grinding up the narrow road, ducking the big 105mm gun as it swivelled to point towards Pakistani positions, we arrived at the foremost point of the Indian advance. A full squadron of 1455s was assembling to support the Madrasis in their next push down the Khulna road.

Crouching nervously behind the comforting bulk of the tanks every time a shell from this Pakistanis 105mm guns landed anywhere remotely near us, we watched Indian advanced units carefully probing the enemy's positions. A company of Pakistani infantryman-probably from the 27th Baluch Regiment-was holding up the advance with mortar and machinegun fire: the sound of small arms fire could be heard clearly a few hundred yards away.

When shelling failed to dislodge the Pakistani rearguard, the local commander, Lt.Col. Naregyean-an amiable, imperturbable Madrasidecided to call for air support. Radios crackled impressively and map references were busily exchanged, and checked.

Everyone looked expectantly upwards. Nothing happened for a while. Then, quite suddenly, two of the Indian Air Force's Russian SU 7 fighters appeared high in the enormous blue sky. For a few minutes they circled gracefully, like hawks searching for prey.

Then, after a tank fired a blue smoke-maker shell, they banked into a steep dive and straightened out at tree-top level. From where we stood. I could see the flashes from the big 30 caliber machine-gun as the jets strafed Pakistani positions.

When the planes turned away for their base near Calcutta, the Pakistani guns had been silenced. The tanks roared into life again and crashed away through the bright-yellow mustard fields, followed by the Madrasid infantry. "Khulna is finished Colonel Naregyean shouted as he sped away in his command jeep."

### **DAY 8: Closing in 011 the capital**

On Friday Pakistan's hopes for a stalemate began to collapse. In the East, Indian troops began to close on Dacca where they were awaited with calm by the Bengalis and with obvious fear by the Bihari Muslims and the Punjabis. In the West, Pakistan's desperate thrusts into Kashmir were being held. Now came the first significant crack in Pakistan's tightly knit military establishment. The United Nations received an appeal from Major-General Rao Farman Ali, military adviser to the Governor o/East Pakistan, asking for help in ending the war on terms which clearly admitted a Pakistani defeat.

Farman Ali asked for the UN to repatriate Pakistani troops and civilian officials to West Pakistan with guarantees of their safety until this could be arranged. In return he was prepared to offer the establishment of an elected government in East Pakistan.

The Security Council had, however, barely begun to consider Farman Ali's appeal when a message arrived from President Yahya Khan asking that it be disregarded. And in Dacca Farman Ali's immediate superior, Lt-Gen A. A. K. Niazi, GOC Eastern Command, appeared in person at the Intercontinental Hotel to refute rumors that he had fled the country. "I am here commanding my troops by the will of Allah," the general said. "And I will never desert them."

Capitalizing on General Farman Ali's apparent break with the military command in Dacca, the Indian Chief of the Army Staff, General Sam Maneckshaw addressed a personal radio message to him advising surrender: "Resistance is senseless and will mean the death of many poor soldiers."

Maneckshaw was not exaggerating. Indian troops converging on Dacca from west, east and north had established their first bridgehead across the River Meghna. Troops were transported across the river by helicopter at Asuganj and were only 40 miles north-east of Dacca with virtually an open road to the city.

Dacca was bombed in the morning and the afternoon as it had been most days this week. The city's inhabitants seemed to have become used to the bombings and near the airport they gathered to gawk at an unexploded 250lb bomb with its clear markings indicating, with some irony, that it was made in the United States.

On the Western front, in the Chamb area of Kashmir Pakistani, troops continued on the offensive. In the boldest action to date, four Pakistani battalions supported by artillery and armor crossed the shallow Munawar Tavi river to attack Indian positions on the eastern bank.

India admitted it was suffering heavy casualties at the Pakistani forces pressed the mortar attack in the Chamb area. At the same time there were indications that India might accept the United Nations call for a ceasefire once the 'Bangladesh regime had been installed in Dacca.

### **DAY 9: The end of Act 3**

By yesterday, it was clear that Act III was over. Pakistani troops were beginning to surrender in large groups in the East.

The Indian armies, having crossed the last major water barriers, were already tightening the ring around Dacca.

In the West the Indians were holding fast along the ceasefire line in spite of everything the Pakistanis were throwing at them.

Yet it was equally clear that Act III was not the end of the tragedy.

There would have to be an Act IV.

In Delhi, Nicholas Carroll found that, understandably after the Indian successes in Bengal, the immediate future course of events was seen as beguilingly simple and apparently inevitable. The scenario, in the minds of high Indian officials, he reported goes like this. The Pakistani troops in Bangladesh must in the end succumb. Even if a last ditch stand in Dacca holds up the time-table, there is no way out for them.

Under the auspices of the Indian Army, two close associates of Sheikh Mujib, Syed Nazrul Islam and Tazuddin Ahmed, were due to be installed in Jessore on Saturday afternoon as respectively. President and Prime Minister of the Republic of Bangladesh.

The Pakistani prisoners of war will be sent home quickly, though not out of any market feelings of charity (" Why should we feed those bastards ?" one senior Indian official asked Carroll) India will then withdraw her troops.

China; the Indians suppose, will go on making the threatening noises which in the Indian view are a consolatory substitute for military assistance to Pakistan. And the United States will have to swallow its disapproval and learn to live with the kind of fait accompli which Israel achieved.

In the long run, the shattering disaster to the prestige of Pakistan's armed services in the East must shake the prestige of the military men who dominate West Pakistani.

But on the ninth day of general war the military conflict seemed far from over. The Pakistani Army still had reserves, and its commanders still had spirit.

Indian strategists were guessing, and Pakistani officials were hinting, that Act IV might see a do-or-die offensive. But in the meantime the curtain was coming down on Act III. On Saturday, after a brief period during which "a very poorly heard transmitter announcing itself as Radio Pakistan, Dacca could still be picked up by the BBC's monitors, Radio Dacca finally faded away. The voice of Punjabi rule in Bengal had in any case, long been drowned by the shouts of "Joi Bangla !."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭৯। গেরিলারা এখন ঢাকার ভেতরে	টাইমস	১৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE TIMES, DECEMBER 13, 1971*

## **GUERRILLAS SAID TO BE FIGHTING INSIDE DACCA**

*From Henry Stanhope Defense Correspondent*

Calcutta, Dec 12.-About 435 foreign nationals, 185 of them British, flew safely to Calcutta today from Dacca while Indian troops, who crossed the Meghna river on Friday, were said to be just 20 miles from the East Pakistan capital and "advancing fast".

The evacuees, many of them women and children exhausted after Five nights of bombing on the city, said that the morale of the Pakistan force in Dacca was shattered. Troops clacked into lorries were "not quite sure where to go". As many as 1,000 Mukti Bahini (Bangladesh guerrillas) were said to be Fighting in the city already.

There is little news about the success of yesterday's airborne assault on Dacca's outer defenses by men of one of India's two parachute brigades, despite Indian claims that a Pakistani counter-attack had been repulsed "with heavy casualties".

The evacuees were flown in by three RAF Hercules transport aircraft from Singapore, one of them returning to pick up a second load. All the British were flown on to Singapore, but more than 1000 of the others are staying in Calcutta hotels tonight, their only luggage being light hand baggage which they were allowed to bring on the overcrowded aircraft.

This was the seventh attempt to get most of the foreign nationals out of Dacca. They told of women and children returning tearfully from the airport two or three days ago after one attempt had been abandoned because of a sudden air raid.

They confirmed that an orphanage was destroyed several days ago by five 500lb to 1,000lb bombs intended for the railway yards 105 yards away, with the death-according to the Pakistani authorities-of 300 boys. A German television cameraman said that he saw 20 bodies but he believed that more were buried under the rubble.

However, the cameraman, Herr Jens Uwe Schemer, added that most of Dacca was still untouched and that bombing had been aimed exclusively at military targets.

Reports circulating in Dacca put the number of Pakistani soldiers defending the city a between 20,000 and 30,000 with up to 1,000 Mukti Bahini already fighting there with small arms.

Herr Schemer said that at a recent press conference outside the Intercontinental Hotel the Pakistani Chief of Staff was optimistic about the city's defense "but the really clever generals clearly do not see much chance. We have been out looking at defensive preparations and we have seen nothing really prepared to defend the place".

Only a few foreign nationals are now left in the city, including a number of press correspondents and Red Cross workers.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮০। ঢাকা ধ্বংসের মুখোমুখি	গার্ডিয়ান	১৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE GUARDIAN, LONDON, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1971*  
**DACCA COUNTS THE HOURS TO DESTRUCTION**

From Lee Lesscaze, Dacca

Dacca is a city awaiting destruction. No one knows how much damage the city will sustain when the Indian Army opens its attack here but Pakistani commanders are determined to fight as long as they can from their camp on the outskirts and from positions in public buildings.

Lieutenant-General A. A. K. Niazi told reporters that any destruction in Dacca would be the price of freedom. In a brief interview in Dacca the senior commander here pledged again that his troops would fight to the last man. As the general spoke a small crowd of non-Bengali civilians gathered around him and began shouting "Long live Pakistan" and "Crush India." They were some of the Dacca residents enjoying a six-hour break in the curfew that permitted movement in the streets.

The scene here is strangely peaceful in spite of the approach of Indian forces. Many residents have left Dacca for the safety of rural villages but there are few sounds of war to remind those who remain of the battle to come. Anti-aircraft gunners opened fire briefly but observers could see no plane in the bright blue sky. Artillery sounds are still very distant.

At the Hotel Intercontinental some journalists sunbathed by the swimming pool, while a pool attendant fished pieces of shrapnel from the water with a magnet. The reporters took turns guarding the hotel gate, seeking to prevent armed men entering the building which is now a Red Cross neutral zone and thereby is required to contain no weapons.

Pakistani citizens living in the hotel, all of them from West Pakistan pass their time watching television in the lobby and playing an occasional game of table tennis. The morning news paper claimed the Indian advance had been halted.

Accurate information about the war is almost impossible to obtain. In spite of trips around the city and towns nearly no one has seen the Indian Army. No one saw the reported Indian paratroop drops at two locations fewer than 15 miles from Dacca, and no one can predict when the Indian attack here will begin.

Senior Pakistani officials have said they expect the battle for Dacca before Tuesday evening, but their prediction like all others is made without knowing the Indian commanders' intentions.

Diplomats and journalists spend hours puzzling over how the Indian paratroop battalions dropped near Dacca are being supplied, and how they are going to link up with other Indian units. Rumors of new Indian troops drops are frequent, but unconfirmed.

Another popular topic for debate is whether the upper or lower floors of the 11-storey hotel are safer. The power are preferred should the Indians begins bombing, while the upher are better protection against stray rural arms fire from any street battle and afford a better view.

Minutes after the ceasefire that enabled some 400 foreigners to esacuate Dacca in RAF Hereules transports yesterday, one Indian plane bombed Dacca airport, presumably trying to close the runway for good. But there have been no further bombing missions against Dacca. Instead this had been perhaps the most peaceful day here since the was began on December 4.

About 40 United Nations staff members have stayed in Dacca, hoping that they can be useful in distributing relief aid when the war ends. There was some talk of organizing a soccer match between the United Nations and the journalists, but that is one of the few games yet to materialize. It floundered over problems of transportation which is scarce, and because the curfew will soon be reemployed during the nightly blackouts Hotel residents gather for chess and poker games by candlelight and share battles of liquor on hand. There is nothing else to do in Dacca but find ways to pass the time until the battle starts.

- Washington post.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮১। স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ সরকার কর্তৃক যশোরে ক্ষমতা গ্রহণ	ডেইলি টেলিগ্রাফ	১৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, MONDAY DECEMBER 13, 1971*  
**INDEPENDENT BANGLADESH GOVERNMENT TAKES OVER  
 IN JESSORE**

**Drive to restore law and order first priority**

*By peter gill in Jessore*

The Government of independent Bangladesh which returned over the weekend to the former Pakistani district capital of Jessore, has stated that its first priority is to restore law and order to its now chaotic country.

In a triumphant procession led by armed guerrillas and Indian Army military police, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed and President, drove in two commandeered Pakistani diplomatic corps Chevrolets from petrapole on the Indian border, to Jessore on Saturday.

Addressing a crowd of thousands in the centre of the town, the two Bengali leaders urged their people not to take the law into their own hands by killing "traitors and Pakistani collaborators."

They said that a special war tribunal would be held soon in Dacca at which these men would be tried.

They also reminded the crowd that when from the area they had left behind quantities of arms and ammunition. These should be handed over, either to the Mukti Bahini guerrillas.

It was apparent to those who attended the meeting that both leaders were preoccupied with the potential lawlessness of their own followers. At least 2,000 guns were handed out to guerrillas in the immediate Jessore area and there are already plans to disarm them.

#### **Armed civilians**

The crowded streets were a pincushion of rifle and light machinegun barrels after the rally. Although there are uniformed "regulars" among the guerrillas, most of the guns were carried by civilians in traditional Bengali dress.

Jessore itself a town of 60,000, is rapidly returning to normal. After the Pakistani military crackdown last March, more than half its people including almost all the women, fled to the countryside.

The Bangladesh Government has appointed a new district commissioner Mr. Wali-ul Islam, to succeed the Pakistani Administrator who fled last week with the Army garrison towards Khulna.

Most junior administrative officials, including policemen, have remained behind and are being encouraged to continue working under the new regime.

In striving to establish a secular state for long the ideal of the moderate Awami League party, the Government announced over the weekend the banning of four rabidly Moslem Political groups. They are the Moslem League the Jamate Islami the Nizam Islam and the people's Democratic party.

The Government has declared its international stance as one of friendship towards all peoples." Mr. Ahmed was careful to avoid harsh criticism of the United States which has opposed the Indian invasion of East Pakistan but which is soon likely to be approached for aid to set up an independent Bangladesh.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮২। বাংলাদেশ পাকিস্তানীদের পরাজয় অবধারিত	ডেইলি টেলিগ্রাফ	১৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, DECEMBER 14, 1971*  
**LULL ON THE WESTERN FRONT PAKISTAN ARMY HEADS  
 FOR CERTAIN DEFEAT IN EAST  
 DACCA DEFENDERS UNPREPARED AND OUTWITTED**  
*By Clare Hollingworth in Dacca*

The battle for Dacca is not yet over, but the Pakistani Army in Dacca is doomed. The basic reasons for the defeat in the East are that insufficient preparations were made for the campaign.

The planners in Islamabad concentrated their energies on Kashmir, while the local Army commander, Lt-Gen. A. K. Niazi, was completely outwitted by his Indian opposite number.

The Indians since July have mounted a series of pinprick attacks by the Bangladesh guerrillas along the 1,300-mile frontier with India, while at the same time guerrillas were engaged in terrorist activities and attempting to take over isolated areas inside the country.

Apart from giving up a tiny salient here or there, Gen. Niazi strung his troops along the frontier in a desperately over-stretched posture.

The Indians then cleverly built up the war so slowly that it was only after the major air raids on Dacca airport on Dec 4, long after the frontier defenses were pierced, that Gen. Niazi ordered the staged withdrawal to pre-arranged defensive positions.

### **Contingency Plans**

There were also a series of contingency plans for the redeployment of troops in defensive positions to secure Dacca, the capital, as well as Chittagong, the main port, and Khulna.

For the past three days, the military spokesman, with little or nothing to say, his practically isolated himself from correspondents.

Official communiqués issued in Islamabad are generally 48 hours behind the events and, like military communiqués throughout history they tend to reflect more hopes than facts.

### **Guerrillas wait**

So far the strict blackout, dusk-to-dawn curfew and well-manned road blocks have prevented any major guerrilla activities in the urban centers but in Dacca alone some hundreds are under cover waiting to rise when the Indian Army approaches.

Meanwhile the Indians are using Shamshearnager airfield to the south of Sylhet, and it is likely that they have cut off the whole of the north-west salient from Hilli on the western frontier to the Ganges.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৩। ১. নিয়াজীর প্রস্তুতি ২. ইয়াহিয়ার সৈন্য বাহিনীর লজ্জা	ডেইলি মেইল	১৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE DAILY MAIL, DECEMBER 14, 1971

### **TIGER IS WAITING FOR THE KILL**

From Mail Correspondent in Dacca

Seated on a shooting stick at a street corner, the chief of Pakistan's Eastern command vowed yesterday to fight for this city to the last man.

General A. A. K. Tiger' Niazi made the pledge as the advancing, Indians were reported to be as close as six miles.

He said as stragglers from other pans of the country reached Dacca: "It doesn't matter...It's now a question of living or dying and 'we shall fight to the last man."

He also scotched any idea of surrender-as demanded in, a fresh appeal by General Sam Manekshaw, the Indian, Chief of Staff."

It was General Manekshaw's third call in a week and made to prevent 'unnecessary loss- of life and damage' in the battle for the Pakistan Army's last major stronghold in' the East.

The message said, in part: 'Further resistance is senseless. My forces are closing in around Dacca and the garrison is" within range of our artillery. It should be the duty of all to prevent useless shedding of innocent blood.'

In the past 24 hours Indian infantry columns have advanced on the city from the North-West, the North and from Narsingdi, 25 miles to the North East,

And two battalions of paratroops have been dropped at Tangail, 50 miles to the north- west, and Bhairab Bazaar, 40 miles north-east.

John Webb at Khulna; East' Pakistan, reports:'

Twelve hundred Pakistanis, chased 35 miles down the road from Jessore, are' making a gallant stand at this river port.

Survivors of the 107th Infantry Brigade, bottled up in a garrison, have at last slowed the pace of the Indian assault.

I sat in a laundry 500 yards from Pakistan gunners yesterday for a briefing on the battle. The improbable temporary field headquarters belonged to Brigadier Sandhu Singh, C.O. of a. Brigade of the Indian 9th Division.

### **Protected**

The laundry, protected from small-arms fire by a bend in the road was the only concrete building left in the village of Acra which I had reached in a communications jeep.

Less than 48 hours before, it had served Brigadier Hayat Khan, C. O. of the retreating Pakistanis.

As artillery shells whistled overhead Brigadier Singh, a bespectacled Sikh with a khaki sun visor strapped on to his turban, said: We cannot use our normal tactics of outflanking the enemy because there is a swamp on one side of the road and the wide River Bhairab on the other.

We have to advance up the stretch of road, which is only 30 yards wide at best, and which is heavily defended by bunkers and built-up defenses.

A surrender had been arranged for the Pakistanis two nights ago. They were supposed to fire three flares, then bring their chaps across.

### **Detected**

'But nothing happened, and the fight goes on

*Ian Mather in New Delhi reports:*

Chinese troops are on the move, presumably to the border area with India.

Last night an Indian Foreign Office spokesman refused to say how many Chinese troops were involved or where the movements had been detected.

He said: We believe that this must be part of their effort designed to express political solidarity with Pakistan.

'We still believe that China, has nothing to gain by enlarging this conflict'.

### **THE SHAME OF YAHYA'S ARMY IT'S THE ATROCITIES, NOT THE DEFEAT , *A Special Report by John Webb***

The disgrace of the Pakistan Army is not its defeat. The shame of the soldiers of Yahya Khan is their appalling misconduct towards the 75 million people they terrorized in the name of East Pakistan.

Somehow these excitable, affectionate Bengalis have kept their spirit in spite of the murders, the rape and the pillaging. They talk of 'freedom' with tears in their eyes.

On every road there is a trickle of homegoers, walking with pitifully small bundles on their heads, only an occasional woman in the party.

I met Sabed Ali Mandol, 40-year-old clerk, trudging along the road near Sabarsa, heading for his home in Jafarnagar with seven friends to prepare for the return of their family.

He told me how they fled to the interior because Pakistani troops stationed near the border went on a rampage.

'We were beaten and kicked' he said, They called us little monkeys.



### Frontier

'When three women were dragged off to be used by soldiers stationed at a frontier town, we sent our women and children away. When the Pakistanis began shooting everyone they could find, we had to run too.'

In Saharsa, headmaster Siddique Rahman, 31, said the villagers had been forced to build bunkers.

'At 9 one morning they went the village of Goyra-Kagmari, which is very close to here, and they killed everybody. We counted 104 bodies. They killed the women and the children, including my mother and three of my nephews.'

The headmaster put his hand on the head of a young lad whose eyes had filled with tears as we talked.

'He lost five brothers,' he said.

The villagers were working mending thatched roofs and dismantling Pakistani bunkers for their wooden beams and sheets of galvanized iron.

I hitched a lift on a shiny red Honda motorbike, sandwiched between two Mukti Bahini freedom fighters.

When we stopped, Father Tedesco Sebastian, an Italian priest, who has been at Shimula mission for three years, confirmed that the Pakistanis kept up their terror campaign to the last.

### Riddled

Two weeks ago a captain and three soldiers drove up in a jeep, made two villagers lie down on their backs in the road, and riddled them with machinegun bullets.

Near the market town of Jhikargacha, the villages caught up with Razakar leader after the regular Pakistani troops withdrew. They started face, slapping and punching him. They hit him with lathis and they threw stones. They stopped when he was dead.

Outside, the Awami League headquarters more than 300 villagers squatted happily in the sun for political speeches broadcast with deafening effect through four huge loudspeakers.

This was the execution place, the doctor said. They brought up to 21 people here every day, tortured them, then bayoneted them or cut their throats.

Then Dr. Abdur Rahim Khan and Kazim Abul Rasher, a tax inspector, led me to clearing in the jungle not 200 yards away.

The execution place was dreadfully quiet, and the air was foul. Older villagers and lots of children who had followed us, were standing silently.

Then the children moved ahead and called to me to come and see other burial pits. The most awful thing was that they knew where to look.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৪। ঢাকায় সমাপ্তি	গার্ডিয়ান	১৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE GUARDIAN, LONDON, DECEMBER 15, 1971*

### Editorial

### THE END IN DACCA

General Tiger Niazi sums up matters with familiar flamboyance. "It is now a question of living or dying and we shall fight to the last man. The army will die. There will be no troops left to be repatriated." Tunes of glory; but also tunes of colossal waste and infinite futility. There is no reason why thousands of encircled Pakistani troops should be cut slowly to pieces. There is no reason why the sprawling slums of Dacca should vanish beneath hapazard shelling. There is no reason (as a panic-stricken civil administration clearly realises in bloodily prolonging Yahya Khan's heroic fictions. Bangladesh exists. Bangladesh cannot be negotiated away. Mrs. Gandhi has Eastern victory in her grasp; General Niazi's desperation may win him a footnote in history but nothing more.

How, then, can the carnage be stopped? World pressures' thus far have floundered in a quagmire of politicking and polemics, and precious little hope lies there. East action can only stem from two people: Mrs. Gandhi and Yahya Khan. If Mrs. Gandhi won't halt her conquering forces, Pakistan's President should face the reality he has spent an appalling year avoiding-the reality of peace rather than jihad, negotiation rather than bluster. Furthermore, his American allies have a firm duty to tell him as much. The time for White House pique and sterile lecturing against New Delhi is long past.

Of course (as the Guardian has argued) Mrs. Gandhi should stop. The risks of slaughter are too great; the perils of a total puppet state too obvious. Bangladesh deserves better than a prolonged bloodbath. But, sadly, one prime reason why India grinds on towards complete annihilation is Pakistan's refusal to talk realistically and America's reckless championing of her case. We know that President Nixon "holds Yahya in esteem." We have also been told, by both Mr. Bush and Mr. Bhutto that Islamabad was on the point of discussions with Awami Leaguers when New Delhi struck. Thousands have died and over a £ 100 million worth of military hardware (enough to feed nine million refugees for four months) has been destroyed because India wouldn't wait.

Some of these charges carry discomfiting weight; some will hang heavy around Mrs. Gandhi for the rest of her career. But they are irrelevant now and they indirectly reveal a bizarre situation: that the negotiations for an autonomous Bengal which Yahya and Mr. Nixon were "minutes away" from proposing before India moved are now deemed impossible when Pakistan's Eastern army confronts utter destruction. Will Islamabad, swallowing false pride, order Niazi to give in; acknowledge the independence of Bangladesh; free Sheikh Mujib and send him home? That way saves lives. It also, in the contorted terms of realpolitik on the sub-continent, preserves a vestigial West Pakistani voice in Bengali affairs. Sheikh Mujib and his followers will not want to play stooges to New Delhi overlong. However, feelings run high now, there may be some future links with the West. All trade may not be shattered, all friendships severed. Pakistan has something to lose from a "fight to the last man." And Yahya Khan, stumbling too late from one blunder to the next, must know it.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৫। বর্তমান বাংলাদেশ	টেলিগ্রাফ	১৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, DECEMBER 16, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**BANGLADESH NOW**

With the occupation by Indian forces of East Pakistan, re-named Bangladesh, virtually complete, and with a dialogue under way between the military commanders in Dacca and New Delhi for a cease-fire, the first phase at least of the Indo-Pakistan war is clearly drawing to a close. It must be hoped that it will-prove to be the end not only of a phase but of the war itself. For this, two things will be needed above all: rejection by India of any idea of taking the opportunity to destroy the Pakistan State in toto. West as- well-as East; and renunciation by President Yahya of what is no doubt a strong temptation to persevere with attacks against India in Kashmir and the Punjab in the hope of securing even at this late hour, sufficient gains for bargaining purposes.

The first of these contingencies-that India might try to proceed to the complete destruction of Pakistan - appears unlikely. There are certainly those in and around the Indian Government who have never accepted the division of the sub-continent, but there is not much to suggest that Mrs. Gandhi will meet their wishes. If by some gross misjudgment, of a kind she has so far shown little sign of making, she did try to, it would completely alter Indian's standing in the affair. It would throw overboard in one swoop the very considerable sympathy and understanding there has been in general world opinion for the origins and course of the war so far. It would certainly involve the Great Powers more closely than hitherto, and would probably bring\* catastrophic results in the end for India herself.

President Yahya's problems are bitter. As a soldier, his instincts must suggest redoubling efforts to gain ground in the West, if only for the purpose of bargaining to secure the return of his troops in the East. It is to be hoped that he will take the wiser course of restraint.

However, the final end in Bengal now comes, the new State of Bangladesh is going to present India, and not only India, with immense problems. Only the Indian army can restore law and order, avert the danger of communal massacres, and provide the background for a new political and economic structure. Russia, China and America will all be closely concerned. Britain, has maintained good relations with both India and Pakistan. Help from London over the birth of Bangladesh, if offered unobtrusively, might be welcome.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৬। বাংলাদেশের বিরাট বিজয়	ওয়ার্কস প্রেস	১৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*WORKERS PRESS, DECEMBER 17, 1971*

## **SURRENDER A GREAT VICTORY FOR BANGLADESH**

*By John Spencer*

Pakistan forces in Bangladesh surrendered unconditionally to the Indian army and the Mukti Bahini yesterday. Indian premier Mrs. Indira Gandhi told a wildly cheering parliament that 'Dacca is now the free capital of a free country'.

India has already recognized Bangladesh, which now becomes a state in reality as well as in the minds of the Bengali people.

The final surrender came just ten minutes before that expiry of an extended ceasefire, and India had threatened to resume the offensive with the utmost vigour, if its surrender call was not obeyed.

The Bangladesh provisional government is to take office in Dacca today. The Awami League leaders who make up most of the new government were unable to reach there yesterday because of transport problems.

### **Victory**

The liberation of Bangladesh from the Pakistani dictatorship is a tremendous victory for the Bengali people. But the situation is still fraught with danger.

The Awami League is taking office with a thoroughly conservative and bourgeois programme which has nothing to offer the mass of workers and peasants beyond empty proclamations.

The Awami League proposes no real agrarian reform beyond vague promises to 'rationalize' land holdings and to the landless peasants.

This cannot overcome the chronic agrarian crisis in Bangladesh, where a predominantly peasant majority lives in a state of perpetual poverty.

The new government's promise to 'reverse effectively' the monopolist bias' of industry is equally vague and demagogic.

Bengali workers and peasants can place no reliance on the promises of the bourgeois leaders of the Awami League and the Gandhi government.

They must organize independently of the capitalist class and resist all attempts to disarm them or recruit them for a war of annexation against W. Pakistan.

W. Pakistanis were not informed of the surrender, though the government-controlled radio" which has been broadcasting martial music for the past two weeks, announced that the situation in E. Pakistan was 'very critical'.

### **Surrender**

Eventually, Yahya Khan went on the radio to announce the surrender in the East but said the war would continue in the West.

'We shall fight on,' he said, urging the people to be patient and prepared for further sacrifices.

He thanked China, the US and the Moslem states for their support.

China yesterday sent a stiff note to New Delhi protesting at an alleged violation of the border with Sikkim. In a separate announcement, the New China News Agency said China would continue to provide 'material support' for Pakistan and charged that India wanted to 'destroy Pakistan as a whole.'

The US, which is also backing Pakistan, has sent the USS 'Enterprise'-an aircraft carrier with 90 planes and one of the most powerful vessels in the world-into the Bay of Bengal.

If the Americans intended to use the 'Enterprise' for an evacuation operation they are too late, because the Pakistan army in Bengal has surrendered unconditionally.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

## তৃতীয় অধ্যায়

বিবিসি লন্ডন  
প্রচারিত বিষয়সমূহ

সংবাদ  
এশিয়া বিষয়ক আলোচনা  
সাম্প্রতিক ঘটনাবলী  
প্রতিবেদন  
বিবিধ

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড



শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৭। স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকালে বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলীর ওপর বিবিসি প্রচারিত সংবাদ	বিবিসি, লন্ডন	২৬ মার্চ - ১৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

১।

26.3.71.

A. 43

2200 PAKISTAN-ONE

Extensive lighting is reported from East Pakistan following moves by President Yahya Khan to restore his government's authority and reports from India that Sheikh Mujibur-Rahman has declared the province independent. The American Consul-General in Dacca, the eastern capital, said that tanks were being used to put down disturbances there. Earlier reports from India-some quoting a clandestine radio in East Pakistan said fierce fighting had broken out in many places. East Bengali army units were said to have joined police and armed civilians in clashes with army units from West Pakistan. There have been no reports direct from East Pakistan

President Yahya Khan announced his moves in a strongly worded broadcast in which he accused Sheikh Mujib of treason, and banned his majority party in the Awami League which had virtually taken control of East Pakistan. He also announced a ban on all political activity in Pakistan and complete censorship of the press.

*Para One: RW 2100 (when US new)  
fighting detail from 2030  
Yahya snaps from 1520; Ind. from 1650*

২।

27.3.71.

C.83

203 PAKISTAN-ONE

Latest reports from Pakistan indicate that the army is in control of key points in Dacca, after tanks had been used to put down disturbances. And the official Pakistan Radio said the curfew in the city, which had been lifted for nine hours during the day. would be lifted again today (Sunday). The radio went on to warn of severe measures against anybody putting up roadblocks or barricades, and said the army was in full control throughout the country. It also denied a statement put out by a clandestine radio station, broadcasting from East Pakistan and quoted by news agency correspondents in India, that supporters of Sheikh Mujibur- Rahman, the Awami League leader, were in control of the port of Chittagong and the town of Comilla and Jessore, and that the martial law administrator (General Tikka Khan) had been injured. Because of strict censorship in East Pakistan there is 110 independent picture what is going on.

*RW. 1900 with Mon (Pakistan) on curfew, denials.*

*Bombing 1530: complete control 1300:*

*TRH(16) 2004/SK.*

৩।

**27.3.71.****C.62****1900 PAKISTAN-TWO**

In one of the first eye-witness accounts of the army moves three days ago, a BBC correspondent who was ordered to leave Dacca said the troops carried out a ruthless, preplanned operation to intimidate the people of Dacca. Our correspondent adds that tanks and truckloads of troops met little resistance although a few students had arms. There was the sound of heavy guns firing and buildings were engulfed in flames. Our correspondent and his film crew were rigorously searched three times and their film and papers confiscated before being flown out of the country. He says the military regime is desperately intent on preventing uncensored news leaving Pakistan. Our correspondent says he feels that the army's statement that the leader of the outlawed Awami League, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman, has been arrested, is probably true.

*Correspondent, Clayton (London) ML /IMP 1852/SK*

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**28.3.71****C. 61****1900 PAKISTAN-ONE**

The official Pakistan Radio says that the East Pakistan capital Dacca, is still calm with life returning to normal. The radio says people are going to work and that the martial law authorities have asked banks to re-open. The curfew on the city has been re-imposed after being relaxed for most of yesterday (Sunday). But the radio says it will be lifted again today (Monday). Apart from Pakistan Radio, the little news about the situation is coming out mainly through India and reports say there has been continuing trouble in Dacca yesterday (Sunday) with more shooting. A clandestine radio broadcast monitored in Calcutta said that provisional Bangladesh-Bengali Nation-government had been set up in East Pakistan. The Indian News Agency quotes reports that the East's so-called Liberation Army captured the northern town of Rangpur after a battle with West Pakistan troops. India has rejected a Pakistani protest that she was interfering in its domestic affairs and has also denied that a clandestine radio, calling itself the voice of Bangladesh, is operating from India.

*RW 1630 (when Dacca firing new), ' Provo govt.. Rangpur 1540  
Restfrom 1000 JML/IMP 1844/JEF*

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বাংলা

**30.3.71****A. 31****22130 PAKISTAN**

With strict censorship still in force in East Pakistan, few details are emerging about the situation there. The official Pakistan radio says the curfew in Dacca was lifted again for twelve hours, but all banks in East Pakistan are being closed again for three days. The radio says that an increasing number of shops are opening and that some newspapers are being published.

But a traveler reaching New Delhi from Dacca said most shops in the city are closed and food is getting scarce. Another arrival on the same flight said the army is in full control of the city, which appears to have been heavily damaged.

Pakistan has made another protest to India alleging interference Pakistan's internal affairs. The Indian High Commissioner in Islamabad was told that organized demonstrations against the Pakistan Mission in India could have serious repercussions. The High Commissioner was also told that false reports had been sent from a clandestine radio in the mouth of the River Hoogly. This has already been denied by India.

Banks:1330

Travelers: 2030

Protest: 1730 with denial

DUN

2110/CK

৬।

বাংলা

**1.4.71**

**C.90**

**2130 PAKISTAN-TWO**

Reports from newspaper correspondents recently in East Pakistan say that the capital, Dacca, and other major cities were firmly under military control. They also report that when the army first went in, there was widespread killing of civilians in part of Dacca, especially among supporters of the East Pakistan leader, Sheikh Mujibur-Rahman. West Pakistan troops from the Punjab were blamed for a massacre of students and staff at Dacca University. Large areas of the city were said to be destroyed or still burning. Some reports say that, outside the main cities, the trouble was continuing. A correspondent of the American news agency, United Press International, says he managed to reach one town (Jessore) not far from the Indian border. He said he was shown the bodies of women and children who, he was told, had been bayoneted by Pakistan troops before they pulled out of the town.

An accusation by Pakistan that armed Indians had crossed the border into East Pakistan has been denied by an Indian Government spokesman.

Reports: D/PCORR (SMITH); UP!

Indian denial 1443

Infiltration 1000

AMK

2/20/B

৭।

বাংলা

**2.4.71.**

**S. 4**

**SNAP ADO PAKISTAN**

A BBC special correspondent who has just returned from Jessore says it is clear that the Pakistan Government is not telling the truth about the situation the fighting was still going on and a lot of innocent civilians were being killed, including women and children.

Our correspondent says that President Yahya Khan has clearly failed in a brutal attempt to destroy the will and morale of the East Pakistanis.

*WATO Interview*

*DES*

*1541/SK.*

৮।

বাংলা

**2.4.71**

**C.106**

**2230 PAKISTAN-TWO**

On the situation in East Pakistan, the radio continues to say that the major towns are quiet, -but admits there has been trouble in some areas, with what arc described as miscreants trying to terrorise Peaceful citizens.

A BBC special correspondent who has just returned from Jessore more than twenty five miles (forty kilometers) inside East Pakistan --says fighting was still going on when he left. He says government troops killed women and children and burned a number of houses. But by the time he left Eastern forces were again in charge and government units were bombarding the area with artillery and mortars from positions a miles (kilometers) away.

*R W 2000*

*Radio 1530*

*Hart snapped 1341*

*VBO/DB*

*221U/FD*

৯।

বাংলা

**2.4.71.**

**C. 97**

**2130 RED CROSS-PAKISTAN**

The International Committee of the Red Cross says the Pakistan Government has refused to allow its delegates and relief supplies to enter East Pakistan. A Red Cross statement in Geneva said it had withdrawn its delegates-including two doctors-and a Red Cross plane was returning with almost its entire cargo of eight tons of medical and relief supplies. A correspondent in Geneva, in a dispatch to the BBC, says the delegates had apparently been told by Pakistani officials that no outside intervention could be tolerated- -not even from an international humanitarian agency.

*McGregor 51 (snapped 1924 )*  
*RTR: AFP.*

*VBO/DB*

*2105/Park*

১০।

বাংলা

**2.4.71**

**C35**

**1000 PAKISTAN-ONE**

Reporter continuing to come in of violence and killing in East Pakistan. In one of the first reports by a foreign correspondent direct from East Pakistan, the correspondent of the London Times gave an eyewitness account of the situation in Jessore. He said Pakistan government troops had withdrawn to their military camp area, leaving the town in the control of East Pakistan troops and sheikh Mujibur Rahman's sympathizers. He describes seeing irregular militiamen of East Pakistan marching people of West Pakistan

origin to a market place, accusing them of spying for the Pakistan army. The prisoners (he said) were hacked to death as reprisal for equally brutal shootings by the Pakistan army.

The West Pakistan radio continues to say that all major towns in the Eastern province are quiet. But India-calling for action by the United Nations-has accused the Pakistan Army of using planes, tanks and rockets in a massive reprisal operation.

*MON (KA RA CHI RA DIO) SPS/BJP 0936/MH*

*(U.N. call and reprisals*

*from 2 y'day)*

১১।

বাংলা

**3.4.71.**

**A.12**

**1500 PAKISTAN-ONE**

The latest official Pakistan Radio broadcasts about the situation in East Pakistan have said that calm is continuing in Dacca and al so in the countryside. The radio says there were no reports of any incidents, and that large crowds attended regular Friday prayers at the Dacca mosques yesterday. Reports carried by All India Radio and the Press Trust of India, however, quote what they describe as reliable sources from within East Pakistan as saying that Pakistan air force planes yesterday carried out raids against a number of towns where supporters of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman have been offering resistance to the martial law authorities. All India Radio said that in the port of Chittagong, West Pakistan troops were under pressure and that air force planes were unable to land at Comilla because of trouble there.

*RW 1300 (MON: Pakistan on calm from 1000)*

*INDIA REPORTS (RTR).*

*JU 1440/mw*

১২।

বাংলা

**4.4.71**

**C.30**

**1230 PAKISTAN OPS**

There are no recent independent reports from East Pakistan about the situation there. An announcement by the martial law authorities in Dacca says that all measures have been taken to restore normal life and order in the country. The announcement advises the public not to pay attention to rumor-mongers. It says the curfew in Dacca are being reduced from Monday.

Meanwhile, All India Radio says it has received reports from East Pakistan that the martial law authorities there yesterday carried out big air raids and dropped napalm bombs on Chittagong and five other civilian areas. The radio says that according to one report, troops used long range cannon against the border town' of Jessore, said to be controlled by supporters of the East Pakistan leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. These reports by All India Radio are unconfirmed.

*Rejig 1030*

*Dacca 1030*

*All India Radio 1000*

*JKJ/*

*1225/FD*

১৩।

বাংলা

6.4.71

C. 29

1130 PAKISTAN-BRITAIN

In London, more than one-hundred-and-eighty Members of Parliament from all parties have signed a motion urging the British Government to use its influence to secure a cease-fire in East Pakistan. The BBC Parliamentary correspondent says that MP's accept the statement by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, that the British Government cannot interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs. But they are clearly anxious that every effort should be made to influence the Pakistani Government to seek a peaceful settlement without delay.

*Herdiman Scott via GNS**RO Y/KWC**1110/BH*

১৪।

বাংলা

7.4.71.

C.31

1130 PAKISTAN REFUGEES

A group of people of various nationalities, who have arrived in Calcutta, in India, from the East Pakistan port of Chittagong, have spoken of mass killings and piles of bodies in the streets there. Some of the told of heavy damage during two weeks of fighting, and an American told correspondents that Chittagong was like a ghost city, empty except for the army, corpses and dogs. Correspondents quote the American as saying that the army generally ran amok in Chittagong, killing on a considerable scale. He said he was taken around the city by soldiers who wanted him to help get power supplies going again, and he witnessed a number of executions in the streets. Everywhere in Chittagong there was a stench of dead bodies. Other refugees spoke of East Pakistanis being gunned down on sight by the army and of equally brutal killings by the local inhabitants of West Pakistanis living in the port.

*RW J000 when American new,  
deleting reference to SELIS  
Killings from 0200*

*ROY/MH**11/2lrh*

১৫।

বাংলা

7.4.71.

C. 77

2130 PAKISTAN

Radio Pakistan has for the first time said that the air force has been in action in East Pakistan. It says planes attacked what it calls armed infiltrators to support the army in and around three towns. And that the army is now in full control of the entire northern region. The BBC' Commonwealth correspondent-just back in London after a month in Pakistan says the announcement is one of the first official indications given to West Pakistan of the extent of the disturbances, but people have heard a fair amount through foreign broadcasts. He said it was apparent during his stay in West Pakistan that the people were

determined that the East should not be allowed to go its own way. Our correspondent says that prospects of a long drawn out and bitter struggle seem very real.

*Boil 2100! New 1900.*

*HMK/*

*2110/Park*

১৬।

বাংলা

**9.4.71.**

**C. 58**

**1900 PAKISTAN**

Radio Pakistan says the port of Chittagong in East Pakistan has been cleared of what it describes as anti-state and anti-social elements. The radio says most of them have surrendered to the army. It adds that a number of shops and markets in the city are open and that people are returning to their homes. Another statement broadcast by Radio Pakistan announced a new martial law regulation restricting the movement of people regarded by the authorities as acting suspiciously or against public security.

Reports broadcast by All India Radio say the Pakistani Air Force has made several bombing raids in the past two days in an unsuccessful attempt to gain control of the northern town of Rajshahi. Pakistan Radio has again described Indian reports as blatant lies and mischievous propaganda bearing no relation to the real situation.

*Para It: MON*

*Para 2: MON: UP1.*

*J OR/ A WB*

*1845/Park*

১৭।

বাংলা

**10.4.71**

**C. 73**

**2230 INDIA-PAKISTAN**

Reports from India say<sup>1</sup> hundreds of refugees from East Pakistan have been crossing the border. A Reuter correspondent says many are Hindus. Other unconfirmed reports from India continue to speak of clashes in at least seven towns between Pakistani troops and supporters of the political leader in the East-Sheikh Mujibur Rahman-who is under arrest. But the official Pakistan Radio says life in East Pakistan is continuing to return to normal. And in the capital of Dacca, (it says) a citizens' peace committee has been formed. Earlier, the radio said two armed members of the Indian border force had been captured inside East Pakistan (in the Jessore district). Pakistan has also told India to remove radio transmitter which, it says, is being operated at the offices of the Indian Deputy High Commission in Dacca. The Indian Foreign Ministry in Delhi denies that any unauthorized transmitter is being used.

*Refugees:RTR*

*Clashes,normal*

*Committee: 2030*

*Rest: 1700*

*GIL/MIW*

*22201BH*

১৮।

বাংলা

13.4.71.

A.19

1230 PAKISTAN FOLLOW (HUBS)

An American correspondent who was recently able to get into the East Pakistan capital. Dacca, said he found the once heavily populated districts a black wilderness of ashes and bamboo stumps-all that remained of the homes of thousands. The correspondent-from the news agency. Associated Press-said that the city, under strict curfew, during darkness, was patrolled by West Pakistan troops and that he had heard rifle fire at night. While he was in Dacca, the correspondent said West Pakistan troops continued to pour in by air. But there were signs that life was returning to normal-essential services were functioning and shops had re-opened.

*K W I (XX) (from 0200 ):**JU**1225:sat*

১৯।

বাংলা

16.4.71

A.49

2300 INDIA-PAKISTAN (mainly HUBS)

Radio Pakistan says that saboteurs tried to blow up the. Kaptai hydroelectric power station near the East Pakistan port of Chittagong on Thursday, but were wiped out by Pakistani troops before they could cause any damage. The radio said the army had also foiled an attempt to dynamite a power plant on the River Meghna. It quoted an official spokesman in Dacca as saying that an Indian report that Pakistani troops had fired across the Indian border was totally baseless.

Correspondents say that Pakistan army forces are advancing on the town of Chuadanga-one of the main strongholds of the supporters of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman.

*Saboteurs from 2000**Denial MON (PAK)**Chuadanga (A P-Neeld)**(Times-Hornsby)**2235/sjc*

২০।

বাংলা

17.4.71

C. 42

1500 PAKISTAN

A group of East Pakistanis have proclaimed what they call the Government of independent Bangladesh under the acting presidency of Mr.Syed Nazrul Islam. At a village (Baidyanathala) just inside East Pakistan, Mr. Syed Nazrul Islam read a proclamation to about five thousand people gathered in a mango grove, saying his government appealed to all countries of the world to come to the aid of his people. He named a cabinet with Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed as his Prime Minister and Mr. K. M. Ahmed as his Foreign Minister. A group of foreign correspondents came from the Indian side of



the border to attend the ceremony.

*SNAP 1354.-RTR*

*Last para fighting new 1300 Pakistan*

*Dacca 0930 "A " storx*

*NK/H*

*1440/BH*

২১।

বাংলা

**21.4.71**

**C. 37**

**1130 PAKISTAN**

The martial law authorities in East Pakistan have summoned five local leaders to appear at the martial law headquarters in Dacca next Monday to answer various charges. An announcement said that if they failed to turn up, they would be tried in their absence. The five include senior officials of the banned Awami League. One of them is the league's general secretary. Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, who was named at the weekend as Prime Minister of the breakaway state of Bangladesh.

*RW 0600: new 0500*

*HH*

*1120/jo*

২২।

বাংলা

**28.4.71**

**C.84**

**1930PAKISTAN**

The martial law authorities in East Pakistan say there has been trouble in the Eastern capital, Dacca. Troops opened fire and seven people were killed. The authorities said anti-social elements had been stabbing, looting and trying to create panic, and that forty- five people were arrested. The authorities said they would be tried by a military tribunal and would be sternly punished.

*Dacca troubles: R W 1730 (snapped) 1640):*

*Protest: RTR, MON*

*(All India Radio).*

*GIL/MIW*

*1926/Park*

২৩।

বাংলা

**28.4.71**

**A.49**

**1930 PAKISTAN  
(MAINLY HUBS)**

A British Labor Party Member of Parliament, Mr. Bruce Douglas Mann-who has just returned from a week's visit to East Pakistan-said in London that there was clear evidence of widespread atrocities having taken place in East Pakistan. He estimated that from reports he received during his visit at least a quarter of a million people had been killed. Mr. Douglas-Mann said he was hoping to persuade the British Government to withhold financial and other help for Pakistan until peace was restored. He also said Britain should recognize Bangladesh.

*PA*

*ROY/EGE*

*1910/KL*

২৪।

বাংলা

**3.5.71****A.19 1300 PAKISTAN RELIEF (HUBs)**

The three largest British relief organizations-Oxfam. War on Want and Christian Aid- have launched a joint appeal in Britain for what they describe as the homeless families who have fled from the tragedy of East Bengal into India. They estimate the number of those in need at about a million, requiring tents, milk powder, baby foods and other necessities. The first load of supplies is expected to leave for Calcutta later this week. The whole operation will be coordinated with the work already being carried out by the Indian authorities in West Bengal.

The BBC Commonwealth correspondent recalls that last year the British public contributed one and a half million pounds for cyclone relief work in East Pakistan. He says that because the Pakistani authorities will not allow the relief agencies to operate in East Pakistan, some long term projects have not been put into effect. For example, forty tractors were being sent from Britain to set up a tractor training school but our correspondent adds, they will probably have to come back to Britain.

*Dipcorr (WALKER)**DUN**1230/fes*

২৫।

বাংলা

5.6.71

**C. 56****1430****CHOLERA**

As the international relief operation gets under way to help fight the outbreak of cholera among East Pakistani refugees in India, there are reports that more refugees are still crossing the border to add to the estimated four and a half million already in west Bengal. Forty thousand refugees were being cared for in one camps alone only a few miles from Dum Dum airport near Calcutta, where the Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, arrived for talks on the situation with the Chief Minister of West Bengal. A BBC correspondent in Calcutta says deaths from cholera among the refugees may already total between three and four thousand, and the approaching monsoon rains will make conditions worse. In Geneva, the World Health Organisation has seventeen tons of medical supplies ready for dispatch but is being held up by lack of transport. In Britain, a plane is leaving London during the day carrying a million doses of anti-cholera vaccine, and Royal Air Force transport plane is preparing to fly to India on Monday carrying further supplies of vaccine and a mobile hospital. The RAF are also flying tents from Singapore. Medical supplies are being sent by other countries and a number of governments have now donated several million pounds to a United

*Nations Appeal for funds to Finance relief.**R W 1030 Cholera (when-Gandhi arrival new) LVW/DMW1440 ; je**with UPl:**201; Dipcorr (Brierly); RTR*

২৬।

বাংলা

10.6.71.

C.42

1330 PAKISTAN

East Pakistan's governor and martial law administrator. Lieutenant General Tikka Khan, has appealed to all refugees who fled to India to return home. He said they could do so as equal partners with the rest of their countrymen. Radio Pakistan quotes the Governor as saying that political leaders would be welcomed back, as well as students, businessmen, civil servants, and members of the armed forces and law enforcement agencies. General Tikka Khan said reception centres had been set up along the border, equipped to offer food, shelter, medical aid and transport. He added that life had returned to normal in East Pakistan. General Tikka Khan said the refugees had left under the influence of false and malicious propaganda, and were risking malnutrition and disease unnecessarily.

The BBC Commonwealth Correspondent says outside observers are inclined to be skeptical at the tone of General Tikka Khan's statement. Our correspondent says observers regard it as a reaction to the image Pakistan has acquired because of the mass flight of its people.

*Tikka Khan from 1000 with JTFJRMH 1330/BU Walker D.282.*

২৭।

বাংলা

20.6.71.

C. 21

1000 PAKISTAN

Pakistan has lifted the ban on foreign correspondents visiting East Pakistan on their own. A Government announcement says that because the law and order situation is completely under control, foreign newsmen can now visit the province without previous permission or official escorts. The restrictions have been in force since fighting broke out last March. Censorship on reports from East Pakistan was lifted earlier this month. It is not clear whether the lifting of restrictions also applies to film crews. A four-man delegation from East Pakistan is going abroad to explain the Pakistan position to foreign governments and (it says) to dispel hostile propaganda.

In India, the authorities are making urgent efforts to move about forty thousand refugees camping near Calcutta airport runway. Airline operators have said that unless the refugees are moved, services might have to be cut on safety grounds.

*BAN AFP, AP, UP I, HN (from 0800)*

*'A' story 2030*

*Runway: Clayton N.S (from 0800)*

*E. Pak. Deleg, (from 2030 'A') NK/BJP*

*0949/MH*

২৮।

বাংলা

3.7.71

C.41

1330 PAKISTAN MPs

Members of the official British Parliamentary delegation which visited Pakistan have

returned to London after talks in Delhi with Indian Government leaders. The former Commonwealth Secretary. Mr. Bottomley, said he and all the other members of the delegation were convinced that there could be no return to normality in Pakistan until there was a political settlement. Referring to a meeting he had with the military governor of East Pakistan, General Tikka Khan, Mr. Bottomley said he formed the view that the governor understood nothing about economic and social problems and must carry a heavy responsibility for what was happening in East Pakistan.

Mr. Bottomley again praised Indian efforts to help the refugees and paid tribute to the attitude of the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Ghandhi. Another delegation member, Mr. Prentice-a former Minister, of Overseas Development-described the suffering in East Pakistan as appalling and said it had been a tragic mistake to try to apply a military solution.

*RW J 300 (WHEN NEW) adding  
Prentice Carmen!/: P A.*

*TLL*

*1330/mw*

২৯। বাংলা

**12.8.71**

**A 39**

**2200 MUJIB**

A spokesman at the United Nations has said that the Secretary General, U Thant, is engaged in private diplomatic negotiations over the case of the East Pakistan leader. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The spokesman added that U Thant was not prepared to say anything about the matter publicly. He confirmed that the Indian Ambassador to the United Nation had handed to U Thant a communication from Mrs. Ghandhi about Sheikh Mujib's trial.

The Sheikh's trial was due to open somewhere in West Pakistan last Wednesday, but no news of it has been released and it is not known if it has actually begun.

*APRTR*

*EVS/CEG*

*2135/AN*

৩০।

বাংলা

**19.9.71**

**A 32**

**2100 THANT-PAKISTAN  
(Embargoed till then  
follows central story)**

U Thant gives another warning in his report about the situation in the India subcontinent where, he says, any major conflict could all too easily expand. He says the fundamental problem in East Pakistan cannot be solved except through a political settlement. He also says international response to his appeal for relief supplies had been far from adequate. Relation between India and Pakistan were also a major component of the East Pakistan problem, he said. Though there could be no doubt of both government's desire for peace, tension between them showed no sign of subsiding and the situation on the borders of East Pakistan was particularly disturbing, with border lashes, raids and

sabotage apparently becoming more frequent.

RTR/AFP

LVT/HYD

1835/JL

৩১।

24.9.71.

A.34

1830 SHIP

In East Pakistan, an official spokesman has said that another ship- this time an American one-has been damaged by a mine. He blamed infiltrators from India for the explosion, which took place at Chalna in the Ganges delta. The ship was carrying food to East Pakistan. A British ship was also recently damaged by an explosion at Chalna-in this case the Bangladesh movement claimed responsibility.

MON (RADIO PAX)

EVS/DMW

1809/MH

NEWS INF on British ship.

The British Government has confirmed that frogmen severely damaged a twelve thousand ton British cargo ship, the Teviotbank, in the East Pakistan port of Chalna. The Bangladesh resistance movement has claimed responsibility. One report from Calcutta says the frogmen attacked the ship with limpet mines, and efforts are being made to keep her afloat. Soon after the attack-last Sunday-another British ship sailed from Chalna. It was attacked by gunfire, but there are no reports of injuries or damage.

৩২।

23.9.71.

C.45

1330 SHIP

Times:

Confirmed Dipcorr (Briky): VBO. DGE

325: sat

৩৩।

4.10.71

C.J

0100 POPE

Pope Paul has issued a new and urgent appeal for more aid to help deal with the situation caused by the fighting in East Pakistan earlier this year. And he has called for a day of prayer and fasting next Sunday for both the refugees and the inhabitants of East Pakistan itself. Speaking to crowds at the Vatican, he said: "It does not seem exaggerated to hope that the world will be moved to pity, and will send indispensable assistance; food, clothing and medicines. Pope Paul said he was launching his appeal above all for the eight hundred thousand children reported to be exhausted, sick and starving in the refugee's camps in India. News reports, he said, speak of the disproportion between the enormity of the calamity and the present relief measures.

HW1600 (A and C)

with more another look at RTR: IJ PI

0035/UWSPS

৩৪।

বাংলা

**18.10.71.****A.55****2200 PAKISTAN**

Britain is to make a further seven and a half million pounds available for relief work among Pakistani refugees in India. Another million pounds will be provided for relief work in East Pakistan. This further assistance is being given in response to appeals by the United Nations Secretary General U. Thant. and the High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan. It more than doubles Britain's previous contributions. The aid was announced in Parliament in London by the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas Home. Sir Alec said later that Britain would do everything conceivable to help towards a settlement between the two countries.

In Strasbourg, the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe has called on the seventeen member governments to increase their assistance to refugees from East Pakistan.

*R W 2100 with RTR on Council**British aid snapped 1553**MJH**2158/jo*

৩৫।

**9.11.71.****A.35****1900 EAST PAKISTAN  
(HUBS)**

It is reported in East Pakistan that the Pakistan government has decided to impose collective Fines in areas where subversive or anti-state activities have been going on. A BBC correspondent in Dacca says the decision would appear to have been taken in view of the rising incidence of rebel attacks, both in the East Pakistan interior and in the capital, Dacca, in which the rebels have been showing increasing boldness. In one recent incident, a group armed with automatic weapons, kidnapped a stationmaster and three railway policemen in Dacca. Our correspondent says there have also been a number of bombing incidents at schools and at Dacca University.

*ROBSON N65. N66.**LVT/CEG**1845/AN*

৩৬।

বাংলা

**17.11.71****C.39****1200 DACCA**

The capital of East Pakistan, Dacca, has been placed under indefinite curfew. Early morning broadcasts told people to stay at home until further notice. There has been a house to house search, and it was stated that all unlicensed arms and ammunition should be placed outside. If this was done, the announcement said, the military search parties would simply pick up the arms and no questions would be asked. All traffic has been halted, except for ambulances and vehicles belonging to the electricity board and Pakistan's international airline. The city's six police districts have been placed under the control of brigadiers.

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

During the, past month there have been reports of guerrilla activity in and around Dacca, and several people have been killed and wounded as the result of bomb explosions and shooting incidents. Electricity supplies have been interrupted, and schools attacked and damaged.

*RW 1100 (when new)*

*with Background News Info:*

*RWS/FJG*

*1135/PS*

৩৭।

বাংলা

**23.11.71**

**C. 53**

**1400 PAKISTAN-INDIA**

A state of emergency has been declared in both East and West Pakistan. Radio Pakistan says the emergency has been declared by President Yahya Khan because of the grave situations following a threat of external aggression. At the same time, all domestic air flights in East Pakistan have been grounded and the Pakistanis say that the Jessore airfield has come under Indian artillery fire. Jessore is one of the areas that Pakistan says has been the target of attacks launched across the border by one hundred thousand Indian troops backed by armored units. India has denied charges of military offensive saying that Bengali guerrillas are being described as Indian troops. All India Radio said the guerrillas are advancing deep into the Sylhet district of East Pakistan and that fierce fighting is going on in the Jessore and Rangpur areas. Radio Pakistan says fighting is continuing in the Jessore, Sylhet and Chittagong areas. But enemy advances are being checked and heavy casualties inflicted.

*RW 1130*

*Grounded: Snap 13J5,. Robson IC3,'*

*Emergency.. 0858, Pak. charge.. 2300;*

*India react.. 0100:'India guerrs. & AIR: 1130*

*Pak. fghtg.. MON. AP, RTR*

*J MLS*

*13481J EE*

৩৮।

বাংলা

**25.11.71**

**A.21**

**HUBS PAKISTAN REWARD**

The East Pakistani Government is offering rewards of up to ten thousand rupees for information leading to the arrest of what are called miscreants. The Government announcement defines miscreants as Mukti Bahini fighters, and those helping them with food, shelter, transport and the publication of subversive leaflets.

Reports from Dacca say that two explosions have damaged a factory at kajla, about ten miles from the city.

*A P.-*

*Ahmad N13 ;*

*DUN*

*1200/PS*

৩৯।

2711.71.

C.2.

0030 PAKISTAN-TWO

All India Radio says Bangladesh forces have consolidated their forward positions around Jessore and Sylhet and have liberated fresh areas in four regions. The radio said the guerrillas had also captured the town of Panchagarh in the Dinajpur district, and reported a fierce battle on the outskirts of Jessore. Heavy fighting was also said to be in progress in other areas. The Radio said about eighty Pakistani troops were killed by Indian forces repulsing in attack on a border area (in Dinajpur.)

*MON (AIR): RTR 80 dead 1800**PW**0025/NEW*

৪০।

বাংলা

30.11.71

A.34

1330INDO-PAK-ONE

In the fighting in East Pakistan, the Pakistanis say they have repulsed fresh attacks by Indian forces in the Jessore and Sylhet regions, while the Indians have reported successes by the East Pakistani guerrillas. The Indians say the guerrillas have gained control of Radhanagar in the Sylhet district, and have launched an offensive against the strategically important town of Navarong near Jessore. A correspondent in Dacca, in a dispatch to the BBC, says the Pakistan Army has reported that Indian forces have fired shells into Jessore with Russian-made guns. The correspondent also reports that there have been two more fires in Government jute warehouses in East Pakistan, making a total of six similar fires in the past week. Guerrillas are also reported to have intensified their activities in Chittagong. Where newly elected members of the national and provincial assemblies have formed a committee to try to improve security in the port.

*R W 1230 (deleting reference to "claims" and "rebels")**Nizamuddin Ahmed on Jessore,**shelled, jute (also APP) and Chittagong.**Indian reports new 0930.**NH**1325/NH*

৪১।

বাংলা

2.12. 71

C. 50

1330 INDIA-PAKISTAN

The Indian Defense Ministry says Pakistani Sabre jets have bombed areas around the airfield at Agartala in the north eastern Tripura state. The planes were driven off by anti-aircraft fire and the Indian army was ordered to take immediate defensive action. Correspondents say this is the phrase used by the Indian government in the past to describe Indian army crossings into East Pakistan. The Indians earlier reported an exchange of artillery and mortar fire around Agartala town and fierce fighting in part of the Rangpur district of East Pakistan. There are reports from both sides of heavy



engagement in the Sylhet area, northeast of Dacca, and fighting in the Jessore district of East Pakistan. In Dacca, a Pakistani spokesman said Indian artillery continued shelling Darsana, an important border railway town. Earlier, a correspondent in Dacca, in a despatch to the BBC, quoted East Pakistani reports of an Indian attempt to cut the main link between the towns of Comilla and Chittagong by artillery fire. The reports said the attempt failed.

*RW 1130 (when new) with snap lead rimed 1235 (RTR: AP):  
& Nizamuddin (timed 0950) on Darsana; RPH: JG 1325.dat*

৪২।

বাংলা

2.12.71.

A. 52

2230 ADD INDIA-PAKISTAN

A BBC special correspondent in Dacca says the guerrillas have been steadily stepping up their activities and the army believes that there are at least two thousand of them in Dacca alone. He says that in the latest incident, small arms fire was heard in one area of the capital, and parts of two villages on the outskirts seen in flames. A number of people have been admitted to hospital with bullet wounds, three of them soldiers. According to police reports, a petrol pump was blown up in the middle of the city, and our correspondent says military search operations are expected in a number of areas.

*Robson 112.*

SPS

2205/CA

৪৩।

বাংলা

3.12.71

A. 47

22(H) HUBS EAST PAKISTAN

Both India and Pakistan report continued fighting along the East Pakistan border. East Pakistan's civilian governor, Dr. Abdul Malik, has broadcast a warning that Pakistan is on the threshold of a devastating war. A correspondent in Dacca, in a dispatch to the BBC, says fierce fighting is reported on all the eastern fronts, including Shamshearnagar, Dinajpur, Jessore, Rangpur, Khulna and Mymensingh. Our correspondent says the Pakistan army claims that Indian attacks are being repulsed and that the Indians have suffered heavy casualties. All India radio said Indian forces had taken what it called defensive action to silence Pakistani artillery which had been shelling Agartala, the capital of Tripura state, since Wednesday. The radio says East Pakistan guerrillas have captured towns and airfields at Thakurgaon and Shamshearnagar, south-east of Sylhet. But a military spokesman in Rawalpindi said despite what he called minor tactical gains by the Indians; the airstrip at Thakurgaon was still held by Pakistani forces.

*R W 2000 (Shamsher ami Pak denials on Thakur new 1900)  
Malik 1200; place names more Nizamuddin 33*

*SPS  
2145/off*

৪৩।

4.12.71

A.47

2300INDO- PAK AIR

(Follows West)

Pakistan claims to have destroyed or damaged forty-six Indian aircraft, both fighters and bombers. Radio Pakistan said that five Indian pilots had been captured. The Indians say they have lost eleven planes and have destroyed thirty-three Pakistani ones. They say these include nine Pakistani aircraft destroyed on the ground at an airfield near Karachi; and nearly all Pakistani planes based in East Pakistan.

A BBC special correspondent in Dacca says that airfields around the city have been under fairly constant attack with the Indian aircraft flying in low to fire rockets and cannon shells. He tells of seeing two of the planes crashing in flames after being hit by ground fire.

*R W 2 J30 & 2030 C. (when 46 new)  
with MON, RTR: AP : UPI on details  
Robson N126*

SPS

2240/BJF

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বাংলা

6.12.71.

A.58

2230INDIA/PAK ONE

India claims sweeping gains in its drive deep into East Pakistan which it has officially recognized as the independent state of Bangladesh. Indian military spokesmen said their forces are continuing rapid thrusts from fifteen points. They also claim victories on the Western Front. Pakistan also reports successes on both fronts, particularly in the air, and says its troops are in full control of the situation in the East. India says fierce fighting is going on in a number of sectors, including Jessore, but some units have by-passed the city and are striking for the capital, Dacca. A military spokesman said road links between Dacca and Jessore are being cut and carrierborne planes have hit troop concentrations, in Dacca. He also claimed that both Dacca's airfields have been immobilized and that harbor installations in the capital and at Chittagong, Cox's bazaar, Mongla and Chalna have been attacked.

*"C" story with RTR: AFP: AP: UPI: & MON (AIR: RP) (14) RLB  
AGB VOC*

৪৫।বাংলা

8.12.71

A. 11

1300INDO PAK-TWO

(Mainly HUBS)

An Indian military spokesman has said the Indians have captured the airport at the town of Comilla, about 30 miles (48 kms) from Dacca, and are approaching Comilla itself from several directions.

Dacca Radio reports fierce fighting from other parts of East Pakistan. It says the Pakistanis are holding Laksham despite heavy Indian pressure, and that they are constantly defying Indian attempts at a breakthrough in the area of Rangpur and Dinajpur. Dacca Radio says Indian helicopter-borne paratroops were wiped out in the Sylhet area.

All India Radio says that since fighting began in East Pakistan, the Indians have taken eighteen hundred prisoners and killed about four hundred Pakistani troops  
*MON (Dacca): JMS/RMH (II) J307/JH*

৪৬।

বাংলা

10 12.71

A. 44

1930-1INDO-PAK-TWO

Our correspondent says the loss of about fifty square miles of Indian territory in the Chamb sector is regarded as only a temporary reverse by the Indians. North of the Chamb sector the Indians say they have pushed back the Pakistanis in several Places along the old cease-fire line.

In East Pakistan, the Indians have reported mostly stiff resistance in some areas. But they say they have used helicopters and river steamers to ferry troops across the Meghna River and establish a sizeable bridgehead about forty-five miles (about 70 Kms) north- east of Dacca, for the assault on the capital. From this point they say Dacca is directly threatened, as there are no major natural obstructions to their forces. Indian troops converging on the capital from the south-east and west have to cope with a number of rivers which from Dacca's main natural defenses. In the capital, the Dacca station of Radio Pakistan has been off the air for hours, and the Indians say this is the result of a rocket attack on the transmitters by Indian aircraft.

*RW 1700 run nig story.*

*Barron reed 1545. resistant 1430. RWS/EGE.*

*1910/pms*

*copters 113V. D. Radio snapped 1522 (affair 01)00)*

৪৭।

বাংলা

121271

A. 21

1230INDO-PAK-ONE

In East Pakistan, the Indians say they have landed paratroopers in a number of areas around the capital, Dacca, as ground forces continue their advance on the city. India's Eastern Commander, Major General Jacob, said the airborne operation-carried out yesterday-had been successful, but he would not give any further details. The Indian Commander added that ground troops-who earlier crossed the Meghna river were now within about twenty miles (32 kms) of the city, and had met some resistance. The Indians say their troops are now in full control of the river and are dominating all its tributaries in the Comilla area. Major Jacob also said Mukti Bahini guerrilla units were very active in the Dacca area and that lighting had been going on within the city,

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

*MON ( AIR) 0;1 Jacob (first at 0900)*

*Chittagong , domination Meghna ( now)*

*PAK 110 surrender 0900*

*MJS/JCA*

*1220/kt*

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বাংলা

**13.12.71.**

**A. 16**

**1300INDO-PAK-ONE**

As their forces continue to converge on the East Pakistan capital. Dacca, the Indians say they have dropped more paratroops into the area. Latest reports put the Indians less than twenty miles away from Dacca, and All-India radio says they are closing in rapidly. But the Indians say paratroopers who were dropped in the area around Dacca on Saturday have been meeting resistance. The Pakistanis say their troops are battling Indian paratroopers in the Tangail district, to the northwest of the city.

In Dacca itself, one news agency correspondent says that things have been quite today and he had heard no sounds of artillery or battle. He said the twenty-four hour curfew had been lifted for some hours during the morning to allow last-minute shopping before the expected Indian assault.

*Paratroopers, Ind resistance. AIR 1030*

*UPI on correspondent, & Tangail fighting*

*GAP/JCA 1245/kt*

৪৯।

বাংলা

**13.12.71**

**A.57**

**2230 INDO PAK-ONE  
( MAINLY FOR HUBS )**

With Indian troop reported to be closing in fast on the beleaguered East Pakistan capital of Dacca, the chief of the Pakistan forces in the East (General Niazi) has said his troops will fight to the last man. And he has rejected another appeal from the Indian Chief of Staff (General Sam Manekshaw) to surrender. The Indians say that two armoured columns-spearheaded by paratroopers-are now driving in on Dacca from Tangail in the northwest and from Narsingdhi in the northeast. Some advance units are reported to be at Jaydevpur, less than ten miles ( 16 kms) north of the Dacca Army base. And correspondents in the capital say they found Indian troops on the far side of a river at Demraghat, nine miles south of the city. India says fierce fighting is still continuing at the Daulatpur army base near Khulna, and her troops are also meeting stiff resistance at Chalna, a southern port. But she claims to have blocked the escape routes to this and other ports. A spokesman in New Delhi says Indian forces are having tremendous communications difficulties because of the river network.

*"C" story with RTR : MON ( AIR, RP)AP: AFP*

*on locations and details*

*GJ/AG B*

*2200/eg*

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**15.12.71 A .24 ADD SNAP LEAD INDO- PAKISTAN-ONE**

The correspondents say the sound of artillery fire on the outskirts of Dacca, particularly to the north-east, seemed louder after dawn this morning. Indian aircraft have been dropping leaflets over Dacca, saying the Chief of Staff of the Indian army. General Manekshaw has instructed troops to give complete protection to foreign nationals and ethnic minorities. The leaflets reaffirmed a guarantee of fair treatment for all soldiers and semi military personnel who surrender.

*ROBSON/BRILEY**N.21:**1330/JII*

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বাংলা

**15.12.71 S. 4 SNAP LEAD INDIA-PAKISTAN-ONE**

The Indians say they are bombarding the East Pakistan capital of Dacca with heavy artillery and that Indian troops and Bangladesh guerrillas are attacking the outer defenses. A pooled dispatch from correspondents in Dacca says that cease fire negotiations are going on involving contacts between the Red Cross and the Pakistani Commander in Chief, General Niazi, but as yet nothing concrete has emerged. The dispatch says that there are intensified air attacks in and around Dacca, apparently directed at General Niazi's Headquarters and other military objectives.

*BRILEY H 21**LVT.**1310/LS*

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বাংলা

**15.12.71 A.17 1230INDO-PAK-ONE**

One report quotes an Indian spokesman saying that Indian- forces control the industrial suburb of Tongi. The latest report from Radio Pakistan speaks only of mounting pressure by the Indians in the Dacca area. Earlier the Pakistanis said Indian paratroops had been severely 'mauled' and had made no headway. After the resignation of the civilian government of East Pakistan, correspondents say the responsibility for Pakistan's last-ditch stand in Dacca now rests with the Army Commander, General Niazi. A number of senior Pakistani civil servants yesterday sought refuge in the Intercontinental Hotel, which has been declared a neutral zone.

In other action in East Pakistan, the Indians say they are now within four miles (6 kms) of the largest port, Chittagong. The Indians reported earlier that the port was ablaze and unusable after bombardments by their warships and rocket attacks by their aircraft.

*TONG! : UPI**Indians on Dacca 0250; Pak Rad. Mon., AP**Resignation 1600 Chittagong 500**1220/KL*

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বাংলা

16.12.17.

C. 74

1330 LEAD INDO-PAKISTAN

Fighting in East Pakistan appears to have ended. Radio Pakistan says that the fighting has ceased and that Indian forces have entered the capital, Dacca. The Pakistanis said that this came about after an arrangement made between the local Pakistan and Indian army commanders. In Parliament in Delhi the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, said that representatives of the two sides had signed a surrender agreement in Dacca. Mrs. Gandhi said the agreement was unconditional on the Pakistani side. She said that India hoped that the East Pakistani leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman—who has been held in West Pakistan would take his place among his own people and lead Bangladesh to peace. Indian forces (Mrs Gandhi said) would not remain in East Pakistan any longer than necessary. And she added that the millions of refugees had already begun to trek homewards.

Earlier, two Indian generals flew to Dacca, and a BBC correspondent in Delhi says their task is to see that power is handed over with the minimum of disorder.

*Pakistan admits defeat 1256;*

*Snaps on surrender (first 1207)*

*Osman 101/RTR/with Ringmain on Sheikh.*

*ROY/N K 131 Ohio*

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৮। বিবিসির 'এশিয়া বিষয়ক আলোচনায়' বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গ	বিবিসি, লন্ডন	২৭ মার্চ - ১৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

## ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS

## THE BRITISH PRESS ON PAKISTAN

১।

27th March

By William Crawley (8)

All the major British papers this morning reports extensively on the crisis in East Pakistan. Most papers describe the situation as one of civil war following Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's reported declaration of independence for East Bengal. Most papers quote passages from President Yahya Khan's broadcast to the nation yesterday. For reports of the fighting in East Pakistan they rely on news relayed from India and on dispatches of the Press trust of India. It is this source on which all reports of the transmission by a clandestine radio station of statements by Sheikh Mujib rely.

All reports quote parts of the message stating that Sheikh Mujib was the only leader of the people of Bangladesh, and that the people should continue their movement for independence until the last enemy soldier is vanquished. Several papers also quote the statement made by Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on his arrival in Karachi that 'By the grace of the Almighty. Pakistan has at last been saved.' The Daily Telegraph quotes the martial law administrator in East Pakistan, General Tikka Khan, as saying that 'indiscipline is now so rife that the only way to safegeguaid Pakistan's continued integrity and unity is to curb the destructive tendencies shown in the East Wing.

Clandestine radio broadcasts are also the source of other reports that the East Pakistani rifles had surrounded West Pakistani troops in Chittagong and other towns. The Times and the Financial Times both cite reports from the American consul general in Dacca about the deployment of troops and tanks in Dacca itself. Most papers estimate that there are about 70.000 Pakistani troops in East Bengal.

Several papers assess the implications of and comment in editorials on these developments. The Times says that instead of the speedy and effective police action for which President Yahya Khan hopes it seems possible that something like civil war might result. The Times says that the events of the past few weeks have shown the difficulties of achieving autonomy for East Bengal which stops short of independence. Though East Bengal may be cowed for a time, the Times say that the demand for some kinds of autonomy would not be silenced. The Times thinks that events may have pushed Sheikh Mujib to a declaration of independence, and that pressure from within the army may have pushed President Yahya Khan to action which he would rather have deferred.

The Daily Telegraph in an editorial is in no doubt that civil war has broken out in East Pakistan. The editorial says that separation is in the very fabric of the State of Pakistan. It says that high hopes were raised after the elections last December that East Pakistan would finally achieve its rightful plans in the system of government and its

people cease to be treated as second class citizens. Whatever the West Pakistani army do. says the Telegraph, to restore order now. it cannot create a stable and durable democratic system.

A report in the Telegraph from their correspondent David Loshak. who is in New Delhi, says that even if the Army succeeds in quelling East Pakistan's independence movement by sheer force, the prospects of keeping Pakistan united are dead. David Loshak says that there was never any chance of a compromise or of a lasting agreement arising out of the talks. The two wings were too deeply divided, says Loshak, and President Yahya Khan's discussions with the political leaders enabled the Army to buy time for a showdown with the East wing. A report in the Guardian also suggests that this was his intention. The Guardian says in an editorial that whatever the outcome it will mean more misery and bloodshed. The President's attitude that Pakistan must be kept united at all costs made the Sheikh's declaration of independence inevitable. Says the Guardian.

The Times carries a profile of Sheikh Mujib by Paul Manin— Martin quotes the Sheikh as saying in a recent interview that the people were behind him and that "guns would never silence the voice of the people of Bengal." Martin reviews Sheikh Mujib's political career's his years of imprisonment and his opposition to the regime of former President, Ayub Khan. He quotes Mujib as saying many times, "I am an optimist. I hope for the best but I always prepare for the worst."

The Guardian also carries reports of the activities of East Bengalis in Britain. It reports the demonstration held last night outside the Pak High Commission in London at which four people were arrested. A spokesman is quoted as saying that the demonstration was a celebration of the independence of Bangladesh, and it was organized by the British branch of the Awami league. It was followed by an all night vigil by 100 East Pakistani students.

The Guardian reports that a deputation of the Bengal Students Action Committee has asked to meet the British Prime Minister Mr. Heath today to ask for recognition of Bangladesh as an independent republic.

The Guardian also reports that the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva. Switzerland, has said that it is keeping a close watch on the situation in East Pakistan. The League of Red Cross Societies has had a representative in Dacca since the flood disaster of last year. The delegate is understood to have medical and other relief supplies at his disposal.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**29th March, 1971**

**BRITISH PRESS ON PAKISTAN**  
*By Mark Tully (S)*

Today once again the leading papers in Britain cover the Pakistan situation extensively. Apart from eye witness accounts of the events in Dacca there are editorial comments and explanations of the background to the crisis.



The Times has a leader which says that it is impossible to forecast what the next move in Pakistan should or will be. There will be pressures on India to get involved. But the Times thinks India might take a cautious line because complication which India would want to avoid could arise in a situation as uncertain as this. Chinese influences might well increase if there is a guerrilla struggle develops. There is also, the Times thinks, the possibility of a movement to unite Bengal developing in West Bengal which would in fact mean a secessionist movement. The Times thinks that Mrs. Gandhi's problems are hardly less than President Yahya Khan's, and that her caution yesterday shows that she realizes this.

Peter Hazelhurst writes in the Times about Mr. Bhutto. He says that the troops in East Pakistan are preserving the interests of a powerful minority. No sober-minded Pakistani can believe with Mr. Bhutto that there is a chance of a return to democracy. The West Pakistan can expect, Hazelhurst thinks, is a petty dictatorship in the West and a spell of ruthless military rule in the East. Hazelhurst says that Mr. Bhutto's behavior during the constitutional discussions pushed the Bengalis to their extreme stand. (Particularly when he persuaded the President to postpone the Constituent Assembly from March 3rd. and when in the end he insisted that his party should be included in any interim government.) Mr. Bhutto and the President will have to remember, Hazelhurst says, that they try the Sheikh, they are trying the whole of East Pakistan.

The Times also carries an article by Paul Martin. Martin says that the army's action has justified the extremists in East Pakistan who claim that co-existence with the West is impossible. This means that the supporters of violent revolution who have recently been overshadowed by the Sheikh's non-violent movement will have a much wider appeal.

The Guardian carries a long article by Martin Adeney just back from Dacca. He says that the army for the moment is going to retain its hold except perhaps in Chittagong. The Noxalite guerrilla movements in East Pakistan are small and badly armed. The army has been building up its strength and are now reported to be three Divisions strong in East Pakistan. Adeney thinks that that serious situation the army faced in Chittagong last week might have finally persuaded President Yahya to act. Adeney says that there were some incidents of Bengali nationalism taking a communal turn but on the whole the discipline of the Awami League was considerable. During the last few weeks, Adeney says that the people of East Pakistan really feel that they had taken over their own country. But they always realized there was the danger of army intervention.

He says that Bengali nationalism has not been fully appreciated by the army because the officers are arrogantly scornful of Bengali. Preston thinks that there is no hope of compromise now. He says that Yahya has bungled, he has made Mujib a martyr, he has turned a conservative movement for autonomy into what will eventually become a revolution, he has overstretched the army, and he will have to face the United Nations.

The Financial Times has an article by Charles Smith the paper's Far East Correspondent. He says that East Pakistan's economic troubles are partly due to the fact that it is part of Pakistan. At partition East Pakistan had jute, textile mills and fertile lands whilst the West had virtually no industry and relatively good soil. But the cutting off of trade between East Pakistan and India and increasing industrialization in West Pakistan

hit East Pakistan which became a privileged market for the West wings expensive manufactured goods.

Smith thinks that the army will be successful in the short term and that neither China, Russia, nor India will give the independence movement much support. But Smith says Pakistan's problems cannot be solved by a military action, they need patience, time and mutual restraint.

The Daily Telegraph has a leader which says that the present tragedy springs from the neglect of the East wing during the regime of Ayub Khan. The paper says that the army cannot destroy Bengal nationalism. Either President Yahya will have to start negotiations for the return to democracy again or the East will eventually split. To start constitutional talks again will require a miracle the paper thinks. But if they don't start the Telegraph says independence for the East wing will come after untold bloodshed and the West will not benefit in any way.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**2nd April, 1971**

**BRITISH PRESS ON EAST PAKISTAN**  
**by William Crawley(S)**

As further eye witness accounts filter out of East Pakistan the British Press this morning tend to confirm earlier reports of the extent of the killing in Dacca and other cities of the province. Most of the papers give prominence to accounts by western journalists of the situation in the town of Jessore. A Times reporter, Nicholas Tomalin, who crossed from India to Jessore yesterday says that Bengali troops and civilians have been taking reprisals on West Pakistani civilians in revenge for the killing of Jessore civilians by Punjabi soldiers. Tomalin himself saw what he describes as "Punjabi prisoners" on their way to be executed Tomalin says that the situation in Jessore is according to some observers typical of what is happening elsewhere in East Pakistan. The West Pakistani troops have withdrawn to their cantonment leaving Bengalis in loose control of the town, but the regular troops are poised for further attacks. (The Scotsman quotes a Swedish reporter who also visited Jessore as saying that there were no Punjabi soldiers in sight. The Swedish reporter confirms the reports that some West Pakistanis died in reprisal killings by Bengalis in Jessore.)

The Times also carries a report from Peter Hazelhurst in Calcutta in which refugees from Comilla and Jessore claim that the Army had hunted out most of the well known politicians in East Pakistan. Hazelhurst also reports the fears of non-Bengali Muslims in Bengal, who were originally refugees from Bihar in India. Hazelhurst says that some of these are beginning to return to India. (He reports that several Bihari Muslims surrendered to the Indian authorities at the border yesterday and asked to be transferred to West Pakistan.) Hazelhurst says That though attempts are being made to evacuate non Bengalis by sea by the West Pakistanis, this will still leave many non-Bengalis in East Pakistan, just as there is a large Bengali minority in West Pakistan.

In the Times Louis Heren, the well-known journalist, reports on a conversation he has had with an unidentified young man who had spent two years in East Pakistan and left Dacca earlier this week. This witness claimed that there had been a concerted plan to attack selected groups which included Awami League leaders, students, professors and their families, and Hindus. The witness said that West Pakistani troops had been led to believe that Hindus were the malign force behind the secessionist movement. This witness, reported in the Times, claimed that the objective of the Army was to eliminate the political and intellectual leadership of East Pakistan, and that Bengal would be without such leadership for at least a decade.

Reports in the Daily Telegraph and the Guardian give prominence to the situation on the East Pakistan border with India and the Indian concern over what is happening in East Pakistan.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****NEWSNOTE: CHITTAGONG**

7th April. 1971

*by Mark Tully ( s )*

Yesterday about 120 people of various nationalities arrived in Calcutta from the East Pakistan Port of Chittagong. From their reports journalists were for the first time able to piece together some sort of impression of what had happened in Chittagong and what the present situation is there. According to a report from a BBC correspondent and reports in British press the refugees from Chittagong confirmed that the Army is now in control of the city but many people have fled. The refugees confirmed that there had been heavy loss of lives and that the army had on occasions fired indiscriminately. But they also said that East Bengalis had killed non Bengalis. One mill manager emphasized the fact that criminal elements among the Bengali population had been responsible for the looting of his mill and the killing of his four West Pakistani fellow directors. The Guardian report says that the refugees confirmed that the East Pakistan Rifles and the Bengal Regiment stationed in Chittagong mutinied. According to the Times report the refugees said that it was not true that Chittagong's port had been destroyed by fire (According to the Daily Telegraph one small party of refugees described how they had driven through 45 miles of territory North West of Chittagong, which was controlled by Bengalis)

The Times today also carries a report about a German Technician who had reached Calcutta from Dacca. The German technician told the Times correspondent that the army were in control in the central areas of the city. The people were very frightened. He also said that General Tikka Khan was contrary to earlier reports definitely alive.

There is a report in the Guardian from Martin Woollacott in Chuadanga a small town 20 miles east of the Indian frontier in East Pakistan. Woollacott reports that the town is being run by local people and the liberation Front has a military command there which considers itself in charge of operation for the South West of the province. Woollacott interviewed a West Pakistani army officer who had been captured at Kushtia a town 20 miles East of Chuadanga. The officer said that his company had been driven out of

Kushtia (Woollacott said that morale in Chuadanga was high because of the defeat of the army at Kushtia and the reports of killings by the army which made the local people very angry.) Woollacott thinks that in the Southwest of the province the army will be able to hold their cantonments at Jessore and Khulna but to send out small parties to try and control the other towns will be very dangerous. Woollacott confirms other reports that the army have now driven liberation forces out of Jessore.

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#### ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS

#### BRITISH PRESS ON PAKISTAN

13th April. 1971

by William Crawley (S)

On the Pakistan crisis the British national press this morning carries news both of the internal military situation and of the international repercussions.

The Times carries a report sent from Dacca two days ago by an American Associated Press correspondent, Dennis Neeld. Neeld reports that the Army is in control of the city but that thousands of families are still fleeing to their native villages from the city. According to Neeld looting by non- Bengalis is commonplace, and West Pakistani troops are still round up Awami League officials and other prominent Bengalis. There is a night curfew in force in Dacca. Neeld says that about 10,000 troops are believed to have been flown into East Pakistan in the past fortnight being the strength of the Pakistan armed forces to an estimated 35,000. According to Neeld previous estimates that there were 70,000 troops in the province are exaggerated.

Reports in both the Times and the Guardian suggest that it is only a matter of days before the Army will have regained control over all the main urban centers in East Bengal. According to a Times reporter, the Pakistan Army has no immediate logistics problems. Supplies and reinforcements are being flown in and the army has control of the key waterways. The Guardian reporter, Martin Woollacott, reporting from Calcutta, says that resistance in the western part of East Bengal is likely to be suppressed in a few days. The Army has gained control of the Pakse Bridge which gives access to the southwestern parts of East Bengal.

Peter Hazelhurst in the Times writes of the international implications of the crisis. He reports that foreign diplomats in India fear that a serious border conflict might erupt between Indian and Pakistani forces on the frontier of East Bengal. Hazelhurst says that the most immediate danger is that members of the Bengali liberation forces may retreat across the border and set up their camps in Indian territory, in which case the Pakistani forces would feel justified in following them across the border. Hazelhurst says Indian Military strategists believe that in the event of a full scale conflict between India and Pakistan, President Yahya Khan would ask China to create a diversion on the Sino-Indian border.

In the Daily Telegraph, Clare Hollingsworth reporting from Karachi says that there is a danger of East Pakistan becoming another Vietnam. She says that the appointment of General Tikka Khan as Governor of East Pakistan indicates a desire on the part of the

Army to move towards a more representative from of government. Miss Hollingworth says that President Yahya Khan hopes that the formation of national caretaker government will remedy the damage that Pakistan's image abroad has suffered as a result of the military action in East Pakistan.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****PRESS REVIEW ON PAKISTAN**

15th April, 1971

by Mark Tully ( S)

The Daily Express, a popular British Daily, leads today with a report from Sylhet District in the North East part of East Pakistan sent by their reporter Donald Seaman. He tells a distressing story of the suffering there. There is also a report from Sylhet in the Daily Telegraph by David Loshak. He reports that the armies are doing their best to crush all resistance before the monsoons start but the battle is by no means over. Morale amongst the resistance fighters is still high, according to Loshak, although they are very inadequately equipped. Morale amongst the peasants however is very low and food is scarce. The army's strategy appears to be aimed at cowing the people by causing the maximum distress and doing lasting damage the area. Sylhet he says is a ghost city. In Loshak's view the army has no hope of gaining control of the countryside before its movements are restricted by the monsoons.

There is also an article in the Telegraph by Simon Dring who was in Dacca at the time of the talks before the banning of the Awami League and who toured the city after the army moved in. Dring feels that resistance will not last long because the resistance movement is inadequately organized and equipped.

There is a report in the Times from Michael Hornsby writing from Calcutta. Hornsby feels that the resistance to the army in East Pakistan will now have to go underground. The reported formation of an independent government cannot, in his view, after this fact. Hornsby is anyhow doubtful about the report because the only source for it is Indian reports based they claim on monitoring of Free Bengal Radio. Indian coverage of the crisis has, in Hornsby's opinion, not been objective. He points out that the Indian press has not tried to investigate well supported reports of killings of non Bengalis by the Bengalis.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****INTERVIEW WITH J. STONEHOUSE**

M.P. &amp; MARK TULLY

**On Aid Problems arising from E.  
Pakistan situation**

Two "British members of Parliament, both members of the Labour Party have just returned from West Bengal. They have been studying the refugee problem caused by the

influx of refugees from East Pakistan. They also assessed the need for relief in East Pakistan by talking to the refugees and briefly crossing the border into the East Pakistan. Bruce Douglas Mann went on behalf of the Justice for East Bengal Committee and John Stonehouse went on behalf of two British voluntary organizations to raise money for relief work. J. Stonehouse who was a Minister in the last British Government talked to Mark Tully and told him about the size of refugee problem as he saw it.

**JOHN STONEHOUSE:** "It was absolutely enormous. When I was there already over 300,000 had come across the border, now I understand the figure is nearly half a million. I was very impressed with the arrangement the Indian authorities had made. But of course if the numbers go on coming across as they are new it would be beyond the Indian government's resources and I think that it is important that other countries should help."

John Stonehouse went on to say how he thought aid should be given.

**J. S.** "Charities have raised a lot of money in the past and I believe that they can raise money again for this. It is important not only to help in the refugee camps themselves but to have some supplies available to assist in East Pakistan. I think government aid should also be used. I think that the money which has been available to East Pakistan in the past should now be used in some of the camps and held in reserve for contingency plan in order to avoid famine in East Pakistan."

**MARK TULLY:** Then asked John Stonehouse whether he thought giving aid to the refugees in West Bengal would encourage more people to cross the border.

**J. S.** "I doubt very much whether a person fleeing for his life is going to worry much about the conditions just across the border. He is going to get out as best he can."

John Stonehouse agreed that the government of Pakistan could make it difficult to get aid into East Pakistan but he went on to say:

**J. S.** The horror is so awful and the evidence of it so strong that it is now absolutely imperative that the Big Powers put the maximum pressure on the government of Pakistan.

**J S. contd:** "They have not done enough. What has been done so far is all behind the scenes and I think that there should be an immediate meeting of the Security Council of the U.N. to discuss what is obviously a serious threat to international peace.

I think Britain can take a stand on this. Britain is after all a member of the Commonwealth and I think we can use some of the commonwealth machinery to take some steps. Also in the U.N., Britain commands a lot of authority and it is for us to take some steps to ensure that Pakistan realizes the way to world opinion.

Britain should also liaise with U.S. and other States concerned to ensure that aid to Pakistan is held up until the situation in East Pakistan is satisfactorily resolved."

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**

14th May, 1971

**PRESS REPORTS ON EAST PAKISTAN**

by William Crawley (S)

There are this morning two further reports from British journalists invited by the Pakistan Government to visit East Pakistan.

In the Guardian a report from Reuter's correspondent Maurice Quaintance says that the tour by foreign correspondents was supervised throughout by the Pakistan Army and it was only after protests that they were allowed to talk to people without being overheard. The Reuters correspondent says that there was an atmosphere of fear among the people they talked to in East Pakistan. He says that the Governor himself considers that it will take at least a year to restore the economy to the state it was three months ago. The correspondent adds that the jute industry is working at less than 20% of its normal level. He quotes reports of atrocities committed both by the army against Bengalis and by Bengalis against non-Bengalis.

A further report from the Financial Times correspondent, Harvey Stockwin comes today from the town of Rajshahi. Stockwin discusses the possibilities of there being guerrilla activity in East Pakistan. He says that military and civilian officials expect guerrilla activity by East Pakistan Communists in the Rajshahi and Pabna districts and by Indian Naxalites from across the Indian border in West Bengal. But Stockwin thinks that the Bengalis are badly frightened and he says that a Communist whom he met thought that the conditions might produce mass fatalism rather than revolutionary violence. Stockwin says army reprisals against guerrilla activity would be severe, and quotes General Tikka Khan as saying that Naxalite activity would mean that someone was supporting them, and 'the sufferers will be the people'.

Stockwin thinks that if there is guerrilla activity the Communists are more likely to provide it as the so called Liberation Army is demoralized and without real leadership- He says that the main uncertainties in the situation are developments in West Bengal and the long term Bengali and West Pakistani reactions.

One of the possibilities of international aid, Stockwin writes that President Yahya Khan's rejection of it is understandable because of the Pakistan army has yet to exercise full control. The presence of the United Nations could complicate the situation. It was obvious from his tour, he says, that any relief would largely go to the Army-Bihari coalition that is often the instrument in restoring what the Government calls normalcy.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALK COMMONS DEBATE ON PAKISTAN**

14th May, 1971

by Mark Tully (S)

Yesterday ( Friday) the British House of Commons debated a motion on the situation in East Pakistan. Mark Tully who was at the House of Commons yesterday, looks at the significance of the debate.

Friday is not normally a good day for debates in the Commons. Many members of parliament like to spend Fridays in their constituencies. Yesterday's debate was also a non-

party debate in that it was proposed by an opposition backbencher and supported by the government spokesmen the minister for overseas development. So it is not possible to judge the concern of the House merely by counting the number of MP's who attended the debate. In fact the attendance was thin. But the debate lasted 5 hours, there were a large number of speakers, and from the opposition benches four former ministers spoke.

The motion expressed the Houses deep concern at the recent events in East Pakistan and called on the British government to use its influence to secure and end to the strife to get international relief organizations admitted to East Pakistan and achieve a democratic political settlement in the province.

The first thing that has to be said about the debate is that most speakers accepted that the events in East Pakistan were the internal concern of the Government of Pakistan. Nevertheless they felt that there were ways in which the British Government could and should help.

The main controversy was over aid. Mr. Bruce Douglas Mann who opened the debate had been to West Bengal at the end of last month and had crossed over the border into East Pakistan. He felt so strongly about what he saw that he wanted the British government to suspend all payments of aid to Pakistan or at least not to enter into any new aid agreements until the Pakistan army left the East wing. He believed that economic sanctions could in his world "Prevent this war continuing". Mr. Richard Wood, the Minister for Overseas Development said that the Government saw their aspects to the aid problem. He believed that immediate relief for the people of East Pakistan could best be provided by the United Nations. That was why the British Government had sent a message to the United Nations Secretary General urging him to get in touch with the Government of Pakistan to arrange for a United Nations Team to go into East Pakistan. Mr. Wood said that the second problem was aid for the refugees in West Bengal. He said that the Government had already helped British charities to fly in relief supplies to West Bengal and it hoped to do more when the needs became clearer. On long term aid to Pakistan the Minister was quite clear that he wanted to resume aid to Pakistan as soon as possible. But he said that it was the government's policy, to give the bulk of their aid for development work in East Pakistan and that it could not continue its aid programme until the situation in East Pakistan settled down. He profoundly disagreed however with any suggestion that aid should be used as a lever to force a particular political solution on the government of Pakistan. Mrs. Judith Hain who was Minister for Overseas Development in the last Labor government agreed that in general it was quite wrong to use aid as a lever. But she felt that there might be occasions when in the interests of peace and humanity governments had to exercise some influence through their aid policies. (Several speakers pointed out that withholding aid could harm the very people they were all so anxious to help-the people of East Pakistan.)

Many of the speakers spoke about the need to help to preserve the unity of Pakistan. Mr. Dennis Healey, the former Defense Secretary, said that if Pakistan split there was a danger of anarchy which would threaten the stability of the whole sub-continent. On the other hand there were several speakers who felt that East Pakistan could survive on its own and that recent events had made it impossible for the two wings of Pakistan to live



together, Mr. Wood said that he saw no value in speculating on the future of Pakistan and that the aim of everyone should be to help to recreate peace there.

From yesterday's debate it is clear that the British Government is going to do all it can to help restore the situation in East Pakistan to normal. It realizes however that its role must be a limited one because responsibility lies with the Government of Pakistan.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS BOIL OF  
FINANCIAL TIMES ARTICLE  
ON PAKISTAN TODAY: AN URGE FOR  
SELF-DISTRUCTION BY HARVEY  
STOCKWIN**

21st May, 1971

*Edited by Mark Tally (S)*

The Financial Times today publishes an article by their special correspondent, Harvey Stockwin who was one of the party of foreign journalists invited to visit East Pakistan by the Pakistan Government earlier this month. In this article, Stockwin looks back on his tour. He fears that there will be more violence in the province and that famine may be inevitable. He says that Bengalis were overconfident before March 25th. Sheikh Mujib he feels must bear a heavy responsibility for betraying Bengali aspirations, because he was indecisive and politically naive. Stockwin analyses the emotions behind the Bengali movement as resentment at being explicated, doubt about their position in Pakistan as it had evolved, and a belief in their strength. This belief stemmed from the Bengalis conviction that agitation had caused Ayub Khan's downfall, and that the army had shown by its handling of the cyclone disaster that it could not hold down the East wing. Stockwin feels that their feelings together with the exclusiveness of Bengali nationalism explains the Bengali Bihari fratricide. He says that the Biharis and other refugees in East Pakistan from more distant parts of India were never integrated into the Bengali community. The army's role, Stockwin feels, was not as consistent or as directly controlled from the top as earliest reports suggested. The West Pakistani units in the East wing were upset by the world press coverage of the cyclone which justifiably stressed the inadequacy of the West Pakistan reaction but did not mention the inadequacy of the Bengali reaction also. The West Pakistanis according to Stockwin remained comparatively calm throughout the election itself and the post election negotiations. But the extreme actions of the students during the period when the Sheikh was virtually running the East wing so provoked the army that it was inevitable that it would eventually react ferociously and communally. He sees the violence which has engulfed East Pakistan as the latest installment of the Partition riots. The precise chain of events varied, according to Stockwin, from place to place but outside Dacca, the Bengalis generally turned against the non-Bengalis the then army and the non-Bengalis turned against them.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS EAST  
PAKISTAN REFUGEES:  
THE CONTINUING CONCERN**

28<sup>th</sup> May, 1971

by Mark Tully (S)

Tension has been created along the borders of India and East Pakistan by the continued flow of refugees into India. The reasons for this influx and the problems it creates are considered by Mark Tully:-

For over eight weeks now the Pakistan army has been trying to restore normal conditions in East Pakistan. President Yahya Khan has said that on March 25th, the army faced a situation where East Pakistan was on the brink of secession and law and order had virtually broken down. Besides the secessionists, Pakistan government sources say that the army also had to deal with communal uprisings between the Bengali majority and the Biharis and also a mutiny by East Bengali soldiers and para-military personnel. These details were in the main supplies by a party of independent foreign correspondents who were allowed into East Pakistan for a brief visit earlier this month. For several weeks now Radio Pakistan has been claiming that life has returned to normal.

But although there have been no reports from within the province since the correspondents left, there is evidence that all is still far from well. The evidence comes from the refugees who are still fleeing from East Pakistan into India.

The Indian Government calculates that over 3 and half million refugees have already entered India and that they are still coming in. When dealing with an exodus on this scale over a very long border, it is impossible for anyone to calculate the numbers involved exactly. But the team from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees who went out to see the refugee camps were convinced of the gravity of the problem. After their visit the United Nations Secretary General, U Thant said there is conclusive evidence of the presence of very large numbers of people from East Pakistan in the neighboring State of India. The United Nations Commission has now announced that over 3 million pounds has been promised in aid for the refugees. These refugees come out of Pakistan telling stories of atrocities committed by the Pakistan army. Reporters who have spoken to them have all been convinced that the refugees fled in terror from the army. The reporters conclusions have been supported by others who have visited the camps.

Now of course in chaotic conditions panic spreads quickly. There are no doubt, many refugees who fled without ever seeing the army. Undoubtedly there has been communal violence, banditry and looting in the province. But the hard fact remains that almost all the refugees whom the foreign observers spoke to insisted that it was the army they were afraid of. The very people the central government sent in to preserve the unity of Pakistan and protect the civilian population seem to have caused large numbers of them to flee.

**Whatever** political solution to the problems of East Pakistan President Yahya Khan announces within the next two or three weeks government in East Pakistan will have to be supported by large numbers of soldiers for some time. But if stories like those told by

the refugees are being repeated throughout the province it is difficult to see how the President can set people minds at rest as long as the army remains active in East Pakistan. He is going to find it even harder to induce the refugees to return in any considerable numbers. This is why there is widespread international concern about the reports of the Pakistan army's methods which are coming out from the refugees camps.

*Bangali Dawn news talk 28/29 May 1971*

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## ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS

## BRITAIN'S GROWING CONCERN OVER REFUGEES

*7th June. 1971*

*by Mark Tully (S)*

The British Press has been paying more and more attention to the East Pakistan refugees in India over the last week. Mark Tully looks at last week's British Press:

More and more foreign newspaper correspondents have been moving into the border areas. The correspondents have pointed out that the stream of refugees has continued in spite of the Pakistan Governments assurances that life has returned to normal in East Pakistan. They have stressed the appalling strains that the refugees are putting on the Government of India and the Governments of the States which lie along India's border with East Pakistan. They have above all sent back agonised reports about the outbreaks of cholera among the refugees. Most papers have carried leaders deploring the plight of the refugees, suggesting ways helping them immediately, and asking what can be done to get the refugees home.

On Tuesday and Wednesday of last week the Times carried leaders about the refugees and again today it carries a leader. Three leaders within seven days is some measure of the seriousness with which the Times now views the situation. The Times has also been carrying Peter Hazelhurst's dispatches from West Bengal on its front page. Today Louis Heren, the Times' Deputy Editor asks why with the evidence of Hazelhurst's dispatches before it the world has taken so long to wake up to the fact that millions of innocent and defenseless people are threatened with what he describes as one of the largest man-made disasters in recent history. In its editorial today the Times says that there is no obvious political solution of the problems of East Pakistan which could be wished on Pakistan and India. It feels that giving autonomy to East Pakistan could well involve the risk of West Pakistan breaking up also. The Times says that if this happened. India's unity could also be threatened.

The Guardian. Financial Times and Daily Telegraph have also given wide coverage to the refugees over the last week. In an editorial today the Telegraph says rest cause of the trouble is the situation in East Pakistan. It feels that the interest of the people of East Pakistan can probably best be served by allowing the West Pakistan authorities to restore law and order as soon as possible. If this is so the Telegraph thinks the Government of Pakistan should get all the aid it needs as soon as possible.

Two of the British weeklies ran articles about Bengal as their first stories in this week's editions. The left wing New Statesman and the right wing Spectator both suggested Britain had a special role to play.

Yesterday all three British Sunday Papers headlined the plight of the refugees. They all also carried very harrowing photographs of the distress of the refugees. The Sunday Times Color Magazine carried a story with pictures of the refugees. It also had an appeal by Nicholas Tomalin who was one of the correspondents who managed on his own initiative to get into East Pakistan after the military action had started. Tomalin said that no one was more deserving of the world's sympathy than the refugees.

Today's London Evening papers both carry stories about the refugees. On their front pages. The Evening Standard story by James Cameron covers nearly half their front page. Cameron says that he has been looking at refugee situations for 25 years and that he has never seen anything comparable to the situation in West Bengal. He says that the cholera story is only one small part of the crisis which now faces West Bengal.

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#### ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS

8th June, 1971

#### PRESS and TELEVISION ON PAKISTAN

*by Mark Tully (S)*

People in Britain are not being allowed to forget the plight of the East Pakistani refugees. British Newspapers and Television and Radio continue to describe and comment on the situation. Mark Tully reviews the recent coverage:

Television more than any other media can give people who do not know India an idea of the sufferings of the refugees and the problems which the Indian Government are facing. Last night on BBC Television there was a report from Anthony Lawrence, in which he showed film of refugees who were so weak that they were not able to reach the refugee camps but were dying by the roadside. The pictures were so distressing that viewers were warned not to watch unless they were prepared to be deeply shocked. In his report Lawrence said that every effort was being made by the Indian Government to handle the refugee situation but the problems were so vast that there was bound to be a great deal of suffering and many deaths.

Also on BBC Television last night there was an interview with the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas Home. Sir Alec described the British Government's contribution so far to the relief funds. He said that Britain should not cut off aid to Pakistan because of the distress that would cause in Pakistan but he added that Britain could insist on Pakistan providing a political framework into which future aid could be injected.

All the British newspapers today describe the relief supplies which are being flown out to Calcutta and the other developments which took place yesterday.

The Guardian also has an editorial which starts by saying that the world community should be ashamed at how slow it is to learn. . The paper thinks it is now clear that a world-wide organisation to coordinate relief efforts is needed, and should be formed

immediately. The U.N. would be the best coordinating organisation. The Guardian goes on to say that the United Nations is in fact already considering a scheme; and it urges that this scheme is considered by the General Assembly of the U.N. in the autumn of this year. The Guardian recognizes that a U.N. Disaster Organisation would be unable to do much in cases where governments are unwilling to cooperate. But it wonders whether the Pakistan Government would have been able to delay accepting outside assistance so long if there had been a fully equipped organisation pressing to be allowed in. The Guardian also thinks that the Security Council could put pressure on Governments to accept help from a United Nations Disasters Organisation.

The Sun which is a mass circulation tabloid newspaper, has a strongly worded editorial which blames President Yahya Khan for the sufferings of the refugees and the troubles in East Pakistan. Nevertheless the Sun thinks that aid should be given to Pakistan on the strict understanding that its distribution is supervised by some international organisation like the United Nations. Another popular paper, the Daily Express, also has an editorial, The Express says that all governments should do their utmost to help the refugees, and no more so than the Government of Pakistan which in the Express's view caused the disaster.

There is also a letter in the Times and the Telegraph from Malcolm Muggeridge the journalist and Television personality suggesting that people who want to help the refugees should sent money to Mother Teresa and her Missionaries of Charity in Calcutta. The Salvation Army has advertisements in several papers asking people to give money to their work amongst the refugees; tonight on television there is to be an appeal by the Disasters Emergency Committee.

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ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS NEWSNOTE: **OPPOSITION MEMBERS OF  
PARLIAMENT SIGN MOTION  
ON PAKISTAN**

26th June, 1971

*by Murk Tully (S)*

Last night over half the opposition Labor Party members of the British House of Commons signed a motion in the Commons indicating the Government of Pakistan for what it describes as the widespread murder of civilians and the atrocities on a massive scale by the Pakistan army in East Pakistan. The motion says that the government of Pakistan no longer has any right to rule East Pakistan. It calls on the United Nations to consider the situation urgently as a threat to international peace and as a. contravention of the United Nations Convention on Genocide. The motion states that until order is restored under United Nations supervision the provisional Government of Bangladesh should be recognised as the vehicle for the expression of self determination by the people of East Bengal" The chief sponsor of the motion is Mr. John Stonehouse a former minister for posts and Telegraphs.

Several other former ministers have signed the motion including Mr. Reg Prentice, a former minister of Overseas Development and Mr. Richard Crossman who is now editor of the New Statesman. The Present Labor spokesman for Overseas Development, Mrs.

Judith Hart has not signed the motion. According to the Times, this motion is regarded by the Members of Parliament as the biggest ever frontal attack on the government of a Commonwealth country. It is significant that this motion calls for the United Nations to involve itself in the political aspect of the situation in East Pakistan. This and the call for the recognition of the Government of Bangladesh reflect the growing view amongst opposition members that events in East Pakistan can no longer be regarded as the internal affair of the government of Pakistan. As yet however, the Labor Part has not officially committed itself to oppose the Government's policy on Pakistan.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**

23th June, 1971

**BRITISH PRESS REPORTS FROM  
EAST PAKISTAN***by Towyn Mason (S)*

A few days ago it was announced that foreign correspondents were to be allowed once more into East Pakistan to move about and report freely. Today the first reports appear in British newspapers from three correspondents who are in East Pakistan as a result of this decision.

The reports are by the Times correspondent, Michael Hornsby, the Guardian correspondent, Martin Woollacott, and the Daily Telegraph correspondent, Clare Hollingworth. Reporting from Dacca, they describe First impressions that are very similar. All three correspondents feel that while life in Dacca is quiet and gradually returning to normal, there is still underlying tension, fear and bitterness. The Times correspondent, Michael Hornsby, says that about three-quarters of the shops and the stores in Dacca are closed and that the army is very much in evidence. Clare Hollingworth in the Daily Telegraph says the army has effectively restored order in Dacca but fear, hatred and even passive resistance remain. The Guardian man, Martin Woollacott says. "Dacca is quiet, rather too quiet for a Bengali city, and there are portraits of President Yahya on sale in the bazaar, but the people appear sulky and drained of emotion".

Outside Dacca, all three correspondents quote reports of continuing military action and continuing resistance to the army, particularly in the Madhupur Forest area near Tangail. The correspondent say it appears that security in the provincial towns is not as good as it is in Dacca.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**

29th June, 1971

**BRITISH PRESS ON PRESIDENT  
YAHYA'S STATEMENT***Edited by Eyan Charlton*

President Yahya Khan's broadcast to Pakistan yesterday gets a critical reception in three leading British newspapers:

President Yahya Khan's broadcast disclosed that he plans to place before the National Assembly a new constitution devised by a committee in four months' time. Martial law, he said, would continue for a time although his final objective remained a transfer of power to civilian authorities. There would be no new general election but by elections would be held in vacancies created by the disqualification of Awami League elected representatives who had committed what he described as criminal acts or indulged in anti-social activities.

The Daily Telegraph notes that President Yahya Khan's constitutional plans after the upheavals in East Pakistan are accompanied by grim reports of the situation in that crucified province. It is now several weeks since he held out the prospect of finding enough representative East Pakistanis to set up a provincial administration and to cooperate somehow with West Pakistan politicians to form a civilian national Government. He must have been deplorably out of touch with what was and had been, going on. He now sets more modest and distant goals.

President Yahya, dropping the Constituent Assembly, has set up a committee to draft a constitution for a return to civilian rule in four months or so but longer if the internal and external situation is not propitious. There seems little hope that either will be. Evidently East Pakistan is to be treated as a kind of colony, says the Daily Telegraph, adding that how much self-rule it gets will depend on how it accepts its lot.

In the Time's view. President Yahya Khan's proposals are well meaning but will hardly meet the emotional needs of East Pakistan. For three months the province has been subjected to military brutality enough to carry resentment far beyond the ranks of the politically conscious. What is necessary in face of this despite and hatred, asks the Times, and suggests some magnanimity rather than the carefully hedged promises made yesterday-something more generous in spirit than a constitution drafted by an expert committee. No plan for the future will succeed unless it can hope to win over a large body of Bengali opinion.

What is needed now in the Time's view is surely some measure of good will towards the Bengali population of East Pakistan that will encourage them to think that peaceful compromise might be possible instead of clinging to hopes of guerilla warfare with all the added suffering that more fighting would bring. They will not be inspired by a statement, however well intentioned, that reads as if it had been drafted by an adjutant for battalion orders.

The most sharply worded criticism comes from the Guardian which begins by remarking that General Yahya Khan's nightmarish dream world shows no signs of crumbling. His faith in what his aides tell him is touching, but tragically pathetic. He has no real plans now. The proposals he unveiled for a return to democratic government are a shame in the Guardian's judgment. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman remains, in the Guardian's view, just possibly, the one man who can persuade the five million who fled to return; and-equally vital-those Bengalis who remained not to wallow in communal strife. Mujib, in as the Guardian's Pakistan's last chance of a little peace.

A fourth editorial appears in the Scotsman which says President Yahya Khan may have a firm grip on Pakistan in consequence of military ruthlessness but his grip on

reality appears dangerously loose. If he believes he has foreign support for his actions, he must be unbalanced, the paper goes on. If he does not believe it, he is trying to deceive the people of Pakistan about the extent of international disapproval of his brutal policies. One thing is clear, the Scotsman adds. Foreign governments have failed to change President Yahya's mind and steer him back to civilized methods of ruling.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****DESPATCH FROM MARK TULLY  
EAST PAKISTAN REACTIONS  
TO YAHYA**

1st July, 1971.

*Edited by Evan Charlton (S)*

Mark Tully of the BBC's Eastern Service, cables from Dacca; after talking 10 businessmen, journalists, and ordinary people in and nearby Dacca it has become even clearer to me that President Yahya Khan's latest political programme has been a severe disappointment to East Pakistan. There is nothing in it for East Pakistan, was typical of the comments heard. Many feel that the President's speech was designed to encourage the people of West Pakistan and the armed forces. His condemnation of the Awami League leaders has disappointed those who genuinely hoped for some settlement. His praise for the armed forces has been treated with the utmost cynicism. The Islamic emphasis in the President speech will, it is felt only increase alarm amongst the Hindus, who are still here and will certainly not encourage Hindu refugees to return. The fact is that the Bengalis here do not believe the army is well intentioned. The destruction of eight villages about 50 miles northwest of Dacca has demonstrated beyond doubt that the army is still taking punitive action but this is not really so important for the future as the rumors which are rife in and around Dacca. These alarming rumors of continuing army brutality people being taken away to the cantonment and not returned, rape and extracting money and goods by force are rarely confirmable but they are almost universally believed. In this sort of atmosphere it is quite impossible for the army to restore confidence and indeed they do not even seem to be able to make any effort to do so. Armed posses of mainly Punjabi police patrol the city and they are clearly very jittery; one also sees occasional army machine gun patrols. People are searched before going into the telegraph office and there are spot checks on the streets. Several people I have talked to have been frightened to be seen with me. Business in the bazaars appears to be reasonably brisk but there are far fewer people about than normal at night in the streets are still practically deserted. Office attendance has improved but it would seem that most Hindu office workers have not returned. Virtually no effort to restore the damage done by the army has been made. Communal bitterness between the Bengalis and the Urdu speakers is still very strong Under these circumstances it is impossible to see how a government in anyway associated with the basically West Pakistani Army can regain the confidence of the people.



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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**

1st July, 1971

**BRITISH PRESS ON PAKISTAN***Edited by William Crawley (S)*

This morning's press carries two reports from correspondents in East Pakistan. In the Times, Michael Hornsby reports what he believes to be continuing persecution of the Hindu community in East Pakistan by the armed forces. Hornsby visited the village of Sinduri, some 40 miles to the north west of Dacca, which is one of eight predominantly Hindu villages in the area, which he says have in the past five days been looted or burned down. Hornsby says that on conceivable strategic or security reasons can be found to justify these actions.

In the Daily Telegraph. Clare Hollingworth reports from Dacca. She has been with a Pakistani army border patrol to within four hundred yards of the border of Assam, and she reports that the destruction by guerrilla forces from the Indian side of the border has devastated a border town in East Pakistan and made 5000 Pakistanis refugees' in their own country. She says that the Pakistan army is convinced that the Indians are trying to destroy the economy of the area, as there can be no military reason for the shelling. Guerrillas have been attacking tea estates, and have put twelve or thirteen estates near the Indian border out of action with mortar fire. She says that every day more tea planters are arriving in Dacca, as conditions become more difficult and dangerous.

From Calcutta the Daily Telegraph correspondent, Peter Gill reports that Mr. Toby Jessel, one of the four British Members of Parliament who are currently visiting both Pakistan and India in a tour sponsored by the British Government, said last night that he was convinced that the Pakistan Army had conducted a blitz on Hindu villages.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****5th July, 1971****DESPATCH FROM MARK TULLY  
IN DACCA***Edited by Evan Charlton (S)*

In a cable from Dacca, Mark Tully of the BBC's Eastern Service says that the campaign to prevent life returning to normal in East Pakistan appears to be continuing. On Friday night, another electricity pylon was sabotaged-this time in Dacca. Parts of Dacca were without electricity for twenty hours. Over the weekend several bomb-throwing incidents were reported in Dacca. Last week severe damage was done to the bazaar at Sarisabari, North of Mymensingh. As a result of the damage and the police action taken by the army, work at the big jute baling station at Sarisabari came to a halt. Conditions there are more normal now. In Pabna there was firing and at least one bomb exploded on Friday night. In Rajshahi a bridge was blown up last week. There was also firing and bombs exploded on Saturday night. The authorities in Rajshahi explained that the army had opened fire on infiltrators who were attempting to cross the Ganges from India. Some of the firing came from that direction but not all of it. It is very difficult to

make an accurate assessment of the activities of the guerrilla movement because the authorities are anxious that these should be played down. However the fact that these reports have come out under the present circumstances where there are DO official sources and when not many people are travelling the countryside would tend to indicate that at least sporadic acts of violence aimed at disrupting the economy and preventing people from collaborating with the government are likely to continue.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
9th July, 1971

**BRITISH PRESS ON PAKISTAN**  
*Edited by William Crawley (S)*

In this morning's Daily Telegraph Clare Hollingworth reports from East Pakistan. She says that Pakistani and Indian soldiers confront each other at close quarters at every main said crossing along the border and that there is daily sporadic small arms fire across the border, Bangladesh guerrillas cross the frontier every night and have been damaging communications in the border areas. The Indian side is packed with refugees she says, while the Pakistani army operates in almost deserted countryside. Few refugees are returning into Pakistan. Clare Hollingworth thinks that the presence of a United Nations peace keeping force would be the best solution in view of what she says are the ever rising tempers of the battalion and company commanders.

Another Telegraph reporter, Peter Gill reports from the Indian state of Tripura. He says that there are fresh waves of East Pakistan refugees crossing into India. He says they are mostly Muslim Bengali peasants who have been caught in cross fire in fighting between Pakistani forces and the Mukti Fauj guerrillas.

In the Financial Times, Neville Maxwell reporting from Karachi also notes West Pakistani anger at Britain. He sees irony in the allegation in Pakistan that Britons have always favored the Hindus against the Muslims, as he says exactly the opposite accusation is regularly made in India. The Pakistan Government, he says is engaged in a fundamental reappraisal of its relationship with Britain. (He says that foreign reporting of the situation in East Pakistan is either ignored or discounted both by West Pakistanis and by British people living in West Pakistan).

Maxwell says that the views of such West Pakistanis as Air Marshal Asghar Khan, who has just returned from East Pakistan are ignored. According to Maxwell, Air Marshal Asghar Khan's appreciation of the situation is sharply different from that of the Pakistan Government.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
23rd July 1971

**PAKISTAN ARMY AND THE MUKTI FAUJ**  
*by Mark Tully (S)*

Reports of sabotage by the Mukti Fauj in East Pakistan continue.  
Mark Tully looks at the situation now facing the Pakistan Army in

## The country's East wing:-

The first impression a visitor to East Pakistan would get is that life is gradually returning to normal. This is to some extent true in many parts of the province.

People need to eat and earn their living no matter how much they disapprove of the regime. But this return to normality is being slowed down by the guerrilla fighters of the Mukti Fauj. The Mukti Fauj have two weapons, fear and disruption of the economy. Through Radio Free Bengal, the Mukti Fauj are preaching a campaign of terror against anyone who collaborates with the army. They are backing this up by murdering members of Peace committees and other prominent collaborators, and by threatening factory workers, tea garden labor and jute growers. On the economic front they are sabotaging vital installations and doing their best to see that communications are not restored.

The Pakistan army is trying to meet this threat but they are in a very difficult position. In the first place they are very thin on the ground. They have to keep large numbers of their soldiers in the important towns because they are still afraid that there might be major uprisings there. The rest of their forces are mainly tied down on the borders. This means that they have had to leave the guarding of vital installations to badly trained volunteers called Razakers. These volunteers are still being raised in most places and even where they have been trained and are in action they are very often more of a menace than a help. Another problem is that the East Pakistan police force virtually disappeared in many places. The attitude of the population is also still extremely hostile to the army and there is still no sign that the army is getting any cooperation from them. There is always the possibility that the people of East Pakistan will become hostile to the Mukti Fauj if they continue, to threaten them and disrupt their daily lives. But unless the army can guarantee them protection from the Mukti Fauj, which they certainly cannot do at present, the people are not likely to run this risk of Mukti Fauj reprisals by giving information to the army. The main source of resistance are the Mukti Fauj guerrilla fighters who live in camps across the Indian border. The Mukti Fauj find it quite easy to slip between the Pakistan army's posts and as a result the border areas are for the most part still in a chaotic condition. Things are not helped by the shelling which breaks out from time to time between the Indian and Pakistan armies.

It is impossible to tell how many of these guerrillas there are but reports indicate that they are spread out all round East Pakistan's border with India.

The Pakistan army appears to be facing a virtually impossible task. In an underdeveloped country where communications are appalling everything is on the side of the guerrillas. So far they have certainly succeeded in preventing East Pakistan's two main industries-tea and jute returning to normal. All that can be said is that at this early stage many of the sabotage efforts have been bungled and that the Mukti Fauj still has plenty to learn. Everything hinges on whether they have the stamina and the skill to sustain a long and effective campaign.

*Bengali dawn news talk 24/25 July, 1971*

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**6th August 1971**

**PAKISTAN'S WHITE PAPER**  
*by Mark Tully (S)*

The Pakistan Government has issued a white paper called the crisis in East Pakistan. Mark Tully looks at the white paper.

The white paper sets out the Pakistan government's version of the events which led up to the military action on March 25th and those which immediately followed this action. The white paper says that the Federal Government acted on March 25th to restore law and order which had completely broken down. It blames the crisis on the failure of the elected representatives to reach agreement on the constitution. They could not agree on the constitution, the white paper says, because the leaders of the Awami League had moved from their original demand for provincial autonomy to a demand for secession. The white paper accuses the Awami League leaders of planning an armed uprising with the help of India. It sets out in detail the case for Indian involvement going back to the Agartala conspiracy case of 1967. The white paper also lists the reported atrocities committed under what it describes as the Awami League's reign of terror. Not all the dates which these atrocities were committed are listed in the report but the report does indicate that many of them were committed after the army action started. The white paper also gives a detailed version of the negotiations between the President and the political leaders in Dacca from 15th March to 25th March.

One of the difficulties the white paper presents to students of events in East Pakistan is that it makes no attempt to discuss the Awami Leaguers case. It is a one sided version of events and as such many people will take it less seriously than they would have done had it examined the facts from more than one point of view. Two examples of this might be quoted. Much is made in the white paper of the killings by the Awami League but there isn't even any mention of killings and destruction by the army. No attempt is even made to justify them as militarily essential. Again the report does not try to assess the effect in East Pakistan of the President's announcement on March 1st that he was postponing the National Assembly. Many observers believe that this one single action did more to destroy confidence in the President's good intentions in East Pakistan than anything else. The white paper just quotes the President's speech in which he admitted that one of the reasons he was postponing the assembly sitting was because the major party in West Pakistan has threatened to boycott the session. It then goes on to say boldly "The response of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was to call for a general strike."

The timing of the report is also a little difficult to understand. The Pakistan Government says that the atrocities and acts of lawlessness committed by the Awami League militants before March 25th were not publicized to avoid possible reprisals. But in his speech broadcast to the nation of March 26th President Yahya Khan said "A number of murders have been committed in the name of the Awami League. Millions of our Bengali brethren and those who have settled in East Pakistan are living in a state of panic and a very large number had to leave that wing out of fear for their lives." If the President saw fit to make that admission on March 26th it seems strange to delay the

publication of this White Paper for over four months for fear of reprisals in the west wing.

The change of Indian collusion is taken back to the Agartala conspiracy case. It implies that the Pakistan government knew in 1967 that Sheikh Mujib was conspiring with India to divide Pakistan and that the plan which was revealed then was actually put into effect in February 1971 with the hijacking of the Indian aero plane. Most of the evidence produced in the report must have been known to the government at the time. If they believed this evidence proved that Sheikh Mujib was planning to commit treason with the help of India why, as is made out elsewhere in the report, did the president continue his negotiations in good faith with the Awami League? why indeed did the President describe Sheikh Mujib as the future Prime Minister of Pakistan?

But perhaps the most important criticism of the report is that it is not what is needed now. In the introduction it says that the White Paper has a full account of the events which led to the present crisis in East Pakistan. But nowhere in the report does the Government discuss what is being done about the crisis now or what its hopes and expectations for the future are. This is what the world wants to hear.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**15th September, 1971**

**BOIL OF GUARDIAN ARTICLE BY**  
**MARTIN WOOLLACOTT**

*Edited by William Crawley (S)*

*RefNo. 70J218*

In the Guardian this morning Martin Woollacott writes from Calcutta about the different aims and ideologies of those who are involved in the struggle for Bangladesh. Woollacott says that some of those in the movement consider it a blessing in disguise that India does not intend to go to war over Bangladesh, as the prospect of being a client state of India does not appeal to them.

According to Martin Woollacott, the leadership of the Bangladesh movement can be divided into four categories. The first is the Awami League leadership, which he says without Sheikh Mujibur' Rahman is not a particularly dynamic body but has the unique advantage of legitimacy. Secondly, there is a small corps of former regular Pakistani army officers. Thirdly, there is a group of young men of education and intelligence, without party affiliations, who have secured jobs as private secretaries and policy planners. Woollacott thinks that their influence can be expected to grow.

Finally there is the leadership of the various left wing and Communist parties, especially the Bhashani and Muzaffar groups of the National Awami Party, and the Communist Party of Bangladesh. They have been linked with the Awami League by the creation this week of a formal consultative committee. These parties favor a true liberation war, and are in tacit alliance with the young intellectuals who work for the Awami League Government, according to Martin Woollacott.

Woollacott says that the political prospects are uncertain and much will depend on the course of the war during the coming winter months, when the Pakistan Army is expected to embark on major operations against the guerrillas.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**21st September, 1971**

**SITUATION IN EAST PAKISTAN**  
*Edited by Mark Tully*

Yesterday two reports on the situation in East Pakistan came in the first in a dispatch from the BBC correspondent in Dacca, Ronald Robson Spokesman for the East Pakistan rebels outside East Pakistan claim that their forces hold large parts of East Pakistan, but this is firmly denied by the authorities in Dacca.

In several hundred miles of travelling in East Pakistan I have not personally seen any sign, or heard even any rumor, that rebels hold any portion of territory at all in the sensitive border areas. Rebels do come across from India, often inflict damage and then return swiftly when chased by troops. This is hardly the same thing as holding areas of territory. Crossing the border is relatively easy. It would be almost impossible for any army to seal such a border of 1,780 miles against Infiltrators. Dispositions can be made, however, to see that no intruder penetrates very far inside East Pakistan with impunity, and the Pakistan Army seems well able to see to this. There has been a diminution in the incidents of acts of sabotage in the past month. Civilian volunteers are guarding the many bridges and other vulnerable points thereby releasing regular troops for other tasks. Pakistani personnel certainly suffer casualties in, for example, border shelling incidents, but observers here in East Pakistan are extremely sceptical of rebel claims that Pakistan Army suffers 3000 casualties per month."

The second report is from Ian Macdonald who is the relief coordinator for 3 British charities and has just returned from East Pakistan where he is now working on an agricultural project. He told Adam Raphael on a BBC Radio programme last night that he feared there would be a major famine in East Pakistan. He had seen land uncultivated in this the main crop season, children with bloated bellies lying by the road side and an increased number of beggars and he had talked to farmers who were very heavily in debt because of crop failure over the last year. Macdonald said that even if the United Nations did manage to get the necessary food stocks to East Pakistan the problem of distributing it would still be enormous. Food which arrived in January was still lying on the dockside at Chittagong. 100 UN trucks arrived a few days ago but up to the time Macdonald left East Pakistan only 30 drivers had been found for them.

The United Nations have said that they will rely on the existing administration to distribute the food but Macdonald was very doubtful whether the local administration could deal with the huge problems it was going to face over the next few months. He said that the United Nations effort was already getting tied up in the bureaucracy. After 3 months work in Pakistan the United Nations had still not been able to get local machinery going. Macdonald indeed by saying that he was afraid that there might be no solution at the problem of feeding the population of East Pakistan over the next few months.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****DESPATCH FROM EVAN CHARLTON  
AT THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE:  
STATEMENT ON PAKISTAN**

7th October, 1971

*Edited by Mark Tully (s)*

The first business on the agenda of the Labor Party's Conference this morning was the adoption of statement on Pakistan presented by the National Executive Committee. This was expeditiously done, less than half an hour being allotted for the discussion. There was no dissent from the statement which expressed the belief that a political solution of the situation in East Pakistan can only be reached after military repression has ceased and the political leaders of East Bengal and in particular Sheikh Mujibur Rahman have been released. Mr. Bruce Douglas Mann M.P. Supporting the executives call for the British Government to raise the issue at the current session of the United Nations, thought that unless this action was taken, the world would see the greatest tragedy it has ever known. The war being fought by the East Bengali guerrillas was a just one, in his view, and one which had to be won. Mr. Douglas Mann believed that Pakistan was dead and he would go further than the support was Mr. John Stonehouse, M. P.. Who regarded it as a disaster that the United Nations had not raised its voice in condemnation of what had happened and he too thought that the creation of Bangladesh was the only realistic way out. Mr. Tom Toney, M.P. for South Bradford spoke of the split between immigrants from the two wings of Pakistan in his own constituency and said that it was necessary to recognize that two strongly opposing views of the situation were held by the people of Pakistan. Britain's main concern should be to stop the holocaust and persuade the people concerned to get round a table and talk. He wanted pressure on the British Government to take more action to bring this about.

Mrs. Judith Hart wound up the debate with a call for more overt pressures on the Pakistan Government to reach a settlement. She said that the Executive's statement was based on an analysis of events which placed the responsibility for the tragedy on the Government of Pakistan. The only answer in the long term was a real political solution but she thought that the danger to the continent of Asia of war breaking out was grave and that it was of immeasurable importance that the world acted promptly through the United Nations.

The Statement on Pakistan was passed unanimously and the conference went on to discuss East- West relations in Europe.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****PRESS REPORTS ON INDO-PAKISTAN  
SITUATION**

12th October, 1971

*Edited by Evan Charlton (S)*

Peter Hazelhurst. in a cable to The Times from New Delhi reports that Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Indian Minister of Defense, has warned President Yahya Khan that if Pakistan

launches a surprise attack, India will extend the war to Pakistan territory. Hazelhurst says that this warning comes in the context of unconfirmed reports that Pakistan has evacuated the civilian population along large areas of the Western frontier region and that a number of armored and infantry divisions have moved up to borders. India, says Hazelhurst, has replied by strengthening its positions in the border. Tension, he says has reached a dangerous level with leave for the armed forces cancelled on both sides and a build-up of oil and petrol reserves.

According to Hazelhurst's report it is estimated in India that President Yahya Khan has deployed nearly five divisions in East Pakistan and most of his remaining 10 divisions along the western front. India says Hazelhurst can commit 12 or 13 of her 27 divisions to the Western front with ten mountain divisions tied down on the Chinese frontier and the remaining three or four divisions near the East Pakistan border.

According to Hazelhurst. Indians fear that President Yahya might be tempted to hit back in the West if the East Bengal guerrillas begin to harass his forces in the East effectively. Indian military strategists, says Hazelhurst believe that if the Pakistanis strike they will do so before the Himalayan passes on the Chinese border close with the onset of Winter. On the other hand, he adds if the Indians decide to solve the refugee problem by pushing the West Pakistanis out of East Bengal, the operation would not begin until the passes are closed.

In a long study of the situation in East Pakistan, Kevin Rafferty in the Financial Times says that it is not certain whether the army there will devote itself after the end of the Monsoon to the business of opening up supply lines to provide food in the areas where it is most needed or to opening up supply lines for the task of mopping up guerrillas. Should he choose the second course, says Rafferty, the Bengal border will be tinder for an Indo-Pakistan war, there will be yet more refugees and many more people will die. It is a question of priorities, says Rafferty. and it's not certain which President Yahya will choose. But, he adds, there are 40 million people in East Pakistan in danger of starvation whose lives depend on his choice.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**15th October, 1971**

**GUERRILLAS AND FOOD**  
*by Mark Tully (S)*

The Head of the United Nations Relief Operation in East Pakistan said on Thursday that the prevention of famine in East Pakistan during the next four months depends on whether food can be distributed efficiently. Mark Tully looks at the situation on the ground in East Pakistan in the light of recent reports.

Ever since the military action in East Pakistan started at the end of March there have been dire warnings of immersing famine in East Pakistan. The few reports there are from people who have travelled in East Pakistan recently indicate that so far there is no signs of malnutrition on a large scale. But almost everyone who has seen to East Pakistan fears that there are still very real dangers.



Mr. Paul Mark Henri who is in charge of the United Nations Relief Operation in East Pakistan said in his news conference last Thursday that he did not think that there would be a shortage of stocks. The main problem Mr. Henri envisages is distribution. The railways of East Pakistan used to carry about 60% of the food imported into East Pakistan and a foreign correspondent has reported from Dacca this (last) week that the rail ways are still only operating at about 20% of their normal capacity. The United Nations appear to be discounting the railways and are going to try to get food distributed by water and road transport. They will supply a thousand vehicles and various coasters and other boats. But it is reported that of the 100 United Nations trucks which have already been supplied to East Pakistan 70 are still stuck in Chittagong because the road conditions are so bad that they cannot be driven to their destinations.

This is where another very important factor in the situation comes in-the guerrillas. The road conditions are bad because they have been sabotaged by the various groups of guerrillas. Recently also at least three ships have been damaged by limpet mines in Chalna harbor and this has led one British shipping line to stop all sailings into East Pakistani ports. Although it is now believed that none of the ships which were damaged were carrying food it is going to be virtually impossible to get the necessary food stocks into East Pakistan if the main ports cannot be kept safe. Apart from sabotaging the communications, the other main difficulty that the guerrillas are posing is that in many parts of the province the army are still being forced to take action against them. This military activity might well have to be stepped up because the guerrillas are threatening to launch a new and more intensive campaign. It is very difficult to arrange for food distribution in areas where intensive military action is going on.

Last month. Mr. Moshtaque Ahmed, who describes, himself as the Foreign Minister of the provisional government of Bangladesh, told a foreign correspondent in India that he hoped an International relief operation could be conducted in East Pakistan. But he said that he would not be prepared to cooperate with anything except a full scale international operation in which the distribution of food was entirely handled by independent international organizations. His view was reiterated by a spokesman for the Bangladesh movement in London this (last) week. The spokesman made it quite clear that he did not regard the Present United Nations operation as anything more than an agency of the Pakistan army.

The Bangladesh movement also pointed out that so far no one had even approached them to ask for their cooperation and that until that happened they were unlikely to try and restrain the guerrilla activities.

*Bengali dawn news talk for 16/17 October*

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**20th October, 1971**

**PRESS ON PAKISTAN**  
*Edited by Mark Tully (S)*

There is a report in the Daily Telegraph today from Clare Hollingworth in Gauhati in Assam. She says that a guerrilla offensive against the Pakistan army is imminent, and that

30.000 men under Colonel Osmani have been alerted. She reports that there has been heavy fighting in Chhatak in the Sylhet district and near Comilla. There is, according to Clare Hollingworth, increasing evidence that the Chinese are giving material and moral support to the guerrillas. Indian officers are concerned about the extreme leftist tendencies developing among the guerrillas. The guerrillas are deeply disappointed that India has not recognized Bangladesh. She also reports that there is now an open dispute between two groups described as the provisional government of Bangladesh in Calcutta and the guerrilla leader based in Tripura and that this dispute will increase leftist pressures on the guerrillas.

The Times carried an extensive account of the Indian Prime Minister's press conference in Delhi yesterday at which she repeated that India did not want war nor would India do anything to provoke a situation by which a war might develop. Mrs. Gandhi also said that she saw no reason to have discussions with the Government of Pakistan because the problem lay between the government of Pakistan and the elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan.

Yesterday and today (Sunday and Monday) the British press has reported and discussed events in India and Pakistan extensively. Mark Tully takes a look at this press coverage:—

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**25th October, 1971**

**INDIA PAKISTAN AND THE PRESS**  
*by Mark Tully (S)*

Anyone who read all yesterday and today's British papers would emerge from the exercise in a state of total confusion. The main question which is discussed is the likelihood of war between India and Pakistan. Take today's Times and Scotsman. The Times headlines its story from Peter Hazelhurst, "Mrs. Gandhi flies abroad in spite of war threat ". The Scotsman's headline is Fears of War abate as Mrs. Gandhi leaves "for foreign tour. The Sunday Telegraph yesterday carried a story from Delhi in which it said that Mrs. Gandhi's short address to the nation before she left for her world tour must have had a soothing effect particularly in the border areas, where military preparations have according to the Sunday Times Correspondent, caused alarm. On the other hand the other two important Sunday papers emphasized the fact that India had begun to call up army reservists. The Observer correspondent said that the reservists' had been called up to keep up the Indian government's show of force at the borders to meet a similar build-up on the Pakistani side.

Today's Daily Telegraph has two reports whose headlines make alarming reading. One from David Loshak in Lahore is headlined: "Pakistan Army itching to go against India," while Clare Hollingworth's story from New. Delhi is headlined, "Indian Troops poised to strike" David Loshak says that the Pakistan army is deployed in strength and

depth along the Lahore frontier. The most dangerous aspect of the situation, Loshak feels is the difficulty of unwinding from the present state of tension. Loshak also does not see any sign that the military regime in Pakistan is willing to help bring the situation back to normal. Clare Hollingsworth reports that Mrs. Gandhi had long and calm meetings with her cabinet and with the chiefs of the armed forces before she left at which she insisted on restraint.

John Grigg who has recently returned from a visit to India as an official guest wrote a long article in yesterday's Observer in which he said, that Mrs. Gandhi is still extremely anxious to find a peaceful solution to this problem but she will not shrink from war if her efforts to find a peaceful solution fail. He thinks that Mrs. Gandhi's foreign tour is her last bid for peace. She will be asking the leaders of the Western powers to use every sanction short of war to bring about the changes in East Pakistan which are essential if the refugees are to return.

On the other hand, Sir Frederick Bennett who is a Member of Parliament has written a letter in today's Telegraph in which he says that having just returned from a visit to both wings of Pakistan he is convinced that the concept of Bangladesh is as dead as Biafra. Sir Frederick Bennett points out that United Nations observers have advised that one of the best ways of inducing the refugees to return is to reduce the tension on the border. If the guerrilla activities inside East Pakistan continue, Sir Frederick warns that a major war is likely to break out.

In an article in the Times today Peter Hazelhurst analyses the relative strengths of the Indian and Pakistani forces. He says that both are well disciplined and well armed. Numerically the Indians have a 3 to 1 advantage but this is offset by the fact that 10 of India's 27 divisions are tied down on the northern border with China. He also points out the logistical strains under which the Pakistan army is having to operate. Hazelhurst does not think India is likely to march into East Pakistan because this would leave the province in chaos and India could end up with 70 million refugees. But he says that if the guerrillas harass the Pakistan army effectively President Yahya Khan might be forced to start a military action, probably in Kashmir. In this way Hazelhurst says President Yahya Khan would focus world attention on Kashmir and force the Security Council to meet.

Finally, both the Scotsman and the Guardian today carry editorials. Both papers agree that war is unlikely while Mrs. Gandhi is away. The Scotsman says that India has responded more readily to appeals for restraint than Pakistan has responded to appeals to make a fundamental but necessary change in her policy if Mrs. Gandhi does not succeed in increasing international concern about the return of the refugees, especially in America, pressure for military action with India will increase. The Guardian says that Mrs. Gandhi must succeed in getting a temporary block on American arms shipments to Pakistan and a much larger United Nations force in East Pakistan otherwise she will not be able to restrain the extremists in India. But the Guardian also feels that India should offer to allow United Nations teams into the refugee areas.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**1st November 1971**

**PRESS ROUNDUP**

*Edited by William Crawley (S)*

There have been reports this morning and over the weekend on developments in East Pakistan. Yesterday morning the Sunday Times published a report from Dacca. The reports is unsigned but the paper claims that it is recent and reliable. The Mukti Bahini guerrillas are said to have launched a series of daylight front attacks on public buildings in Dacca. The report does not quote any attacks more recent than two weeks ago. According to the report, foreigners in Dacca who have been hitherto relatively safe are now under threat both from the Mukti Bahini guerrillas and the razakars. The new wave of Mukti Bahini attacks is said by the correspondent to put an end to a three-week lull which followed the capture by the Pakistani Army of 80 guerillas on September 15th.

In the Daily Telegraph today, David Loshak reviews the current position in Pakistan. David Loshak, who has been until recently reporting from New Delhi, says that the past ten months have seen a catalogue of errors on the part of the Pakistan Government. Loshak says that as the nation hovers near the edge of War vital decisions have been avoided. He says that the cost of keeping the army in East Pakistan is being met by printing money, and that the Pakistani economy is in desperate straits. The country threatened by simmering discontent among workers in industry who have been laid off, and with mounting interprovincial strains in the western wing.

The Financial Times this morning carries an editorial on Mrs Gandhi's visit to Britain. The Financial Times says that if war does not break out between India and Pakistan, Mrs. Gandhi's tour will not have been in vain. The paper says that Britain's policy should be to ensure that the nightmare of an India-Pakistan war. with the possible involvement of the United States and the Soviet Union, does not become a reality. The Financial Times says that the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath should send a message to President Yahya Khan urging him to take the risk of political negotiation with the Bengalis as a better alternative to the risk of a war with India. The Financial Times says that Mr. Heath should also send a similar message to President Nixon, urging the Americans to take a similar line.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**

3rd November, 1971

**REVIEW OF THE BRITISH PRESS  
 ON PAKISTAN**

*Edited by William Crawley (S)*

A report is published in the Daily Telegraph this morning from Clare Hollingworth in Dacca. She says that forty thousand Bangladesh guerrillas are now operating inside East Pakistan. She quotes a Pakistan Army officer as saying to her that "open support for the Mukti Fouj has risen during the Past two months like a genetic tidal wave sweeping over the country." Clare Hollingworth says that the guerrillas are increasing their activities inside the towns and that for the first time since March clashes with the army

have been taking place in the streets in daylight. According to Clare Hollingworth there are three groups of guerrillas deployed inside Dacca, and bank robberies are frequent. Schools have been attacked and many parents are keeping their children at home.

Clare Hollingworth says that the army, position is over-stretched. They are manning the frontiers, leaving too few men to control the countryside. According to her, the authorities are pressing the government in Islamabad to introduce collective fines on areas where guerrillas have been operating, but she thinks such a measure would be difficult to enforce.

According to Clare Hollingworth, 1000 guerrillas held a conference near Barisal last weekend within three mile" of an army outpost. The conference had apparently followed the killing by the Mukti Fouj of a rival Naxalite leader. A rival guerrilla group had then agreed to join forces with the Mukti Fouj, reports Clare Hollingworth in the Daily Telegraph.

In the Times a report from Kuldip Nayar in New Delhi says that East Bangali leaders were taken by surprise and were unprepared for president Yahya Khan's military campaign. Kuldip Nayar says that Delhi's strategy seems to be to sit quiet and give as much help to the guerrillas as it can. He says that the extremist group in the Mukti Bahini is putting pressure on its leaders to look more for Chinese support in their campaign. According to Kuldip Nayar the extremists argue that India is not willing to fight the Bangladesh battle.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**11th November, 1971.**

**SITUATION IN EAST PAKISTAN**  
by Mark Tully (S)

It was reported earlier this week that the Pakistan government had decided to impose collective fines in areas where subversive or anti-state activities have been going on. Mark Tully looks at the situation in East Pakistan in the light of the latest reports from the province:

The Pakistan government's decision to impose collective fines shows how seriously the government now views the law and order situation in East Pakistan. Previously, the government always denied that it held local communities responsible for sabotage or other guerrilla activities in their areas. Although there was occasional evidence that after some acts of sabotage the army or the police burnt houses in the surrounding areas the government always denied that this had been done as part of an official policy. The Pakistan government has been doing their best to persuade the people of East Pakistan and indeed the world that they are not only fully in control of East Pakistan but also getting cooperation from the vast majority of the people. The government must realize that by its collective fine decision it is admitting that this is not so.

Reports from East Pakistan all speak of a marked increase in the activities of the guerrillas. One of the guerrillas, targets appears to be schools and colleges. The guerrillas want to dissuade students from returning to their classes. The economy has also been a

target. It is reported that 3 jute warehouses have been burnt down recently. The guerrilla have also been turning their attention to those they regard as collaborators. On Sunday, one of the Members of the National Assembly who recently gained his seat in an uncontested by-election was shot and there have been other political assassinations. One report from Dacca says that there are now no less than seven areas of East Pakistan where the government in Dacca does not in fact govern.

One of the main difficulties the government appears to be facing is that it is having to depend on the Razakars for a great deal of the work which the police or the army would normally do. The regular police are still weakened by the massive defections after the military action started which have not been made up. President Yahya Khan's scheme to restore political life to the province does not appear to be doing much to restore the confidence of the people and encourage them to cooperate with the government. The main problem is that there seems to be no sign of a party growing up to replace the now banned Awami League. By-elections were scheduled for 78 seats in the National Assembly next month. Reports from Pakistan say that 52 of the seats have already been filled by members who have been returned unopposed. As most of these members come from the right wing Islamic parties who were unable to win a single East Pakistani seat in the last election their unopposed return in this election does not seem to hold out much hope of their being able to command the confidence and respect of their constituents.

Another political problem which the government is reported to be facing is the rump of the ex-Awami League-these Members of the National Assembly who were elected on the Awami League ticket last year and who have been cleared by the government to take up their seats in the National Assembly. Nothing has been heard of most of them in East Pakistan and they are in fact believed to be still in India.

The signs at the moment are that politically and economically East Pakistan is far from normal and it is very-difficult to see how the province can return to normality under present conditions.

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#### **ASIAN TOPIC ALT ALKS      BRITISH PRESS ON INDO-PAKISTAN**

**30th November 1971**

*Edited by William Crawley (S)*

Most British papers this morning give prominence to the admission by India that her forces have been engaged in a tank and infantry battle against the Pakistan army in the Balurghat-Hili area inside East Pakistan. The Daily Telegraph correspondent in Calcutta, David Loshak says that the official explanation, that the military crisis in East Pakistan is a matter merely between the Pakistan army and the Mukti Bahini guerrillas, has now been abandoned by everyone except official spokesmen.

In the Times, David Housego reports from Rawalpindi that the Indian and guerrilla forces are mounting repeated attacks to encourage the Pakistan army to use up their ammunition, while at the same time depriving them of further supplies. Housego says that the thrusts in the north appear to be aimed at airstrips, which are both a source of

supply and an escape route for the Pakistan army. Housego says that observer in Rawalpindi do not see how President Yahya Khan can put off a decision much longer, whether to attack India in the west, or face disintegration of the eastern province, or to make political concessions.

Writing in the Guardian from Dacca, Lee Lescaze of the Washington Post says that it is clear that fighting has been confined to small areas and no all-out India offensive has taken place. Lescaze says that both India and Pakistan are intent that its adversary should be painted as the aggressor and says that this concern has shaped the undeclared border war. But Lescaze thinks that the Indian attacks have kept the Pakistani force off balance. He thinks that India would welcome counter thrusts across the border by Pakistani troops which could provide evidence of Pakistani aggression, and give a pretext for even stronger Indian military action.

Also in today's Guardian there is an editorial headlined India provokes war. The Guardian says that Indian military incursions are calculated provocations aimed at securing either the Release of Sheikh Mujib and an autonomous Bangladesh or outright military victory. But the Guardian says that India's tactics look more and more fallible. They are disastrous diplomatically politically and psychologically. Diplomatically because no one now believes that this is an internal crisis in which India has no part, politically because a counter attack by Pakistan may now seem a just response after so much provocation, and psychologically because President Yahya Khan would never free Sheikh Mujib in circumstance involving such direct crushing personal humiliation, and says the Guardian, Bangladesh without Sheikh Mujib will quickly fall apart.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****DESPATCH FROM AHMED  
NIZAMUDDIN IN DACCA.**

2nd December. 1971

*Edited by Mark Tully (8)*

According to a Pakistan Army spokesman in Dacca, Indian soldiers made attempts to advance towards East Pakistan's north eastern Sylhet District at Shamshernagar airport and also at the western border railway station, Darsana in Kushtia District. The Army spokesman claimed to have bluffed the advance." A source however said "Serious fighting awaited but reports reaching Dacca said that Indian soldiers have is still continuing in these to fronts". Further details are still attacked an the border districts including Bhomra and Sarkara in Khulna, Afra, Similia, Bhadra, Khalishpur Industrial Town. Ustail and Andalbar in Khulna. Kamalpur in Mymensingh, Shamshernagar and Unachom in Sylhet district, Casba, Saldanadi, Barajala, Genagadar Bazar. Patharnagar and Harimangal in Comilla and Chota Harina in Chittagong district. A military source today circulated and published the pictures of two Indian soldiers of 515 Gurkha Regiment with their identification numbers. The two soldiers were killed at Jaintiapur area within East Pakistan territory. The photographs were produced to prove India's involvement in the present war.

Meanwhile rebels, whom officials describe as miscreants have exploded five bombs in various parts of East Pakistan's capital city during the past 24 hours. A bomb exploded in a leftist party office at a time when Right wing leader. Professor Golam Azam indicated that a National Government might be formed in Pakistan in the near future. Mr. Bhutto was likely to be included in the government. Prof. Azam also demanded that in the National Government the prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Finance Minister should be appointed from the East Pakistani leaders in order to win the confidence of the people of East Pakistan.

Another blast badly damaged electric poles at Rampura, Malibagh area. Two bombs exploded in two Secondary High Schools, Armanitola. New Government High School and Rahmatullah High School. Both institutions were damaged, according to police source. One explosion badly damaged a petrol pump near Pak. Motors on Dacca Airport Road which also injured two persons, one of them reported to be serious. Dacca Mitford Hospital Source said that two more bullet-injured persons who were admitted there bringing such cases to 35 there from nearby Keraniganj area.

A Pakistan Government spokesman said that the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman "Is not over". Reports of scarcity and high prices of daily necessities are going in from the outlying districts and some 20 miles from various parts of Dacca City. An old man from Medini Mandal, some 22 miles south of Dacca City, Mr. Afzal Hussain, all the way her to buy some essential commodities such as kerosine oil and medicines. In Dacca City the government decided to sell kerosene oil to city dwellers only through their food ration cards. When I visited one of the fairprice shops, I found hundreds of people away from their normal work lined up from early dawn to midday for one gallon of oil per head. In the rural areas according to consumers there was practically no kerosene oil and all the local papers in their editorials appealed to the government to solve this problem. There has been an acute shortage of kerosene oil here since the day when Bengali rebels exploded and sunk an oil tanker at Chittagong port 80 percent of East Pakistan population use kerosene oil for lighting purposes after dusk and in the city areas, they use it for cooking purposes also.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS**  
**2nd December 1971**

**PRESS REVIEW ON INDIA/PAKISTAN**  
*By William Crawley (S)*

Reports from British correspondents in the press this morning say that Indian forces have cut the railway line at two points inside East Pakistan. Peter Hazelhurst in the Times reports from Delhi that Indian, troops have occupied sections of the rail line in the Hili region. Clare Hollingworth, writing in the Daily Telegraph from Dacca says that Indian artillery supported by Bangladesh guerrillas have also cut the rail link from Chittagong to Dacca and Comilla at Fenni, 38 miles north of Chittagong.

Clare Hollingworth says that it appears that Indian operations have never been mounted at more than battalion level (600-800 men), and that the majority of attacks are



made by no more than one company (120 men). Clare Hollingworth reports that yesterday the Indians began heavy shelling of a Pakistani artillery position near Rangpur. The gunners were discouraged from returned the fire. A senior officer said that in this sector it would be impossible to launch a small counter-attack without crossing the Indian frontier, and he had strict orders not to do so, writes Clare Hollingworth.

Correspondents of the Times and the Daily Telegraph were with a party of foreign correspondents who were taken on an officially sanctioned visit to the Indo-Pakistan front, on the Indian side near Bangaon. There was little sign of conflict apart from a few bursts of machine-gun fire. Peter Gill in the Daily Telegraph reports that Pakistani troops were not to be seen and a Bangladesh flag flew on the customs post on the other side of the border.

A delayed dispatch appears in the Times this morning from A. B. Musa of the Asian News Service, who has been with the Mukti Bahini guerrillas at Satkhira in the Khulna district. Musa reports that two platoons of the Mukti Bahini had succeeded in crossing the Ichamati river and had forced a company of Pakistani troops to retreat. Musa says that some of the guerrillas were boys of only 12 years.

Further eye witness accounts of guerrilla activities inside East Pakistan was provided by a film which was shown on BBC television last night. The film was taken by an American reporter, and it showed guerrillas in entrenched positions opposite the Pakistani lines. They were said to be short of arms and equipment and were operating to a large extent with captured guns, ammunition and motor vessels. A full civilian administration was said to be operating behind the guerrilla lines.

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#### ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS

6th December 1971

#### DESPATCH FROM AHMED NAJIMUDDIN IN DACCA

*Edited by William Crawley (S)*

After a day's air battles and dog fights 011 Dacca airfield, 110 further attack on this airport has been reported from yesterday afternoon till this morning. Late last night, at 0230 Local Time, the Indian air force made an attack on Dacca City. I heard a sound of bombing from the suburbs of Dacca City but there have been no reports of damage. Also Meanwhile a Pakistan army source said that the Indians had enlarged 'battle fronts at Akhaura in Comilla District and Kamalpur in Mymensingh District and also in Dinajpur in northern sector. The source claimed that the attacks had been blunted by Pakistani troops.

Dacca, Narayanganj and East Pakistan's port town, Chittagong have been placed under dusk to dawn curfew and a complete black-out is being observed for an indefinite period. All means of communication with Dacca and the outlying areas have been completely disrupted and normal life has been suspended. Shops, commercial organizations, banks and other offices remained closed, due to the Indian air and ground attack Dacca television centre last night showed newsreel of the Indian attack on Dacca

airfield damaged air force planes and captured pilots. The local papers came out as usual with big news of the war. Reports of fierce fighting from Jessore, Comilla, Chittagong Hill tracts are still coming in.

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# ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS

7th December 1971

# THE BRITISH PRESS ON INDIA AND PAKISTAN

*Edited by Evan Charlton (S)*

The British Press today gives extensive coverage of the war between India and Pakistan. There are also editorials in the major newspapers.

The Daily Telegraph says that in announcing India's decision to recognize "The people's Republic of Bangladesh" Mrs. Gandhi could not have put things more plainly. Now that "there was war, she told her M. Ps, "the normal hesitation on our part to do anything which could come in the way of a peaceful solution or which might be construed as intervention, has lost significance." Given Indian's policy and the stage which had been reached on ground in East Pakistan, the decision had indeed become logical. To give Mrs. Gandhi credit where it is due. it is a fact that, until the most recent developments, she did refrain from actions which could have impeded a political solution to the refugee problem which has hung so heavily round India's neck since March.

The most obvious candidate to follow India's example says the Telegraph, would seem to be Russia, perhaps after prodding one or two East European Governments to move first. China supports Pakistan but might want a presence if a new Bengali state emerged. Washington in its present anti-Indian mood will oppose recognition. It is not enough for the world's greatest power simply to heap unbridled blame on India and threaten to cut off aid, after months of indecision on an obvious threat to peace says the Telegraph.

The Guardian's editorial is called "Perils of Total Victory. Mr. Nixon may not like it. China may loathe it: but one fact emerges clearly" the Guardian comments. Bangladesh, born of blood and desperation will not go away now.

This is the first major trophy of battle but the Guardian argues that a total Indian victory will raise more questions than it settles. Bengali autonomy is a just and worthy cause, but cannot be conferred from outside by the arch enemy of Pakistan. It cannot be cocooned in a puppet state says the Guardian. It needs its own leaders solving its own problems.

The Times says that India in seeking a military solution to the political problem of East Bengal has left no room for compromise. It is clear to India and may well be true, says the Times, that Pakistan is totally incapable of bringing the people of Bangladesh back under its control. This is to be effected by a brisk campaign that will hand over power to the government that has been rather prematurely recognized.

If that can be done quickly, adds The Times, India may well imitate the Chinese in 1962 and briskly withdraw, announcing the end of a war that never was. And until that neat solution is completed the Russians will stonewall in the Security Council. Of course nothing like this may happen, the Times goes on. Pakistan's action in the west will in any case not be halted even if the east were overrun.

That is where the danger lies and that is why the task of separating them and ending the war will be the harder. At best the United Nations can watch for an opening in the belief that the war can be kept to some settlement of East Pakistan says the times and not stumble hopelessly into a war to end war between India and Pakistan.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****8th December 1971****REVIEW OF THE BRITISH PRESS  
ON INDIA/PAKISTAN***Edited By William Crawley (S)*

Many correspondents of the British Press this morning file reports on the course of the war as seen from different places on both sides.

In the Daily Telegraph Peter Gill, reporting from Calcutta says that by taking Jessore the Indian army has brought off a particularly impressive tactical coup. Through adopt manipulation of the press, says Peter Gill, the Indian Army command lulled Pakistani forces into the belief that such a well-defended town would be bypassed to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. But the Chief of Staff of Eastern Command had made it clear in Calcutta yesterday that the principal aim of Indian strategy had been to clear the Pakistani army from all areas, reports Peter Gill. Gill says that Pakistani troops may prefer to surrender to a regular army than fall into the hands of the guerrillas. Clare Hollingworth also reports in the Daily Telegraph from Dacca, on efforts by the United Nations to arrange the evacuation of women and children from the city. Mr. Paul Marc Henri, assistant Secretary general of the U.N. has been attempting to arrange a neutral zone in Dacca under the jurisdiction of the Red Cross, reports Clare Hollingworth. She writes that few people in Dacca are bothering to take shelter when air raid sirens sound because the Indian pilots appear to be sticking to military targets.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****8th December 1971****NEWSNOTE: INDIA AND PAKISTAN***by Mark Tully*

Yesterday, the British labor Party's international committee unanimously passed an emergency resolution which was strongly critical of Pakistan. The resolution said that the cause of the present conflict lay in the refusal of the Pakistan government to negotiate a political solution with the democratically elected leaders of the people of the country's east wing. The resolution also urged all countries to stop sending any more arms to India or Pakistan. The Labor Party's international committee put forward a five-point plan

which called on both sides to stop hostilities. It also called for the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and a political solution which would satisfy the people of East

Pakistan. After the political solution had been found, the plan said that arrangements should be made for the orderly return of the refugees and there should be an immediate and massive increase in world aid to the area. Although all members of the committee felt that the state of Pakistan, as it was, no longer existed, they postponed a decision on recognizing Bangladesh because they felt it might hinder the British government's efforts to bring about an end to the fighting. In spite of the condemnation of Pakistan, the resolution therefore means that the Labour party is going, for the moment, anyhow, to continue supporting the government's policy.

The British government are clearly doing their best to retain as much influence as they can with both India and Pakistan. According to diplomatic sources, Britain has definitely decided not to follow the American example by cutting off aid to India. The British government also appeal's determined not to be drawn into the trap of famine either side as the aggressor. At the United Nations Britain was one of the ten countries who abstained from voting on the General Assembly Resolution which called on both sides for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of troops. The British government felt throughout the discussions in the Security Council that there was no point in discussing resolutions which were bound to be opposed by those who were committed to either the Indian or the Pakistani position. The British Ambassador is reported to have done his best to persuade the members of the Security Council not to give up hope of finding a compromise.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****DESPATCH FROM AHMED NIZAMUDDIN  
IN DACCA****10th December 1971**

Edited By Mark Tully (S)

This is despatch from Nizamuddin Ahmed in Dacca. It was sent yesterday (Thursday) morning.

Reports of scarcity, high prices, and the disappearance of essential commodities are reaching here from all over the province following blockades and the disruption of all means of communications. All postal services to and from Dacca have been suspended with exception of telecommunications in a few selected cities and district headquarters. In the city private car owners buses and public carriers, were refused petrol. However military, police and other government agencies' cars were on the road as these were being supplied with restricted quantity of petrol. Salt, kerosene oil, mustard oil and other daily necessities of East Pakistan have also disappeared from the open market. The Government has further reduced the weekly food ration of city dwellers by one fourth of the normal quote. Sugar and rice are being sold at higher rates.

Supplies of fish and meat in the city markets are also inadequate. Shops and offices close by 14.00 hours local time. Banking service and industries are also affected seriously

due to frequent air raids, but in general, the people enjoy the air battle very much. Newspaper circulation is confined mainly to the Dacca and Narayanganj areas.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****13th December 1971****REPORTS IN THE BRITISH PRESS  
ON INDIA/PAKISTAN***Edited by William Crawley (S)*

Many reports in the British press this morning focus on the U.N., and the terms that the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi might consider for a peace settlement. There is some speculation on the future of the Pakistani forces in East Pakistan. An attempt by the military adviser to the civilian governor of East Pakistan, Major General Farman Ali Khan, to initiate negotiations for the withdrawal of Pakistani forces from the province was vetoed by the commanding officer in East Pakistan, General Niazi and by President Yahya Khan himself. Reports in this morning's papers say that Major General Farman Ali Khan's position is now in doubt. Clare Hollingworth reporting in the Daily Telegraph from Dacca says that it is assumed that the General is under house arrest.

Clare Hollingworth writes that it was estimated yesterday that fewer than 5000 Pakistani troops still remained in Dacca, and it was expected that Indian forces would take over the city within the next 2 days.

From New Delhi, David Loshak reports in the Daily Telegraph that. China and Pakistan were believed to be preparing to evacuate Pakistani troops from East Pakistan. Indian intelligence sources have intercepted messages passing between China and the Pakistani High Command indicating that a large number of rescue ships had been assembled in the Ganges Delta. David Loshak says that it is believed that these ships would sail out of the delta flying Chinese flags and carrying escaping Pakistani troops. Loshak reports that it has become apparent that many of the survivors of Pakistan's 70,000 strong army are making their way to Ganges ports for possible evacuation towards Burma. According to Loshak, the main reason for the reported parachute drops of Indian units has not been to attack Dacca, as has been widely assumed, but to attempt to cut off the escape routes of the Pakistani troops moving southwards towards the ports. Loshak reports that the Indian government is alarmed at the prospect of Chinese intervention in a rescue operation.

In the Times, Henry Stanhope reports from Calcutta on the establishment of the Bangladesh Government in Jessore. One of the first acts of the government was to announce the setting up of war tribunals to try collaborators with the Pakistani army regime. Stanhope reports that Mukti Bahini forces together with the local police are helping to maintain civil order. Stanhope says that Indian commanders are careful to ensure that their soldiers' behavior is good, and there have been no complaints heard against them.

A Guardian correspondent, Laurence Stern of the Washington Post, reports from Jessore that the Indians and the Bengali towns people seemed to be on most amiable

terms. The acting President of Bangladesh, Syed Nazrul Islam is reported to have said in a speech in Jessore "We will not tolerate anybody who tarnishes the relationships between Bangladesh and India". Jackson says that India's interest is in breaking the military junta in Islamabad, but not at all in the break-up of West Pakistan.

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**ASIAN TOPICAL TALKS****REPORTS IN THE BRITISH PRESS  
ON INDIA/PAKISTAN****17th December 1971***Edited by William Crawley (S)*

Full coverage is given in this morning's press to the signing of the instruments, of surrender in Dacca yesterday by the commanders of the Indian and Pakistani armed forces in the east. Several papers print the full text of the surrender terms, which states that full protection will be provided by the Indian forces to foreign nationals, ethnic minorities and west Pakistani personnel.

A report in the Times of an interview with the Pakistan Foreign Minister Mr. Bhutto in New York. Henry Tanner of the New York Times News. Service quotes Mr. Bhutto as saying that Pakistan should accept a ceasefire with India and should be prepared to negotiate a permanent settlement with the insurgents in East Bengal as well as with the Government of India.

However Mr. Bhutto said that he did not concede the final loss of East Pakistan according to Henry Tanner and said that what he called the secessionist leaders may soon come to be regarded as Indian stooges. He said that sooner or later there had to be a ceasefire.

It was sheer madness to continue a war of this nature, and none of Pakistan's problems were resolved by it.

Other reports from the United States say that America had given a cautious welcome to the ceasefire in East Pakistan and to the Indian offer of a ceasefire in the west. An United States state Department spokesman said that there had been no indication that the Soviet Union had exercised a restraining influence in the events leading up to a ceasefire.

In the financial Times there is a special article by Robert Graham, from New Delhi. He writes on the consequence of India's victory in the east, and future Indian policy to the state of Bangladesh which they have recognized. India would like to maintain Maximum non-interference in its internal affairs, but geographical and political factors are likely to dictate close ties. New Delhi is bound to offer as much financial and economic support as possible, says Robert Graham.

A short piece in the Guardian asks the question what a citizen of Bangladesh would be called. Four professors of Bengali in London are reported to have coined the form "Bangladeshiya" but the Bangladesh mission in London amended this to "BANGLADESHI".

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৯। বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে বিবিসি, প্রচারিত অনুষ্ঠানমালা : ‘সাম্প্রতিক ঘটনাবলী’	বিবিসি, লন্ডন	২৬ মার্চ - ১ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

<p><b>CURRENT AFFAIRS TALKS</b>  <b>Distribution 'A'</b>  <b>26 March 1971</b></p>	<p><b>PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN S SPEECH</b>  by Mark Tully (s)</p>
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Two days ago there was still optimism about the outcome of the talks in Dacca. By the evening, with the apparent breakdown of the talks, the President's departure to Karachi and the introduction of stricter martial law measures, this had turned to pessimism. Now that President Yahya Khan has spoken to the nation, Sheikh Mujib is reported to have declared East Pakistan independent, and the full gravity of the situation has been made clear.

The President said that he only delayed taking action against the Sheikh earlier because he did not want to jeopardize the talks. He said that the Awami League party is now banned. He also said that he would be announcing further martial law measures soon.

No one really knows how many troops there are in East Pakistan. But no matter how many troops there are, no one should underestimate the difficulties the military authorities are going to have to face, especially in the outlying areas where communication are bad. The army's problems are going to be increased by the overflying ban between the two wings of the countries which India imposed after the hijacking incident. The army will probably concentrate its efforts in the urban areas.

Bhutto's People's Party, who are particularly strong in the key province of Punjab, has already shown signs of restlessness and has now come under the general ban on political activity. While Mr. Bhutto has always stood out against an unconditional acceptance of the Sheikh's demands, he wants power to be handed over to him as the majority elected leader in the West wing and he is not likely to welcome the extension of military rule.

The President's speech clearly ends this stage of his experiment to return Pakistan to democracy. He has promised that he still intends to hand over power, but he could not make any announcement about the next step. It is difficult to see anything for the time being except a further spell of military rule. How successful that military rule will be must be an open question.

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**CURRENT AFFAIRS TALKS**  
**2nd April, 1971**

**PAKISTAN: THE FUTURE**  
*by Martin Adeney (OC)*

Reports are continuing to come in of violence in East Pakistan. Here is a comment from Martin Adeney of the London newspaper the 'Guardian' who was in Dacca the capital of East Pakistan less than a week ago.

The Pakistan army which I and other correspondents saw a week ago launching a massive military attack on the cities of East Bengal and the supporters of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League which held a majority in the country's National Assembly, appears to be meeting stiffer resistance than it had expected. The Government controlled and heavily censored Pakistan radio has broadcast a warning calling on citizens not to erect barricades an admission by that cautious source that it faces serious opposition. Meanwhile Western correspondents who managed to reach Jessore 25 miles from the Indian border report that the army had withdrawn to its cantonment area, and the town was in the hands of the civilian population-though there is no suggestion of an army defeat.

It looks then as if the first objective of the army intervention which I and other correspondents witnessed only six hours after constitutional talks between President Yahya Khan, Sheikh Mujib and Mr. Bhutto's peoples party had broken down, has failed. A carefully laid and cold-bloodedly executed plan so frighten the population into civil obedience by the shelling of the university, the burning of areas of poor housing the indiscriminate machine-gunning of the streets and the picking off of leaders of the political and intellectual life of the province appears to have reduced Dacca to grave like peace. But in the countryside and in towns outside army encampments, it appears that people have remained united if only by bated breath against the largely West Pakistani army. How long with few old fashioned arms they can hold out against the modern automatic weapons of the army is another matter. But with the monsoon due in a few weeks, the army's problems of communications are going to impair its ability to exercise control outside fixed positions.

Undoubtedly army revenge against the humiliations it was subjected to during Sheikh Mujib's four week disobedience campaign has been a factor in the violence of its



response. But if General Yahya Khan, the President of Pakistan and his Chief Martial Law Administrator in the East, Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan intended the attack to be a salutary lesson to a province-which had never declared independence-to force it back to obedience to central Government, they are going to need new and more conciliatory methods to get it back to anything like normal working. They have still to show they appreciate this.

In the meantime those who suffer most will be the non-Bengalis, in particular the poverty-stricken refugees from partitioned India and Bihar in particular. Marked out as non-belongers, though they have no connection with West Pakistan, they have already been the largely unprotected targets of communal violence in the Eastern wing.

India has called upon the world Governments to take urgent steps into prevail upon the Pakistan Government to end its military actions. In its turn Pakistan has accused armed Indians of infiltrating across the border and interference in its affairs-accusations denied by India.

Verbal hostilities have reached their highest peak since the 1965 war between the two countries, helped by the racial ties between Bengalis of both countries and bitter disappointment in India at the political if not physical destruction of Sheikh Mujib. His policies of trade with India and comparative disinterest in the Kashmir question raised hopes in India of something like normal relations between the two countries.

There still seems no prospect however of actual armed intervention although Indian forces have been ordered to fire on any Pakistani troops crossing the border. The East Bengalis remain alone.

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**CURRENT AFFAIRS TALKS**  
**Distribution "A"**  
**26th April 1971**

**INDIA AND PAKISTAN:**  
**DIPLOMATIC ESCALATION**  
*by Hilary Henson (S)*

The deteriorating relations between India and Pakistan reached a new pitch of bitterness today when India took the almost unprecedented step of banning any Pakistani diplomat from leaving the country without prior permission from the Indian government. The ban is a violation of the Vienna convention on the treatment of diplomats.

Since the Pakistani army crackdown in East Pakistan, relations between India and Pakistan have grown steadily more strained. The diplomatic squabble started over a week ago, when the mainly East Pakistani staff of the Pakistan Deputy High Commission in Calcutta, switched their allegiance to the newly proclaimed state of Bangladesh-the East Bengal secessionists, name for a free Bengal nation. The Pakistan Government sent anew man to replace the Deputy High Commissioner, but he has been unable to get, into the still-occupied High Commission building and has had a generally rough welcome from West Bengalis. The Indians have refused to take part in any eviction of the occupants of the Commission, claiming that it is a purely internal matter for the Pakistanis.

In the next move, Pakistan said she would close the Calcutta mission, since it was unable to function properly, and demanded that India should do the same with the equivalent mission in Dacca, East Pakistan. Both missions were officially closed this morning. This has enabled the Pakistani government to demand the repatriation of all the rebellious East Pakistanis now in the Calcutta Mission. India claims that these are political refugees and are thus not eligible for repatriation.

Clearly, what the Indians now fear is that the personnel of their Dacca Mission will be held as hostages by the Pakistanis until they agree to send back all the Bengali diplomats from Calcutta. There was an ominous phrase in a note from Pakistan's High Commissioner in Delhi, which talked of safe conduct for diplomats and the security of premises and documents and so on, 'strictly on the principle of reciprocity'. India had already complained earlier today over the 'uncivilized treatment' of Mrs. Sen Gupta, wife of the Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca, when she attempted to leave from Karachi airport last Wednesday. A diplomatic courier had also received what India called objectionable treatment. With their ban, the Indians are now threatening to hold Pakistani diplomats as hostages in their turn. They give as the reason for their ban the restrictions already imposed on Indian diplomats, who, they say, are being prevented from leaving Pakistan. The Indians claim that, far from making a drastic, new diplomatic departure, they are merely following the Pakistanis own principle of reciprocity.

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**CURRENT AFFAIRS TALKS****BUDAPEST PEACE ASSEMBLY  
AND BANGLADESH****13th May, 1971***by David Graham*

Seven hundred delegates, from one hundred and twenty four countries, today began a conference in Budapest, organized by the "World peace Council". The news from East Pakistan has given the conference an unexpected challenge.

The Secretary General of the world peace Council, Romesh Chandra, one of the main organizers of this "Peace Assembly" in Budapest, is also a leading member of the Communist party of India. The Communist Party of India has sent messages to all the other Communist parties in the world urging them to support the Communist party of East Pakistan and the cause of the independence of East Pakistan, or "Bangladesh." The Communist party of India has also entrusted Romesh Chandra with the task of organizing support, in Moscow, in Budapest, and wherever else possible, for the cause of "Bangladesh."

That is the challenge, which many of the seven hundred delegates (now assembled in Budapest) must find disconcertingly new and not at all what they expected when they received their invitations.

The "world peace Council" is normally one of the most reliable propaganda instruments for Soviet foreign policy. The agenda for this Budapest meeting, as announced by Secretary General Romesh Chandra in Helsinki (Finland) at the end of

January, sounded like one more propaganda demonstration in favour of well known themes they need for a European Security Conference, the need for peace in Vietnam and in the Middle East, the need to resist "neo-colonialism" in Africa, the need to end the arms race, and so on.

So many speeches have been made about these themes before, and so many resolutions passed, that the problems would all have been solved long ago, if speeches and resolutions were enough to solve them. But the untiring Secretary General Romesh Chandra set out on a tour of Latin America to recruit "to go to Budapest, was hard at work recruiting in Cuba in February, and visited Venezuela.

Seven hundred "delegates" from one hundred and twenty four countries the figure announced at the opening session in Budapest today (Thursday) is quite an impressive piece of organisation', seven if some of the "delegates" represent practically nobody other than themselves. Others, on the other hand, are figures of genuine political importance in their own countries.

The Budapest conference heard flattering messages, at its opening session, from the Head of State of the Soviet Union, Presided Podgomy. Needless to say, he did not mention Pakistan or the needs of the refugees from East Pakistan who have flooded into India. On the other hand the General Secretary of the Hungarian "Patriotic People's Front" spoke about "unsettled conflicts, crises and bloody armed struggles, which threaten the lives of whole regions." Secretary General Romesh Chandra firmly believes that the situation in East Pakistan comes into that category, and his supporters at the. Budapest meeting will do all they can until the meeting ends next Sunday to persuade their fellow delegates that the Communist Parties of India and of East Pakistan are right in urging that all possible help and encouragement should be given to the complete splitting off of East Pakistan from West Pakistan. In official eyes in Moscow, this is an embarrassing and unwelcome move. It will be interesting to see, at the end of the conference, if Romesh Chandra is re-elected Secretary General of the organisation or not.

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## **CURRENT AFFAIRS TALKS**

## **THE LONG TERM POLITICAL PROBLEM IN PAKISTAN**

### **Distribution "A"**

**7th June, 1971**

by Mark Tully (S)

Indian Ministers are continuing their overseas campaign to explain the gravity of the refugee and cholera problems in West Bengal. Here is a comment from Mark Tully of the BBC Eastern Service:

On Sunday (6th June) the Indian Prime Minister. Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that the international community has a duty to impress upon the rulers of Pakistan that democratic urges cannot be suppressed through armed might. Now Pakistan's internal problem has become a matter of quite legitimate concern for India. Over four million refugees and large numbers still coming in are an internal problem of considerable magnitude for India. The Indian government takes the view that these refugees must be returned to East Pakistan as soon as possible because it has neither the space nor the resources to house

them permanently. But it realizes that it will be quite impossible to Persuade the refugees to return until they are confident that the life in East Pakistan is safe for them.

The Indian government feels that it is quite Justified in asking other Countries to put pressure on the Pakistan Government to bring about these conditions as soon as possible.

The problem that faces the Pakistan Government is how to restore Confidence in the East wing. President Yahya Khan promised two weeks ago that he should announce a return to civilian rule very shortly. Time is Running out and so far there has been no announcement from Islamabad. The official line of the Pakistan Government has been that the National Assembly which was elected last December still stands and that only these members who are guilty of crimes against the state will be debarred from taking part in its deliberations. But from these reports of correspondents it looks as though there is not much hope at the present of Awami League members coming forward in any numbers to support a solution put forward by President Yahya.

Although the army can undertake the task of administration temporarily under the orders of a civilian government, whether this will in fact prove possible is very doubtful because so many of the people of East Pakistan do not appear to have any faith in the army at all.

The Indian Government and many other people feel that countries who give aid to Pakistan should force President Yahya's hand by refusing to give any more aid until he achieves a satisfactory political solution. The first and most obvious disadvantage to this proposal is that it assumes that there is a satisfactory solution which can be found. The second is that by withholding aid these countries might in fact be helping the people of East Pakistan. The third disadvantage is that aid giving countries are properly cautious about using aid as a political lever. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the Pakistan government desperately needs aid for other purposes as well as restoring the situation in East Pakistan.

It is virtually certain that any country not directly concerned in the situation in East Pakistan will think of doing nothing more than putting economic pressures on the Pakistan Government. The United Nation also does not seem likely to be able to do more than assist with relief work in East Pakistan. So the problem remains basically one which President Yahya Khan has to solve for himself. But if he does not act quickly there is always the danger that the Indian Government will not be able to withstand the pressures on it to act. and will have to intervene directly.

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**CURRENT AFFAIRS TALKS****MRS. GANDHI, PAKISTAN AND  
THE WORLD****16th June, 1971***by Frank Barber (S)*

In a sombre statement to the Indian Parliament, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, has said that with each day that passes the prospect of a political settlement in East Pakistan becomes more remote. Frank Barber, of the BBC Current Affairs staff, comments:

For almost three months now, since the Pakistan army's crackdown, pretty well everybody concerned with the tragedy of East Pakistan has persisted in hoping for the best, in spite of all the evidence. The Pakistan government has clung to the belief that the secessionist sentiment in the East had been an aberration and that the situation was rapidly returning to normal. Only this week the military governor, General Tikka Khan, said conditions in the province were normal and peaceful. As for the outside world, which responded so energetically to the threat of a cholera epidemic, it has been all too ready to assume that with the dispatch of food, blankets and medicines, the worst would be over. It has been left to Mrs. Gandhi to foreshadow the harsh and bitter future that threatens the Indian sub-continent. "We may have to pass through hell," were the words she used in the Indian Parliament when she spoke of the awesome problems created by the influx of refugees from East Pakistan—now numbering six millions and still rising. Then, a moment later, she emphasized that India had no intention of allowing them to go back home as she put it "only to be butchered". In her view, the political settlement which people speak of as necessary in East Pakistan becomes ever more remote with each day that passes.

Mrs. Gandhi's assessment betrays an anxiety that extends beyond the immediate fate of the refugees. As the hope of a political settlement diminishes, so the likelihood increases of the homeless millions becoming permanent settlers in Dacca—a truly daunting prospect for a country which, as she said, is one of the poorest in the world.

One of the most puzzling features of the upheaval has been the fact that refugees continue to flow across the frontier twelve weeks after the Pakistan army went into action towards the end of March. There seems to be little doubt that the first waves of refugees were set in motion by the harshness of the army's methods. After that the movement could have been expected to lose its momentum: the Pakistan authorities say that resistance is scattered and ineffective, and even the supporters of the Bangladesh secessionist movement claim no more than token resistance to the army. Yet the flow of refugees continues. It's no wonder that Mrs. Gandhi says that the refugees pose a threat to peace far which the world must share responsibility.

The world has not yet convincingly demonstrated its acceptance of this responsibility. Although there have been many contributions from overseas, the biggest coming from the United States and Britain, the total promised amounts only to £12.5 million towards the £73 millions asked for by the United Nations. And that £73 million is only about half the sum India says is needed.

Mrs. Gandhi's solution to the problem, which she has repeated again and again, is for the big powers to put pressure on the Pakistan government to come to terms with the political leaders of the Eastern province—the very leaders who have been denounced by President Yahya Khan. It is a suggestion fraught with danger, for it violates the sacred right of an independent country to conduct its affairs in its own way, free from outside interference.

Even so, the very scale of the problem thrust upon India does make it an international one: and in the apprehension of this, the world may well find Mrs. Gandhi's a persuasive argument, unless Pakistan can show clearer signs of possessing the will to face the task of a political settlement.

**CURRENT AFFAIRS TALKS**  
**1st December, 1971**

**YAHYAKHAN AND MRS. GANDHI**  
*by Jhon Tusa (OC)*

John Tusa, a writer on Asian affairs, discusses the background to President Yahya Khan's appeal to the United Nations.

If the world needed to be reminded of how far India has moved away from its previous policy of military non-intervention in East Pakistan, it has been helped by the Defense Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram. Indian forces, he has just said, can cross into East Pakistan to silence Pakistani artillery. Mr. Ram has also said that war could still be avoided if the people of Bangladesh were given their independence.

At the same time, the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, has outlined her views of the steps needed to restore peace to East Pakistan. In a carefully worded speech to the parliament in New Delhi, Mrs. Gandhi repeated her often stated belief that only a political settlement, including the release of the imprisoned leader of the Awami League of East Pakistan-Sheikh Mujibur Rahman-can end the fighting.

On the other side, President Yahya's call for the stationing of U. N. observers on the Pakistan side of the border is a climb down from his earlier proposal-rejected by India- for observers on both sides. Yet, this is the closest that Pakistan seems to dare to get to appealing to the U. N. to counter Indian activities. Basically, the Pakistan regime must know that its case-in defending its pail in the East Pakistan crisis, or in establishing Indian aggression-is too weak for comfort. The U. N. observer proposal is the best that can be mustered in the circumstances. Militarily, Pakistan is outnumbered and outgunned by the Indians; the burden of a divided army only adds to that inferiority. Both help to explain Pakistan's failure to react militarily in areas of their own choosing-such as Kashmir or in the West politically, President Yahya Khan appears to be making the worst of the choices open to him. The Awami League, is banned and its leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in prison. The National Awami Party, representing the border provinces of the west, had also recently been banned. This leaves Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples' Party based almost entirely on the two "heartland" states of Punjab and the Sind-as the only real survivor of the December elections. Yet the President is said to be planning a new civilian government not on Mr. Bhutto but on Mr. Nurul Amin, whose party won only one seat in December. Nothing could illustrate more harshly the insoluble contradictions raised by President Yahya Khan's present policies.

India's tactics appear to be to bring these dilemmas to crisis point as soon as possible. Underlying this aim is the entirely reasonable view that the Pakistan refugees must not be permitted to turn into another international running sore like the Palestine refugees have become for the Middle East. But recent events have reduced Mrs. Gandhi's credibility and restricted her freedom of manoeuvre. World opinion has been distracted from events inside East Pakistan and the fate of the refugees to what looks like another border squabble between India and Pakistan. Politically, Mrs. Gandhi has made an international settlement of the refugee problem more difficult and has moved closer to war.

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**DESPATCH**  
**30th March, 1971**

*by Evan Charlton*

A London law student who has just arrived back from Dacca has given an account of the Army take over there.

In an interview Mr. A. K. M. Shamsul Alam Chowdhury said that he had bought an air ticket for London before the Pakistan Army took over. He managed to get on an aeroplane from Dacca with many west Pakistanis yesterday morning. Asked what was the condition of Dacca when he left he replied: "Terrible." Asked for his opinion on what provoked the sudden military action when discussions had been going on the constitutional future of Pakistan, he believed that president Yahya Khan was advised by West Pakistani leaders, prominent amongst them Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, not to accept Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's terms for the future of East Pakistan but to resort to arms. Later that evening people in Dacca heard that the President and the other Western leaders had left. Rumors spread through the city that the Army was about to act and there was a spontaneous movement by people to build barricades in the streets there was he declared no planned rising by East Pakistan elements in the Defence Force. The street barricades were blasted away by the army; then came hours of destruction and killing.

Mr. Alam is convinced that the Sheikh is alive and free. He bases this belief on sources close to the Sheikh. Asked if he was an official of the Awami League, Mr. Alam said that he is now the Sheikh's personal representative in London. Before the military took over the Sheikh had told him that if things went wrong he should try to get out of East Pakistan and appeal to the world-especially to the British public to help to save the Bengalis.

What will happen next in East Bengal Mr. Alam recalled the Sheikh's speech to a mass gathering on March 7th when he advised people to be ready to turn every home into a fortress. Mr. Alam is convinced that even if the Army can temporarily crush resistance in the cities, the people will eventually overcome the Army from the west.

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**DESPATCH FROM LONDON**  
**7th April, 1971**

*by Jim Biddulph*

Our Commonwealth Correspondent Jim Biddulph, returned home today, after spending a month in Pakistan.

For the past ten days I've been in West Pakistan-having been kicked out of East Pakistan by the Army and trying together with the rest of the population to see through the smokescreen of official statements and denials exactly what is going on.

People in West Pakistan, who listened only to their own government, would have had absolutely no idea that anything much had happened in East Pakistan, let alone that anyone had been killed. But now the extent of the disturbance is beginning to show even through the official denials. There have been plenty of eye witnesses during the past week to the Killings and destruction in the East Pakistan capita), Dacca, and in the seaport Chittagong, down in the south. Yesterday Radio Pakistan talked of armed infiltrators being driven out of towns in the north east, and the North West. And for the first time, spoke of the Pakistan Air Force being involved in the operations. The report claimed that civilian life die not suffer any damage.

Across the border in India, news agency claims that four towns in East Pakistan have been bombed, and maintains that there have been several successes by what it calls the "Liberation Army".

These claims, coming from India, will be greeted with fury and derision in official quarters in West Pakistan where people angrily maintain that the Indian reports are merely fabricated as part of the war of words between Pakistan and India.

Censorship or not, obviously people in West Pakistan have heard, through rumour and foreign broadcasts, a fair amount about what's going on and in private conversation I've found great sorrow but at the same time, determination that East Pakistan will not be allowed to its own way.

In the short term, obviously the Army can garrison the main towns, but as the reports trickle in about trouble in town after town throughout the country, the Pakistan claims that it's being caused by a few miscreants and armed infiltrators wear thin, and the prospects of a long drawn out, bitter struggle, seem very real.

*Scripted by Bush House News Transcribing Unit*

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**DESPATCH FROM WASHINGTON**  
**7th April, 1971**

*by Charles Wheeler*

### **U. S. AND PAKISTAN**

The State Department said today that its officials urged Pakistan to take every feasible step to bring an end to the conflict in East Pakistan, and to achieve a peaceful accommodation with the Bengali rebels there.

The State Department spokesman said this and other American views on the struggle in East Pakistan have been conveyed to the country's ambassador in Washington, Agha Hilaly, on Monday. The American ambassador to Pakistan has also been instructed to



express American concern in similar terms to the Foreign Ministry in Islamabad. The spokesman made it clear that the United States, in addition to deploring the continuing violence, is disappointed about the failure of Pakistan officials to take advantage of offers of international aid to relieve suffering. He also repeated that the United States is prepared to assist any international humanitarian effort in Pakistan.

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**DESPATCH FROM KARACHI**  
**10th April, 1971.**

*by Ronald Robson*

### **REGULATION**

In Pakistan a strict new martial law regulation makes it possible to restrict the movements of any suspected persons, their employment; the equipment they may possess or use. their contacts with other people and their activities in relation to the dissemination of news or propagation of opinion. There are heavy penalties for infringements of various provisions of the new regulation, including fines and rigorous imprisonment for up to 7 years. From Karachi Ronald Robson reports.

The new regulation is stated to be concerned with preventing activity which is seditious or prejudices security, public safety or the interests or defence of Pakistan. It is also meant to prevent activities prejudicial to the maintenance of public order, Pakistan's relations with any other power, the maintenance of peaceful conditions in any part of Pakistan and the maintenance of essential supplies and services. Suspected foreigners may be asked to leave the country and banned from returning, or may be detained or restricted in movement or asked to report their movements or report in person to designated authorities. Pakistani nationals of course are similarly affected except that they cannot be asked to leave Pakistan.

The specific reason for introducing the new measure now is not immediately known. It is however obvious that it could have particular application to press, radio or television correspondents or cameraman, or other journalists whether foreign or local although the powers given are so wide that they could affect many persons either in allied or other fields.

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**DESPATCH FROM CALCUTTA**  
**16th April, 1971**

*by David Sells*

India has been extremely cautious in its attitude to the West Pakistan Army's takeover of dissident East Pakistan. But there are signs her Government is worried at the possibility of armed clashes on the long frontier dividing India from East Pakistan. David Sells reports:

Mrs. Gandhi has leaned over backwards to avoid involvement in the bloody repression of the Bengali population continuing inside East Pakistan. That anyway is my impression from the border areas themselves on both sides of the frontier. Militarily, nothing official has been done to help the beleaguered irregulars in the East, though they were short of arms, ammunition, petrol and food. Unofficially, as far as one can tell there's been little help either, certainly not on an organised basis. Genuine sympathy there has been by the bucketful, but practical aid has been minimal, certainly along the western frontiers. Refugees including wounded irregulars and former members of the mainly Bengali East Pakistan Rifles are all being accepted (20'laps) its true and they are getting basic food and shelter. The wounded are in Indian hospitals.

Until this week the frontiers were wide open, nothing on the East Pakistan side, no signs of any units but the usual border security force on the Indian side. When Pakistan Radio was talking of six Indian divisions massing along the Indian West Bengal border with East Pakistan there was no military (O'lap) activity discernible and the presence of 200,000 troops could hardly have passed unnoticed. Military sources said it simply wasn't true. Though it was true that the division of troops sent to the volatile Calcutta area for the Indian elections had been kept on.

In the last few days small Indian Army units have begun to appear in the West Bengal frontier areas, though not right at the border itself in Keeping with the tacit agreement with. Pakistan in force for some years that regular Army forces would keep back some three miles from the borders. The Indians feel they have to be prepared though for any Pakistan Army breach of this understanding. But from the small sizes of the units seen, the moves look like routine precautions.

At the back of their minds is the fear that in cahoots with the Pakistan Government, the Chinese might agree (O'lap) to stage some diversionary' action on the leg of Tibet, which juts down between Bhutan and Sikkim where India feels particularly vulnerable. So far, and It's a point to emphasize, none of the Indian fears have been realized and for their part militarily, as well as politically, they do seem to be (O'lap) moving with extreme caution.

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**DESPATCH FROM GENEVA**  
**7th April, 1971**

*by Alan McGregor*

### **EAST PAKISTAN**

Mr. Stanley Mitton, Emergency Relief Officer of the World Council of Churches, has returned to Geneva after a week's visit to East Pakistan frontier area, north east of Calcutta, and to Karachi and Lahore. He is reporting to the Council that under present circumstances nothing can be done about getting medical or food supplies into the area where the fighting has been going on. From Geneva, Alan McGregor sends this report.

Like the International Red Cross, the World Council of Churches is ready to send immediate relief to East Pakistan, but cannot do so because of the Pakistan authorities ruling that there should be no outside intervention, not even in the shape of medical teams. This is essentially the report that Mr. Mitton is making to Council headquarter. At Bongao, on the Indian side of the frontier about forty five miles north-east of Calcutta, he talked with both Moslem and Hindu refugees in a camp set up by a Hindu religious organisation, which he described as well organized with no shortage of food. The refugees told him about bombing of their villages. Some of them were crossing the frontiers, unguarded except for occasional Pakistan army patrols, to attend to the fields and then returning to the camp on the Indian side.

Mr. Mitton said that some aid, including medicines was being taken into East Pakistan by individual Indians. He had spoken to two families of European missionaries who had walked into India pushing their belongings in prams. They had said there were local food shortages, but as most peasants were able to complete their spring sowing for the September harvest, a famine situation could be averted.

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**DESPATCH FROM COLOMBO****22nd April, 1971***by Ronald Robson***PAKISTAN ECONOMY**

For some idea of how Pakistan's economy is affected by the situation in East Pakistan here is Ronald Robson.

Pakistan's economy was sick before the civil war. The sick bed soon could become a death bed. The East Wing always did earn for Pakistan more foreign exchange than the West Wing. East Pakistan's economy has suffered setbacks since the movement which unseated president Ayub Khan. Trouble started then never quite stopped. But the present crisis has virtually halted the East Wing's economy. The loss of production Already of jute and jute goods alone would be serious. Since the first of March no tea has gone out either. The West Wing which relied on the East Wing's tea has had to buy from abroad. Newsprint came from the East wing. This too now has to be imported from foreign sources and at three times the price. Already the situation is reflected in curtailment in the size of some newspapers. Such a situation might be borne as a temporary embarrassment by a wealthy country, but Pakistan is one of the poorest countries in the world, heavily dependent on foreign aid.

Earlier this month Pakistan requested an extension of repayment of an American loan, and according to information published openly in the West wing. Pakistan is understood also to be seeking extension of expiry dates from loans from other countries and from the World Bank.

Figures for State Bank reserves have not been published since February when it was already obvious that reserves were declining alarmingly. The State Bank has not been able to meet the statutory obligation of keeping a specific amount of its notes fully backed by gold and foreign exchange reserves. By the end of February only a little more

then thirteen per cent of the currency notes in circulation were so backed. And I was told that Pakistan hoped for financial aid from certain Arab countries.

The East Pakistan crisis halted for many weeks the inter-wing flow of money. The west wing, for example, sells cotton goods in East wing and depends on the money generated to come back to regenerate production in the West. The money stopped coming back. This disrupted West Wing production. In East Pakistan jute which should have been planted has not been put in. peasants planted rice instead for food. The jute market may be a declining one but it's still an important source of foreign currency. It seems future production must be affected. The strife has caused the tea-pickers, mainly Hindus, to flee from tea gardens. Bushes are not tended with consequent loss of production and Possible longer term damage. Certainly some British interests are at stake. Britain's investment in Pakistan amounts to some one hundred million pounds, most of it in the East Wing. Pakistan has been a major recipients of British aid and Britain has maintained a comfortable trade balance with Pakistan.

In the East Wing there should be no danger of famine yet. America has been sending food grains, but during the first six weeks of the crisis at least, grain was rotting uncovered on the docks at Chittagong, according to eye witnesses. There has been great difficulty in moving any supplies in land, in times of unrest the labour force tends to flee from the towns back to the villages, which means costly loss of work. Many workers have fled into India and may never return.

The military operation itself is costly. Troops have been flown around the sub-continent to reach Dacca as Pakistani aircraft may not fly over India. The fuel bills are heavy and extra aircraft have had to be chartered. The cost in terms of human life cannot yet be gauged. The true casualties caused once the army took action cannot be guessed. After such disruption it can hardly be expected that the normal economy of East Pakistan can re-start simply at someone's decree.

The Aid to Pakistan consortium, comprising America, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, Canada and Australia should meet in June. Meeting after meeting has been postponed. There are indications that the donor countries are waiting for a clearer idea of what's happening, and their attitude could be a critical factor. More than fifty per cent of Pakistan's budget goes on defense. If the East Wing which used to earn most of the money, eventually falls away or remains virtually non-productive then the West Wing alone can hardly support present Army

I've listed only some of the problems but on evidence, looked at from any angle Pakistan's economy is facing ruin.

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**CABLE FROM KARACHI**  
**26th June 1971**

*by Mark Tully*

Mr. M. M. Ahmed, the President's economic adviser, has announced Pakistan's budget for the financial year 1971/72. Mark Tully reports from Karachi:

Mr. Ahmed said he was introducing the budget in circumstances of exceptional adversity. There had been a severe drop in the country reserves of four-hundred million rupees. Revenue collected was 1,164 million rupees less than budgetted for; and spending on development had fallen far short of the target. The main reason for the poor performance of Pakistan's economy during the year 1970-71 was the disruption of economic life in East Pakistan caused by the floods, the cyclone and the civil disorders. Mr. Ahmed warned that the country would have to learn to be more self-reliant because the aid prospects for the coming year were very uncertain. He said the country had already reduced its dependence on foreign aid and he introduced new measures to promote exports. On the internal front he did not announce any major new taxes but concentrated mainly on increases in direct taxation company taxation, and a high-yielding increase in tax on better quality cigarettes. Mr. Ahmed has nevertheless had to cut back on development expenditure and rely on deficit financing of 360 million rupees which is over half the total amount he is raising in new taxes. The defense budget has not been increased significantly. Whether the budget is sufficiently drastic to deal with the economic problems facing Pakistan depends a lot on three imponderables-the situation in East Pakistan, the flow of foreign aid, the ability of the revenue authorities to collect new taxes.

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**23rd August, 1971****U.S. ATTITUDES TO PAKISTAN**

In the United States there are divided views over what America's policy should be towards Pakistan after the recent troubles in the Eastern Wing of the State. From Washington Jhon Osman.

The word genocide is banded about in America to describe what's happened in East Pakistan, the allegation being that the government has let loose unbridled racial murder against its own subjects to punish them for their secessionism. The senator from Massachusetts, Edward Kennedy is among the most influential to charge the Pakistanis with genocide. The other is the former United States Ambassador to India. Chester Bowles. Kennedy perhaps is less ill informed than most people about the situation though he has it's true only been able to study the problem from the Indian side of the Border. He was to have visited Pakistan but permission to go there was cancelled because by then, according to the Pakistanis, he had already shown himself biased against Pakistan. On reading Kennedy's reported statements it's difficult to take issue with the Pakistanis on this because it's fairly evident that the Senator would not have gone there with an entirely open mind. Though it's true, as Kennedy says, that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's trial is an outrage to every concept of international law it's equally surely a matter of opinion that, as the Senator would have it, the only crime that Mujib is guilty of winning an election. To the Pakistan government he was leading more than half the nation to break away, an act possibly of self determination also possibly of high treason.

All these points casting doubt on the Kennedy assessment of events are made by administration officials here though they themselves are plainly divided on how best to cope with the problem. Chester Bowie's ideas are discounted as being too pro-Indian.

So after a lot of criticism both popular and weighty what sort of policy is the administration left with? Essentially it's what the Washington Post has described as a policy of relief, restraint and accommodation. First the white House and the state Department are trying to prevent a war between India and Pakistan, second to help prevent famine and alleviate the suffering of refugees the United States has made available 300,000 tons of grain and 3 million dollars worth of chartered ships to move it. Third, America wants to maintain some sort of equilibrium of balance in the whole Indian sub-continent with Russia and China.

The big question being asked here now is how the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship affects that policy. To the Pakistani Ambassador here, Agha Hilaly it marks the end of India's non-alignment policy. To the Indians it is not directed aggressively against anybody though it's been noted here that the Left Wing press in India has now mounted a campaign against Mrs. Gandhi's proposed visit here in the autumn. The Indians see the Americans as arms suppliers to the Pakistanis, the Americans believe the Indians are guilty of exacerbating the difficulties in East Pakistan. Altogether relations between Washington and New Delhi are at a low point while those between Islamabad and here are sympathetic, with the administration being saddened by what the State Department calls the tragedies in East Pakistan, but at the same time warning Pakistan that any summary action over Sheikh Mujib could lead to the end of American support. Mr. Nixon is known to have a high regard for president Yahya Khan and the thrust of American policy is essentially to preserve the unity of Pakistan but not at any cost.

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# **DESPATCH (PART ONLY) FROM DACCA**

**30th November, 1971**

*by Nizamuddin Ahmed*

## **EAST PAKISTAN SITUATION**

Reports of fierce fighting are reaching East Pakistan's capital city, Dacca, from Sylhet, Dinajpur and Jessore. Indian troops made repeated attempts to capture the Kamalpur outpost from Pakistan's possession and to Advance the District Headquarters at Jessore. But Pakistan troops halted them beyond Chuagacha bordering the Indian State of West Bengal. Indians using -Russian one-hundred thirty millimeter guns, in the Jessore sector. The Indians, according to a Pakistan army source, also used the latest Russian tanks at Pachagarh in the Dinajpur district, on East Pakistan's extreme northern border two days ago. Fighting still continued there. Pakistan army have captured seven more Indian soldiers raising the number of captured regular soldiers during the past three weeks to thirteen, besides some Indian para-military forces-"Border Special Forces".

Rebels who are officially described as "Indian agents and" Miscreants", have attacked one passenger steamer belonging to the Pakistan River Steamers Company, a subsidiary of. British "sponsored" Indian. General Navigation and River Steamers Navigation Company Limited, while carrying passengers. One of the passengers was killed and two others wounded. This was the only means of communication between

Dacca and the outlying Barisal district as other private motor boats were cancelled by operations. After a day's suspension, the steamer will now operate alternate days from Dacca.

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**DESPATCH FROM BUSH HOUSE DIPLOMATIC UNIT**

**4th December, 1971**

*by Tony Paynting*

As the Pakistan situation worsens, the United States has called a meeting of the Security Council.

It has indeed been a day of intense international diplomatic activity with the culmination being in the call for a meeting of the Security Council. One of the more significant reports was of an appeal by the Japanese Government for both sides to exercise restraint. This was a call which echoed earlier messages from the British Prime Minister to the President of Pakistan and to the Prime Minister of India-and which has. In fact, characterized the frequent British contacts which have been going on since trouble started brewing.

President Tito of Yugoslavia threw his considerable influence into the field when he made known his concern over the fighting and urged the need for the combatants to find a peaceable solution. The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Kosygin, also indicated his anxieties. But he ruled out the Possibility of Soviet mediation of the sort which led to the agreement between India and Pakistan at Tashkent in 1966. He is reported to have said that this time the Soviet Union could not go alone. This statement inevitably directed observer's attention back to the United Nations and particularly to the possibility of an emergency meeting of the Security Council. Neither India nor Pakistan seemed willing to make a move. But of all the Big Powers, it was the United States which seemed to be most immediately concerned. The Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers cancelled a visit to Iceland. It became known that he and other government departments were in the closest possible touch and, in the end it turned out that it was the Americans, along with the Japanese and some other countries who took the initiative. They certainly have the backing of Britain, whose diplomats have been quietly nudging in the direction of a Council meeting. Mr. Kosygin's remarks indicate that the Soviet Union would like to have a meeting too. The question mark is, however, over the risk of a clash in the Council between the Russians and the Chinese, The Russians have a treaty of friendship with India, and the Chinese, recently admitted to the United Nations and to their permanent seat on the Security council, are committed to support Pakistan.

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**CABLE FROM DACCA**

**8th December, 1971**

*by Ronald Robson*

The news that a National Government has been formed for Pakistan is not widely enough known yet in East Pakistan for much reaction to have been obtained:

The first point that seems apparent is that Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in the dual roles of Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister will be the person to reckon with. Although he is Prime Minister, Mr. Nurul Amin is aged Seventy eight, and though far from feeble, obviously has not the energy of Mr. Bhutto.

Mr. Bhutto has always taken the most uncompromising attitude towards India. Seeing affairs from the standpoint of West Pakistan, he is doubtless encouraged by the news from there that the Pakistan army has made considerable inroads into Kashmir. Doubtless Mr. Bhutto is also apprised of the true military situation in East Pakistan. Neutral observers now feel there may have been some point to the theorizing which was current in certain circles in West Pakistan nearly three months ago, to the effect that Pakistan's strategy should be to realize that the East Wing one thousand miles away would be difficult to hold in a war with India, and that Pakistan must aim at securing an equal amount of territory in the West to hold as a bargaining counter.

The argument be effective if, as happened in nineteen sixty-five, world pressure secures an end to hostilities. Thus far attempts in the United Nations to secure a cease fire have failed.

Meanwhile East Pakistan suffers. It was only made clear today that in the Indian high level bombing in the early hours of Saturday, a stick of four bombs fell on worker's lines of a jute mill at Adamji-nagar in Dacca. One bomb failed to explode. The other three caused frightful damage to the flimsy dwellings over a total area of six hundred yards square. It is estimated that five-hundred people died, and that two hundred-and- fifty are still under the rubble which workers are clearing with their bare hands.

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**DESPATCH FROM DELHI**  
**11<sup>th</sup> December, 1971**

*by John Osman (1)*

From Calcutta the Indian news agency P.T.I, and All-India Radio report that one Hercules aircraft of the Royal Canadian Air Force and one of the Royal Air Force have been refused permission to land at Dacca airport by the Pakistani authorities there and that the planes have returned to Calcutta. They are two of four such flights, one Canadian and three Royal Air Force, which had been given safe conduct by the Indian Air Force to enable the evacuation operation to take place within the 24 hours up to 6 p. m. Indian Standard Time this evening, 12.30 p. m. Saturday London time. Pakistani authorities were said yesterday to have cleared the operation but now the situation seems to have altered. From New Delhi John Osman.

The planned evacuation of about 500 foreigners from Dacca is in trouble, The Canadian plane, flying with United Nations markings for the World organisation, was first reported to have been turned back to Calcutta, then one of the Royal Air Force flights followed suit. The Dacca authorities, I understand from reliable sources here, declined to allow the flights to land, and the reason is said to be that the Pakistanis object to the planes coming in from India-enemy territory. On this side the Indians have so far



insisted on the planes going to Dacca through Calcutta in order to know the flight plans in detail to avoid any disaster, and to ensure that the flights are not being used for anything other than humanitarian purposes.

Whether or not this Indian requirement might be altered now it is impossible to predict, and what exactly the Pakistanis want is hard to see, unless they are contemplating straightforward blackmail and intend: to hold foreigners as hostages as a way to try to press other states to support them at the United Nations and elsewhere. Such a suggestion however is uncharitable and there is no ground for believing that such a motive is in Pakistani thoughts.

A softening of Indian requirements also might help ease the problem. The Canadian plane could fly in easily enough from Bangkok and the Royal Air Force planes directly from Singapore if other methods could be worked out to meet Indian stipulations. At this stage we can only wait and see while diplomatic efforts are pursued to resolve the deadlock. Meanwhile the Indian safe conduct period is due to expire just as I make this broadcast.

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**DESPATCH FROM CALCUTTA**  
**9th December 1971**

*by David Sells*

**INTERVIEWER:**

You've been to Jessore David and you confirm that it is now absolutely in Indian hands is it?

SELLS

They went through the town yesterday. They went also to big military base which is two or three miles to the north of the town and also the airfield they are all in Indian hands and we were able to see with our own eyes.

The Pakistanis had blown several bridges on the way they'd blow them very expertly.

The town of Jessore itself was rather deserted. People were just beginning to come back into the town and they were patently delighted to see troops.

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**DESPATCH FROM DELHI**  
**9th December, 1971**

*by John Osman*

The war between India and Pakistan continues as at this moment, 5 a.m. London time. The formal flag raising ceremony was held in New Delhi at the newly recognized Bangladesh mission here.

The battle for Dacca as suggested here will begin by this weekend. Pakistani resistance on the eastern front is viewed here as crumbling but questions are still being asked about Pakistani intentions. Will the troops trapped there make a last ditched stand and will they try for an evacuation by sea or will they surrender. The Indian Army Chief of Staff has addressed a second warning to the Pakistanis urging them to surrender or meet death. Meanwhile orders have been issued to Indian troops reminding them that they enter East Bengal not as conquerors but as liberators and behave as such. India's Defense Minister has congratulated the Indian air force on what is said here to be the complete destruction of the Pakistani Air force in the East. Unconfirmed reports from Calcutta say that the Pakistani Army Commander in the East has left for West Pakistan together with other senior officers, and officials and their families. The reports say the Deputy Martial law leader has been left behind to cope as best he can.

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**DESPATCH FROM NEW DELHI**  
**10th December, 1971**

*by John Osman*

All India Radio says today that Dacca is now virtually encircled and cut off from the outside world. From New Delhi, John Osman.

The gates of Dacca appear from here to have been almost opened now for the Indians with the officially reported capture of three strategic towns on the eastern banks of the Meghna River. They are the railhead river port of Chandpur, Daudkandi and Ashuganj. Of the three Ashuganj provides the easiest access to Dacca, but the bridge connecting it with the west bank has been blown up by retreating Pakistanis. The approach from the other two towns involves crossing a couple more rivers and such water obstacles are what Indian commanders have all along been emphasizing as important defensive lines. So it's not all over yet. But All India Radio says Dacca is drastically besieged and it may be that a last stand is being planned by the Pakistanis in the city's surrounding area. Meanwhile, Indian official claims of success continue to flood in from all three services and Commanders are being quoted directly in such a way that it would seem extraordinarily unprofessional if they are later proved to have exaggerated. For instance, the Air Officer commanding Western air command, Air-Marshal. Engineer, says a quarter of the Pakistani air force in the western section has been destroyed while in the East the Indians for the past two days now are claiming to have completely destroyed the Pakistani air force there. And reports from Shillong, the Assamese capital say Indian plane have shot up river vessels bearing the remnants of Pakistan's eastern army from different sectors towards Narayanganj near Dacca. It said that about one hundred craft ranging from steamers and barges to motor boats and patrol boats have been destroyed or damaged. The Pakistanis it's thought here may be trying to get away through places like Barisal and Narayanganj, but the Indian in broadcasts and leaflets continue to tell them it's all hopeless. Meanwhile, the Indian navy claims to have established supremacy on the

high seas and be able to attack Karachi and other Pakistani ports more or less at will. As viewed from here, and it must be emphasized as viewed from here things took pretty bleak for Pakistan.,

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**DESPATCH FROM DACCA**  
**11th December, 1971**

by Ronald Robson

More people are now seen pushing carts with their few belongings in the streets of Dacca as families move either from areas which have attracted the attention of Indian strike aircraft or from riverside areas such as Narayanganj where they think there will be fighting in an advance on Dacca.

The Dacca townspeople remain remarkably calm during the airraids.

The Commander of the Pakistan Army in the East, General Niazi, has been seen in Dacca, which should scotch rumours which had been circulated that he had slipped out of East Pakistan.

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**DESPATCH FROM RAWALPINDI**  
**15th December, 1971**

*by Harold Briley*

As the people of Pakistan anxiously look for some signs that the peace moves are making progress at the United Nations, the armed forces are briefing themselves for what looks like being the decisive battle for East Pakistan the defense of its capital Dacca. Harold Briley reports from Rawalpindi:

Pakistani forces in the East have been engaged in extensive regrouping in order as their spokesman put it to defend the eastern province in the most effective manner. They declined to give details. "That is just what the enemy would like to know" a senior army officer told me, "They will have to spend a lot of time finding out and I hope suffer a lot of casualties". Taking them at their word the military who are the elite of the Pakistan nation are ready to turn the teeming streets of Dacca into a Stalingrad Day after day the stiering declarations are made and the message is always the same: we'll fight to the last man. The Pakistani ground forces are regrouping to take account of repeated penetrations behind their positions by Indian paratroops and helicopter landings in force. Indian mastery of the air in the East allows them to do this virtually without interference until they hit the ground that is and then the Pakistanis say the airborne invaders have been given a mauling and have made no headway. The meager Pakistani air force in the East long ago ceased to function. A spent force with nowhere to operate from. Its only base Dacca Airport out of action from constant air attack. Whatever the stark realities of the situation, the spirit of the Pakistani people in the West anyway shows no sign of weakening.

There's a stream of reports of the galantry of the Pakistanis throwing back hords of Indian troops and exacting heavy casualties. This then is the frame of mind the mood of the people in West Pakistan, all unsuspecting may be of the possibility that Dacca could fall and then it's difficult to assess what the shocked reaction could be.

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## **DESPATCH FROM DACCA**

**17th December, 1971**

*by Granville Walts of Reuters*

I rode into the East Pakistan capital aboard a tank in front of an Indian general's jeep today as the victorious Indian Army entered the fallen city. The capital erupted with huge crowds greeting the Indian troops, throwing flowers, shaking and shouting: "Long –live India-Bangladesh friendship."

Here Brigadier Mishra, commander of the crack 37th Division, joined others in greeting the arrival of Indian VIP's, including Lieutenant General Aurora. India's commander in the East, in a string of ten Indian helicopters. Amid scenes of increasing joy and noise the General and a procession of Indian army, navy and air force chiefs, headed for the race course in the centre of Dacca, where the surrender was formally signed, in the simple ceremony which was held at the spot where Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League leader, made his famous Bangladesh freedom speech prior to the army crackdown last March.

The absence of Sheikh Mujib was the one bad thing that spoiled the night's festivities here for most Bengalis

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১৮১। বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলন সম্পর্কিত বিবিধ প্রতিবেদন	বিবিসি, লন্ডন	এপ্রিল - ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

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**AID TO PAKISTAN****24 Hours'**

Yesterday the principals of the British Relief Organisation War on Want met to discuss the need for aid in East Pakistan. Ian McDonal the Coordinator between the agencies which comprise War on Want, including Christian Aid and Oxfam, was interviewed on BBC television. He said "We have got in the worst hit cyclone areas one and half million people who are depending on a regular supply of food grains coming in to the area to be able to feed them throughout this year while they put in another crop. Secondly they could only get that crop in provided they could be supplied with seeds, provided they could be provided with, on the mechanization side, fuel and tractors. The war in East Pakistan is going to interrupt these supplies and prevent this cultivation going on." He went on to say that the people in the cyclone areas are not going to be able to get their crops in and they are not going to be able to get their food. He then said we then look at the rest of East Pakistan and find that they are dependent on imported foods because of the lack of food grains from the cyclone hit areas which were destroyed by the cyclone, and the food grain has stuck at Chittagong and no more has been coming in for a month. When asked what was the result of the meeting of the combined charities Mr. McDonald said "What we are attempting to do now is to stir up enough preparation so that before the situation gets out of hand completely we have personnel and materials ready to go in. We cannot persuade the' Pakistan Government to let us in against their will but we can ask the British Government to lead a World Food Programme, to enable a steady flow of supplies to get into this area.

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**MICHAEL STEWART ON PAKISTAN****10th April, 1971***Edited by Evan Charlton*

Mr. Michael Stewart, Foreign Secretary in Britain's last Socialist Government has given views on the current situation in Pakistan.

Mr. Michael Stewart was interviewed on the BBC TV current affairs programme Twenty-Four Hours by Kenneth Allsop.

Mr. Stewart was asked if he saw any direct comparison between the Biafran situation and the events in East Pakistan. He said that the political situation is very different. But of

course in both cases we're faced with a terrible human tragedy. He hoped that the British Government and indeed all Commonwealth Governments will do whatever they can to get relief going, will be prepared to give and to help organise it. If there are difficulties between the Red Cross and Relief Organizations and the Pakistan Government, the British Government may be able to help to sort them out as they did once when there were difficulties between the Red Cross and the Nigerian Government.

Mr. Stewart was asked if the British Government could realistically take this kind of action. He replied that it could in the relief field. It was important that they should lay chief emphasis on the fact that they simply want to help to avoid human suffering rather than attempt to dictate a political answer to Pakistan's troubles.

Mr. Stewart accepted that there might be a risk of being accused of intervening, interfering in another country's internal affairs and said it was prudent to take account of this. One did not want by an ill-judged action or statement to embitter feeling and possibly make relief work more difficult. But he thought that the British Government could make it quite clear that what it is concerned with is to end suffering and try to do so through an all-Commonwealth framework, so that it would not be the British Government trying to tell Pakistan how it ought to run its affairs but the Commonwealth, as friends of all the people of Pakistan, offering their good offices and goodwill.

Mr. Stewart said that he feared that the chances of reconciliation between East and West Pakistan seem terribly small. But wondered if widening the horizon a little, the peoples and Governments of Pakistan, East and west, and of India, despite all the difficulties could not look at the common needs of the whole sub-continent. Mr. Stewart wondered whether, taking into consideration the danger of great power involvement and the natural catastrophe of the recent cyclone and the human catastrophe of civil war, they could not see how great their need is to try to act together.

Asked if he thought secession was inevitable, Mr. Stewart did not like to use that word but did find it difficult to see how there could be reconciliation, he was asked to what extent British and Western interests were threatened by the civil war situation and the threat of a split Pakistan. He replied that the split would be a great tragedy because it would weaken the power of the Government to cope with what are the real problems of Pakistan: poverty and the attempt to raise the standards of life. Interfered with this makes the task of coping with these problems more difficult. Britain's overwhelming interest lies in a prosperous Pakistan.

Asked what the long term possibilities of the situation were, he said that the worst might be the enforcement of united Pakistan but with no goodwill and constant bitterness and friction. Nevertheless he ended the interview on a note of hope, saying that human beings sometimes do rise to the occasion when they are faced with the worst possible consequences. It was possible that a measure of better understanding, not only between East and West Pakistan but between Pakistan and India might arise.

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**16th April, 1971 MR. ZAKARIA CHOWDHURY ON 24 HOURS'**

Viewers of the BBC television current affairs programme 24 Hours last night watched an interview with Mr. Zakaria Choudhury who describes himself as the official emissary of the Provisional Government of Bangladesh.

Mr Choudhury was asked what his reaction was to the news reports that resistance to the West Pakistan army in East Bengal is collapsing. He denied that this was the case, and claimed that the countryside in three quarters of East Bengal was under the control of the resistance forces. He said that though the army was in control of most of the towns, in the rural areas they would be operating in very difficult terrain, and he predicted that with the coming of the monsoon the West Pakistan troops would be waterlogged in their cantonments.

On the question of recognition for the Provisional Government Mr. Chaudhury said that he hoped that governments would gradually come to believe in their cause. He said that they had no choice but to fight whether or not they were supplied with arms from outside. The interviewer asked him how he could justify continued fighting when it would cause so much suffering, and he said that the East Pakistanis had not wanted Pakistan to break up but the war had been forced on them.

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**PAKISTAN IN THE WEEKLIES****17th April, 1971**

by Mark Tully

The leftwing weekly, the New Statesman, has a front page article about East Pakistan. The New Statesman says that the people of East Pakistan made their wishes known by voting so solidly for the Awami League in the recent elections. Nevertheless the New Statesman does not hold out any hope of international support rallying to the people of East Pakistan. The New Statesman thinks that economically East Pakistan would be more viable as an independent unit and that in the end it will become independent because the federation of Pakistan is, in the New Statesman's view an artificial structure.

The lead Article in the Spectator which represents a more rightwing view than the New Statesman is also about East Pakistan. The Spectator also believes that Pakistan is not a natural unified state. It feels that West Pakistan's quarrel with India has exacerbated the strains between the two wings, and that under President Ayub Khan the West wing neglected East Pakistan. The Spectator thinks that the army will establish some form of control over East Pakistan but it fears that this control might degenerate into tyranny. In the end the Spectator says the army will leave East Bengal and East and west Bengal will unite. In the meantime the Spectator would like Britain to declare its outrage at the army's actions and stop all aid until the army starts relief operations. The Spectator fears that Britain will not take this stand.

In the Economist there is a long article about the role of the big powers in Asia. The Economist points out the reasons for Russian and Chinese interest in Asia, and says that the conflict between the interests are partly responsible for the unrest in many Asian countries. The Economist thinks that the Western Powers should take a greater interest in Asia and should do more to support those countries where democratic rule of one sort or another is still maintained.

There is also an article in the Economist specifically about Pakistan. The Economist thinks that the resistance movement has lost the struggle for the towns. It says that other countries are unlikely to recognize the provisional government of Bangladesh which is reported to have been set up because it is not firmly in control of any territory. The Economist fears that border incident would lead to a flare up between India and Pakistan. The only way to bring pressure on President Yahya Khan, the Economist says, is by refusing his current requests for aid until he stop the military action. The Economist ends by warning that shortage of food, the large number of casualties and even possibly more floods could lead to a terrible tragedy unless some form of normalcy returns to East Pakistan quickly.

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## OUTSIDE INTERESTS IN PAKISTAN

17th April, 1971

*Nicholas Carroll (OC)*

The Pakistan press and the Pakistan Government have alleged that recent events in East Pakistan have been misreported and other countries have been interfering with the internal affairs of East Pakistan. Nicholas Carroll of the 'Sunday Times' discusses these allegations:

From the moment the Government of Pakistan decided to use its army to restore its control over East Pakistan, a rigorous press censorship was imposed throughout Pakistan. East and West. And so journalists of all nations, and especially Indian and British, had to use their initiative to find out as best as they could what was going on. As it happened, the Pakistani authorities were not able to impose a total border control along the international frontier between West and East Bengal; and because of this many reporters managed to get into East Bengal.

In consequence the world did get some kind of an independent picture of events. It was a distressing picture, and on the basis of it there has been an outcry of protest against the Pakistan military regime in newspaper editorials everywhere, and no more so than in Indian and British newspapers.

There is probably nothing more sensitive to criticism than a dictatorial leadership using armed force in a violent and secretive way to impose order on a rebellious part of its population. To judge from the Pakistani press, as well as from official spokesmen's statements, foreign criticisms have been going home. One sign of this has been some of



the unrealistic accusations that have appeared of foreign governmental intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs, with the main charges being directed at India.

Now if there is one thing the Indian central government does not want, it is to get involved directly in the tragedy of East Bengal. Mrs. Gandhi's new government has too many problems of its own to need to look for additional ones on the other side of India's frontiers. Of course a distinct line must be drawn here between official Government policy on the one hand, and on the other, natural human sympathy for widespread human sufferings by people of their own kind on their doorstep.

Even members of the central government, Mrs. Gandhi herself, and particularly Mr. Swaran Singh, the External Affairs Minister, have spoken out strongly. But that is a very different matter from actually intervening in Pakistani actions. It should be obvious to anyone that Indian's best interests lie in a peaceful Pakistan, with its two wings co- operating normally.

This goes, too. for the Western powers. The British government's reaction has been very muted so far. The Foreign Secretary has leant over backwards in the House of Commons to make it plain. Britain accepts that the present tragedy is essentially an internal affair of Pakistan while expressing hopes of reconciliation. In any case to intervene in any way on behalf of East Bengali nationalism would not make sense. How could it possibly help the Bengalis? How could Britain benefit from it?

In elementary humanitarian terms, in economic terms, in any way conceivable, it is obvious that a peaceful united Pakistan is in Britain's as well as the world's interest.

The time for recriminations is over. Britain, like the Indian Government, wants to see an end of the military action and the resumption of some kind of dialogue between Pakistan's military rulers and the representatives of the people of East Ban gal, whoever they may in the end turn out to be.

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## HOME ON PAKISTAN

11<sup>th</sup> May 1971

*by Andrew Walker*

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas Home, has expressed the hope that the Pakistan government will allow a team of international experts to see what relief is needed in East Pakistan. Here is Andrew Walker, BBC Commonwealth Correspondent.

Sir Alec was speaking in Parliament, and the questions which followed his statement showed the concern felt by members of all parties over what one of them called a human tragedy which has few precedents in recent history. He said he and the American Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, had sent a joint message to the United Nations Secretary General U Thant suggesting that he should renew his offer of international aid. U Thant was in touch with the Pakistan government and (Sir Alec went on) I hope they will be

ready to allow a team of experts to make an objective appraisal of what is needed and that they will be prepared to accept assistance, if that is judged to be needed, on an international basis. He repeated that Britain was prepared to take part in any international relief effort which it would be best to organise through the United Nation.

The Foreign Secretary's argument was that because of the disruption of communications there might well be food shortages in East Pakistan later this year. But in addition there was the problem of the refugees who had poured across the border into India. The latest estimate is that the influx is now at the rate of thirty thousand people a day. British relief organizations are flying supplies out to them, and Sir Alec announced a cash grant to help with the transport of these supplies.

The Labor Party's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr. Dennis Healey expressed concern that there should be a political settlement in Pakistan well, Sir Alec replied, we are in constant touch with the President of Pakistan. But this must be for the people of the country. Nobody can dictate it from outside.

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**BURMESE SECTION      PAKISTAN PRESS ROUNDUP**  
**6th June, 1971**      by Basil Clarke (S)

Today in Britain the Sunday newspapers present vivid evidence of the increasing concern that is being felt about the refugees from East Pakistan. Three of the leading Sunday newspapers all headline the plight of the refugees. The Observer calls it the 'Agony of Bengal' the Sunday Times says that the refugees 'may die in millions'; while the Sunday Telegraph headlines the action being taken by Mr. Gandhi to create a 'huge dispersal plan'.

The evidence of British public concern about the situation is also reflected in the editorials.

The Sunday Times splits the problem of the refugees into two parts. First how to ensure adequate supplies to meet their immediate needs and second how to bring about conditions in East Pakistan which will make it possible for the refugees to return there safely. To meet the needs of the refugees the Sunday Times says there must be an international relief effort. It suggests that the UN High Commission for Refugees should co-ordinate and administer relief.

But what of the wider problem? How are the refugees to be sent home safely? The Sunday Times says there is an argument for withholding foreign economic assistance from Pakistan until the Pakistan Government is willing to withdraw the West Pakistan Army from East Pakistan and give a measure of autonomy to the Eastern province. The paper admits that this is using aid for political purposes.

The solutions proposed by the editorial in the Observer bear some similarity to those put forward by the Sunday Times but ascribe a bigger role to the United Nations. The Observer says that two complementary courses of action are possible. First Pakistan should be warned that her foreign aid might be suspended until it is agreed by a United Nations Observer that it is safe for the refugees to return home. Second the paper proposes that the Security Council should adopt a resolution allowing a UN mission to move between Pakistan, India and Bangladesh to negotiate between them as the Jarring Mission has done in the Middle East. The Observer stresses that its solution is not intended to solve the question of East Bengal's political future but only 'to get the four million refugees back and to defuse the India Pakistan tension'.

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### THE WEEKLIES ON PAKISTAN

*Edited by William Crawley*

**16th July, 1971**

The New Statesmen this week prints an article by Mr. Reg Prentice, who was a member of the four-man British Parliamentary delegation which recently visited both Pakistan and India to study the present crisis. Mr. Prentice said that the delegation had an assurance from President Yahya Khan that they could go where they liked, and that nowhere had been refused them. However they found that they were mostly listening to the official point of view and they found their informants reluctant to answer questions. They had seen the symptoms of a country in the grip of fear. The reason for this fear, Mr. Prentice says, was apparent from the number of confidential statements made to members of the delegation by a wide variety of people. Such confidences showed, Mr. Prentice writes, that the army had committed widespread violence and killing in March and April, and that it still continued. The economic and social life of the country is at a very low ebb, writes Mr. Prentice. Most of the workers, who have fled to the villages, are not yet going back to the towns.

The delegation were originally told by the Pakistan authorities that no refugees had fled to India, but during their visit the authorities admitted that there were some. The Pakistani authorities claimed that the maximum number of refugees was 1.2 million, and said that they were being prevented from returning home by the Indians. However Mr. Prentice said that they could not accept the Pakistani version when they saw the reality of the refugee situation on the Indian side of the border. They had spent two days visiting the refugee camps and had questioned the refugees at random. The refugees had said that they wanted to return but only when it was safe to do so. Mr. Prentice writes of the enormous problem of providing for the refugees, and asks how long it will be before serious tensions develop between the refugees and the local population. Mr. Prentice says that further tragedy for both India and Pakistan can only be prevented by a political settlement acceptable to the people of East Bengal.

The Economist correspondent in India examines the pressures that are building up in the Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi to take action in East Pakistan. The Bangladesh

self styled government in exile complains it is not getting enough arms from India. Those Indians who are demanding the recognition of Bangladesh are not satisfied with the present scale of aid to the guerrillas, says the Economist correspondent. He says that political parties have been cooperative in moderating their statements, and there has so far been no communal trouble except in Assam, but there is serious danger of communal rioting arising out of the smallest incident. There is also wild talk, the correspondent says, of a war being cheaper than feeding millions of refugees. The Indian government has not taken part in such talk, but seems undecided as to what they should do. The Economist says that even the policy of giving more help to the guerrillas could jeopardize the goodwill India has earned by taking on the refugee problem.

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**THE PRESS ON THE INDO-PAKISTAN WAR**  
**5th December 1971**

by Mark Tully

The fighting between India and Pakistan is very widely in all today's papers. There are on the spot reports, analyses, features and editorials. In its editorial, the Sunday Times says that there is not much point in trying to identify who to blame for the war. The paper fears that the most likely outcome of the war is disintegration, chaos and enormous suffering. The best hope the Sunday Times thinks, would be for Pakistan to evolve with Sheikh Mujib, a system of autonomy in East Pakistan which would allow the refugees start returning. This, the paper says would mean that president Yahya Khan would have to hand over the presidency to someone else. But the fighting must be stopped first. The Sunday Times welcomes the fact that the security Council is discussing the conflict.

The Observer in its editorial calls the war infinitely sad. Even sadder, it says is the way in which the rest of the world has just watched the madness develop. The movement towards war started, according to The Observer, with the Pakistan Government's attempt to impose a military solution on East Pakistan. The open involvement of the Indian Army in the fighting in East Pakistan started the change from a civil war into an international

The most sensible aim for international action, the Observer says, would be negotiations to restore the Federal unity of both halves of Pakistan with real home-rule in the East. If this is not possible, then an East Pakistan independent of both India and Pakistan would be the next best. The paper suggests that as well as discussion at the Security Council about stopping the fighting, the international community should make a bigger contribution to support the refugees.

The Sunday Telegraph also feels that the best solution to the crisis would be a political compromise whereby East Pakistan became independent in fact, though not in name and it wonders whether the Great Powers in secret contact with each other might not be able to devise such a compromise. If diplomacy can do nothing, the Telegraph thinks the best solution would be a quick Indian victory in the East and a completely new start in the Gangetic Delta. But emphasizes that a diplomatic solution would be much more satisfactory. If the Great Powers cannot devise a diplomatic solution, the Telegraph

believes that they should keep out of the contact and that they should not supply arms to either side.

Among the popular papers, the Sunday Mirror deplores the due fact that the rich countries have done so little to avert this crisis. But the paper says, the rich countries are powerless and quite unable to stop the war. Nevertheless the Sunday Mirror hopes that a quick solution can be found either through the United Nations or by China putting pressure on Pakistan to stop fighting. The News of the World and the Sunday Express both think that the British Government should offer to mediate because both India and Pakistan are members of the Common wealth.

In the Observer, there is also a long analysis of the background to the present fighting, by Cyril Dunn, who is the paper's chief reporter on India and Pakistan. Dunn sees the rests of the trouble in the original partition of the sub-continent.

But Dunn does think, that if Kashmir had succeeded to Pakistan the two countries might have been able to live together in peace. He feels that it is difficult not to look somewhat sceptically at statements of intention by the Indian Government when fighting breaks out between India and Pakistan, but he agrees that the people of East Pakistan have good reasons for wanting to leave Pakistan. What Dunn fears is that if the present fighting continues and a new Muslim state is a eventually born, the Hindu refugees will not return and Bangladesh will not remain independent for long.

John Grigg writing in the Sunday Times says that it is most important to remember that the background to the fighting is the enormous burden the refugees have put on India. He believes that the financial cost of the refugees has been staggering and that the social tensions they have produced, almost unbearable. Grigg says that Mrs. Gandhi was most reluctant to make use of regular troops inside East Pakistan and that she only did so because she was convinced that the Great Powers could not or would not force President Yahya Khan to change his policies. He goes on to say that Mrs Ghandi now deserves the support of Britain.

There is also a long article in the Sunday Times by Anthony Mascarenhas who was until quite recently Visited India. Mascarenhas believes that India was reluctantly forced to the conclusion that war was the only solution to the refugee problem after the disappointing international support it received over the last eight months. India was, he thinks particularly disappointed by the failure of the American government to put pressure on President Yahya Khan. He quotes an Indian official as saying, "we went to America to ask for help and all we got were exhortations to patience and forbearance." Mascarenhas says that one possibility the Indian government thought of was dispersing the Hindu refugees amongst other Indian states but the State governments were not willing to accept this because they did not feel that they could cope with this additional burden.

Mascarenhas says that India's aims now are to establish an independent Bangladesh so that refugees can go back and to remove any chance of Pakistan over challenging India again.

Pakistan can only hope to gain territory in the West and use this as a bargaining counter. Mascarenhas says that although a war can only increase the economic problems

of both countries, it is difficult to see how else the situation could have developed because of the Pakistan government's determination to hold onto East Pakistan at any cost.

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**BRITISH PRESS REVIEW ON INDIA AND PAKISTAN**  
**12th December, 1971**

*by Basil Clarke*

In Britain today, the Sunday newspapers include four editorials about the war between India and Pakistan. The editorials are concerned with the future-what is going to happen now they all ask. Three of the newspapers, The Sunday Telegraph, The Sunday Times, and The people are concerned with the future in terms of how Bangladesh is to develop. While the Observer looks at the future in terms of the consequences of the war on the whole structure of foreign relations throughout the world.

The observer assumes that the Indian Army will soon complete the conquest of East Pakistan, and that when it has done so. it will install there a government of an independent Bangladesh. The only things that could prevent this, says The Observer, is the intervention of China or even more improbably, the United states and this the paper feels is very unlikely. The Observer says that however illegal India's action in dismembering a state which is a fellow member of the United Nations, it has to be accepted that the starting point for any stable peace settlement must be self determination for the people of East Pakistan. This, the paper says, may bring a stable situation in the short term, but in the long term, its consequences for the rest of the world could be far reaching. The paper picks out three specific consequences. First the war has shown that the capacity of the great powers to influence events is severely limited. In fact, the war has highlighted the fact that Russia Chinese rivalry in Asia could emerge as the new cold war of the seventies. Secondly, says The Observer, India has shown like Israel did before, that it's possible for a medium or small power to wage war successfully on its own, provided the great powers don't interfere. Finally The Observer looks at the consequence of the war for the relationship between Russia and the United states.

The other three editorials are concerned with what is to happen in Bangladesh. Will Bangladesh become an Indian puppet state? asks the Sunday Times. How long will the Indian army have to stay there? What kind of political life can be reconstructed? The Sunday Times feels that all these questions must be answered, before there is any possibility of British recognition. But the answers to these questions will also raise new problems says The Sunday Times. For example if self determination was right for Bangladesh, then it is right for Kashmir as well. The Sunday Times also stresses the dangers of the situation for the relationship between America Russia and China. The paper says that although the liquidation of East Pakistan has rationalized geography, it will not be a stabilizing event, for the victory is not merely India's but Russia's. This means that even more than before, China is interested in the future of Bangladesh. Moreover the Americans will be anxious to recover from what the paper calls their pro- Pakistani declarations and maintain their influence in the area. Sunday Times concludes that although the great powers have kept their distances from the battlefield, the war has meant that a new area of great sensitivity has been exposed between Suez and Saigon.

## চতুর্থ অধ্যায়

### পত্র-পত্রিকা

### বিশ্ব রাষ্ট্রসমূহ

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড



শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮২। বিশ্বজ্ঞানার আবর্তে	সিডনী ও মর্নিং হেরাল্ড	২৯ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

*THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD. MARCH 29, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**PLUNGE INTO CHAOS**

It is impossible to know what is happening in East Pakistan. According to Radio Pakistan, President Yahya Khan's predominantly West Pakistani Army is in control of the east. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is under arrest as a "traitor", and life is returning to normal. According to Indian reports, Sheikh Mujibur is free, the 16,000 strong East Pakistani (Bengali) rifles and police are resisting General Tikka Khan's forces and two days of civil war have already brought a huge civilian death toll (10,000? 100,000?). What is clear is that Pakistan, as the world has known it, is in pieces and that a political miracle will be needed to put it together again.

Such a miracle is not credible. President Yahya, blind to some of the bloodiest lessons in history, to the British in Ireland, the French in Algeria and many more, is trying to restore solidarity by armed force. His ambition would be ludicrous if its consequences were not bound to be so tragic. He is attempting to impose loyalty to an always artificial Pakistan, dominated by a West Pakistani minority, upon 75-million Bengalis who have already shown by an overwhelming vote in democratic elections that their loyalty is to Sheikh Mujibur and his demand for an autonomous East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur, having won a majority of seats in the stillborn constituent assembly, having demonstrated his authority by virtually establishing his own civil government in East Pakistan after the declaration of martial law, has been remarkably moderate in the interests of a feasible confederation. Only after the breakdown of his talks with the President did he call for independence. The blame for the breakdown rests with the President. He has repudiated the result of a democratic election in the interests of minority West Pakistani supremacy.

President Yahya has the power-tanks, artillery and planes-to win temporary victories in East Pakistani cities. But in the long run, with his army 1,000 miles from its bases, how can he hope to subdue the guerrilla warfare, fuelled by Bengali nationalism, which can be expected to continue indefinitely in the notoriously difficult rural terrain of the East? Nor is there a mediator in sight-certainly not India whose satisfaction at the preoccupation of the Pakistani Army will be tempered by fears of repercussions in turbulent West Bengal. Even Britain, with its unhappy memories of the very different war fought by a Biafran minority, is unlikely to want to become involved, despite its huge investments in West Pakistan. Only second thoughts by President Yahya can prevent prolonged tragedy. And he appears to be committed to chaos.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৩। দুযোগের অবর্তে পাকিস্তান	দি এজ	২৯ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

THE AGE, CANBERRA, MARCH -29, 1911

**Editorial**  
**PAKISTAN TRAGEDY**

Only a day before Pakistan's constitutional crisis exploded into civil war, there were hopes that the bitterly divided nation might hold together by peaceful political agreement, and perhaps return soon to democratic civilian rule. These hopes have been shattered by the tragic events of the past few days. Exactly what precipitated the violent upheaval in East Pakistan is not clear, the strict military censorship and expulsion of foreign correspondents have obscured the truth. But President Yahya had apparently conceded in principle the major demands of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, popular leader of the aggrieved Bengalis, whose cry for greater local autonomy had so far been suppressed by the West Pakistani dominated military regime.

This hopeful pointer to a compromise settlement was suddenly reversed when the army, instead of lifting martial law and returning to barracks as agreed, imposed a massive clamp-down on East Pakistan and outlawed Sheikh Mujibur's party, the Awami League. The Sheikh retaliated by proclaiming, from a clandestine radio, the independence of his besieged province. Such an act of defiance had long been urged by Bengalis more militant than he. But to the Sheikh, confronted by military forces far stronger than any he could muster, it must have been an act of desperation. To President Yahya, it was plainly an act of treason, and the rebellious Bengalis are paying for it in savage bloodshed.

Even if reports are true that the army has managed to crush the revolt. President Yahya's goal of a strong and united Pakistan seems more remote than ever. His troops may be able to restore a semblance of central rule over East Pakistan. They may be able to suppress the Awami League, which won not only the overwhelming support of the people of East Pakistan, but also an absolute majority of seats in the subsequently suspended National Assembly, ending for the first time the electoral advantage-though not the political and military power of the West Pakistani minority.

But a nation cannot be held together indefinitely by the military repression of a hostile majority of people. To the existing differences of race, custom, language and geography will be added an insuperable barrier of hatred and resentment. If the violent conflict of the past few days has not already killed the prospects for a just and peaceful solution, then President, Yahya would be wise to accept proposals for a federal structure that will give East Pakistan a fair measure of self-rule without breaking Pakistan completely and permanently into two. But first the killing must stop.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৪। পূর্ব পাকিস্তান	নিউ হেরাল্ড	৩০ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

THE NEW HERALD, KATHMANDU, MARCH 30. 1971

**Editorial**  
**EAST PAKISTAN**

We hope our Pakistani friends will by now have realized the concern being expressed over fighting going on in East Pakistan between Bengalis and West Pakistan. Indeed the concern over military operations launched by the Pakistani army against the followers of the Awami League, which alone represents the people of what they now call 'Bangladesh' spring from humanitarian feelings. It must be admitted that the brutal military suppression to which the people of East Pakistan are being subjected by the military machine of West Pakistan has brought forth the sympathy of the entire world for them. No one in fact, can deny that the people of all countries, be they of the West or East, support the aspirations of the East Bengalis.

The West Pakistanis, by deploring brute force against the helpless Bengalis of East Pakistan, who want nothing but freedom, have killed whatever hope there remain of maintaining a permanent link between the Eastern and Western wings of Pakistan. Bad handling of the constitutional crisis by President Yahya Khan has brought about a disaster of unimaginable magnitude to Pakistan, from which she may never recover. His order in restoring authority in East Pakistan and starting a bloody military repression of freedom-seeking Bengalis, constitutes the gravest of mistakes committed by him so far.

In view of the strict military censorship imposed by the military regime of Pakistan it is difficult to ascertain the facts regarding the present situation in East Pakistan. But one thing is clear. East Pakistanis who are, by and large, unarmed are bravely resisting the harsh military rule imposed on them. It is also clear that they are sacrificing their lives in thousands in the cause of freedom.

The sooner the West Pakistanis realize that unity imposed on the East Pakistanis cannot definitely prove durable, the better for them. They may yet retrieve the situation, by ending all military operations in East Pakistan and formally accepting Mujibur Rahman's proposals for ending the present crisis, even though it may mean a loose federation between East and West Pakistan."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৫। বাংলাদেশের জনগণের বিরুদ্ধে পাক-বর্বর অভিযানের উপর দুটি সোভিয়েত পত্রিকার মন্তব্য	প্রাভদা ও ইউ এস এস আর	২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, MOSCOW, APRIL 2, 1971*  
**"CRUDE VIOLENCE"**

These actions of the Army can be characterized as nothing else than crude arbitrariness and violence causing most serious anxiety to the Soviet people. The crisis which has arisen can and must be settled by political means.

*USSR PRESS, TRUD, APRIL 2, 1971*  
**CRUEL STEPS AGAINST POPULATION OF EAST PAKISTAN**

"It is reported that West Pakistani army has carried out cruel bombing of cities and other population centers. Heavy fighting has broken out in many regions between army and population. Tanks and other heavy weapons are being used against local residents. News agency Kiodo Tsusin reports, for example, that on evening of 29th March –reported on 30th March–crew of Japanese ships standing in Chittagong port saw 'many corpses' floating in waters of that port. According to PTI news agency Free Bengal Radio Station had stated that during the two days from and after 25th March alone tens of thousands of persons were killed by West Pakistani army.

"Bloody clashes in East Pakistan about which news agencies are reporting cause anxiety to world progressive and democratic public opinion."

"Soviet people express serious anxiety at cruel steps taken against population of East Pakistan. Soviet people express their warm desire to their neighbour Pakistan that it resolve the difficult problem faced by Republic by political means in interests of entire Pakistani people."

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৬। পাক-বাহিনীর হত্যায়জ্ঞের ওপর চিলি, তুরস্ক এবং অস্ট্রীয় পত্রিকার মন্তব্য	এল মার্কুরিও, আকসাম সলজবার্গার নাকরিকটেন	৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

### 'EL MERCURIC, CHILEAN DAILY

"The hundred dead in My Lai massacre shook deeply the conscience of the whole world and caused an internal crisis in the United States because the free press in the United States published and broadcast these events. 300.000 or 20,000 (although the difference is large the fact remains the same) dead bodies in the streets of East Bengal cities do not shake up world opinion because there are no moving pictures or versions of these past events."

### TURKISH PAPER AKSHAM'

"Apparently relations between West and East Pakistan are of the colonial type. The two wings have nothing in common but religion. East Pakistanis are fighting a national liberation war against Pakistani colonialists..."

### 'SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN' (AN AUSTRIAN DAILY)

"No matter whether the Republic of Bengal survives or not. If Bengalis were to be crushed by Pakistani bayonets, we will have the sbsurd phenomenon of a majority of population in a State hating it more than anything else. In Biafra and Southern Sudan, the majority was oppressing the minority. In East Pakistan just the contrary is true."

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৭। পরিকল্পিত হত্যা	লা মন্ড	৯ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*LE MONDE, PARIS, APRIL 9, 1971*

# **PREMEDITATED BRUTALITY**

"Pakistan has clearly entered into a period of civil war which is likely to be long. Far from looking for a compromise, even one which would be favorable to the Central Government, with the Bengali autonomists, Yahya Khan is stepping up the repression which has now reached such a degree of brutality that one wonders if it was not premeditated.

"But Yahya Khan's plans have been frustrated. True, the intervention of the Army has restored some semblance of calm-for how long? in Dacca Following the pattern which has occurred elsewhere, the resistance, of the repressed population will become stronger. The rift between the antagonists will broaden, making reconciliation even more difficult. The situation looks even more serious because one man who sufficient prestige to be a valid partner in the negotiations-Sheikh Mujibur Rahman-has disappeared."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৮। বাংলায় গণহত্যা	এক্সপ্রেসেন	১২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*EXPRESSEN, STOCKHOM, APRIL 12, 1971*

### **MASS MURDERS IN BENGAL**

The military regime in Pakistan has now released a photo which is supposed to prove that Mujibur Rahman has been taken prisoner.

By showing him as a prisoner they want to undermine morale in East Pakistan. But this photo is not convincing evidence. Why was it not released earlier? Why has no date been given? Why do they not show Rahman himself?

It is in any case obvious that Yahya Khan's regime wishes to prevent Rahman at all costs from becoming a martyr. The question is, however, whether such feelings would change the situation much in East Pakistan. With or without Rahman-there is no turning back for the East Bengalis.

We now know what is happening in spite of the attempts by the military regime to hide the facts. Refugees have testified to massive bombings, reckless rampages of West Pakistani troops and mass murders.

Hundreds of thousands of people are fleeing from their homes. Starvation threatens. The hostilities are directed against the majority of the country's population under the motivation that the unity of Pakistan must be preserved. The military regime is using violence to sweep aside the result of the country's first general parliamentary elections. The rulers were not prepared to swallow the consequences of this election; instead they set the military machinery going. It is obvious that this method will never lead to the reunification of East and West Pakistan. Ruthless occupation or drawn-out war: these are the only alternatives.

This is a policy that must be condemned.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮৯। বাংলাদেশের যজ্ঞশা	অস্ট্রেলিয়ান	১৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE AUSTRALIAN, APRIL 14, 1971*

# **THE AGONY OF BANGLADESH**

By Martin Woollacott

The situation of the Bangladesh rebel in East Pakistan is worsening day by day and it is a pathetic and heart-rending spectacle.

There is hardly a liberation movement of the 20th century that can calim such unanimous support from people of all classes, nor one that was ever so ill prepared and ill-equipped to fight for its rights. .

After a 200-mile journey into East Bengal reaching to Faridpur on the banks of the Ganges, some 90 miles from the Indian border, the main impression is of a people who, with every justification but, sadly, with limited chances of success, are crying out for international help before it is too late. And that, at least as far as the short-term prospects of the liberation movement are concerned, could be very soon indeed.

The Pakistani Army, now estimated at a strength of more than five divisions, is moving swiftly to take the towns held by the Bangladesh during a three-day trip, I begin and it win probably succeed in doing so.

Everywhere I went in Bangladesh during a three-day trip, I heard the same appeal in the squares of the towns, in the offices of administrators, in barracks, in roadside pharmacies and shops: "Why doesn't the world help us?"

In Magura, between Jessore and Faridpur, a middle-kged lawyer, Mr. Nasir-ul Islam, who has become effective chief civil administrator, insisted on writing out a lengthy "appeal to the freedom-loving humanity" in fine copperplate hand which began: "We appeal to humanity to come to our help in this period of greatest calamity when we, the entire nation of Bangladesh, are forced to take up arms against the occupation army of the Punjabis who are up to anything to destroy the last point of civilization."

Watched by a crowd of several hundred people and feeling something of a charlatan, I placed this ceremoniously in my beg.

One soon forgets one's initial amusement at the flowery Indian English of educated Bengalis when one sees the tragic situation they are in.

Food, petrol and other essential commodities are in the shortest of supply, and the disruption of water and power services has brought a public health risk.

At least at Magura they have enough rifles for a half company or so. Further on at one river crossing town, the former Pakistani airman in charge of defenses tells me they have four Lee-Enfield rifles and two dummy rifles.



At Jhenida and Jessore is a force probably as large as any in the liberation "army." It consists of perhaps 750 men, of whom only about 200 are trained soldiers from the East Pakistan Rifles and the East Bengal Regiment. The rest are military and freedom fighters.

The patchwork administration of Bangladesh shows endless variety. Everywhere, the existing administrative cadre went over as one man to the liberation movement, and in some towns they are still running affairs.

In the cool of evening, a paper duplicating machine thumps on, turning out directives, banning hoarding, ordering government and other officials to return to their posts, asking all students to report to the command headquarters for military training and other tasks.

Grouped round a lantern on the lawn, Captain Mahbuddin Ahmed and his aides talk of the People's Republic of Bangladesh: "We must have freedom, even socialist freedom but not the Chinese type of freedom where everybody cannot speak and is regimented."

Atrocity stories circulate continually and some of them are undoubtedly true. In Faridpur district sports club, which has become the town's military headquarters, a young magistrate from Khulna told me he witnessed the machine gunning of a protest procession "without any provocation." Thinking it a dreadful case of some army officer losing his head, he rushed to military headquarters in his jeep and confronted the Punjabi colonel.

"The colonel said my complaint was nonsense, and that the next time people were shot, I, the magistrate, would be one of the first to die".

A young man is led in to recount the story of the death of a Catholic missionary in Jessore because Bengalis have a sad conviction that such a death counts higher in our scales than the deaths of many Muslims.

Excitedly, he explains that the priest was shot down in his mission together with some native Christians, and that afterwards a Punjabi brigadier came and apologized saying it was an accident.

The other priest told him how such a thing could be an accident when there is a Red Cross flag on the roof of the mission. The story has a ring of truth.

The more realistic among the leaders of liberation zones put their main hopes in the collapse of the West Pakistani economy.

A young accountant in Faridpur who has achieved recent renown for devising a plan to stop planting jute and replace it with rice, told me:

"Their economy cannot sustain this scale of effort for more than six months or a year. They have forgotten that 17 days of fighting in the Indo-Pakistan war shattered the economy.

Most widespread of all is the feeling that Bengal made a tragic mistake in 1947 when it decided to cast its lot with Pakistan.

"We were swept by the passion of communalism," says Mr. Nasirul Islam in Magura. "I too, made that mistake... we all made it. Now we are paying the price."

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯০। বিরোচিত সংগ্রাম	ওয়াং ওয়া ইট পো	১৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

KWONG WAH YITPOH, PENANG, APRIL 14, 1971.

### HEROIC STRUGGLE

"During this four weeks of civil war Pakistan's Central Government won the first round through ruthless massacre of the people by means of tanks and bomber aircraft. Nevertheless the struggle for emancipation of the 75 million people of East Pakistan marches on steadfastly along the road to independence...The entire population of East Bengal, united under the banner of the Awami League, are not afraid of death and boldly continue to resist-the more brutal the massacre, the greater is the sacrifice. Although we are denied reliable news, thanks to Pakistani censorship, we can well imagine the heroic struggle of a whole nation-the people of East Bengal.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯১। এই গণহত্যা বন্ধ কর	জাকার্তা টাইমস	১৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE DJAKARTA TIMES, APRIL 15, 1971

### STOP THIS GENOCIDE

Politicians, teachers, students, doctors, engineers and even unarmed civilians, including women and children, are wiped out in East Pakistan. Will the Muslim world in general, suffer this? Does Islam permit killing of unarmed Muslims by armed Muslims? Can Islamic principles justify the suppression by a minority of a majority demand for social and economic justice?

Muslim states should act quickly and see that good Muslims are not' massacred by fellow Muslims. International Islamic organizations should also not be silent spectators in the present situation in East Pakistan. They should do whatever is possible within their means to stop the genocide and restore peace in the region. President Yahya Khan may consider the East Pakistan happening as a national matter but if East Pakistan ultimately becomes a sovereign State-which the world knows is bound to be-will the present crisis in Pakistan not be the concern to other Muslim states of the world?

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯২। শরণার্থী সমস্যার সমাধান করতেই হবে	ব্যাঙ্কক ওয়ার্ল্ড	২৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE BANGKOK WORLD, APRIL 24, 1971

### Editorial

### THE REFUGEE PROBLEM MUST BE MET

Ignoring, if one can, the complexities of political and diplomatic ramifications of the grim events in East Pakistan the question of the enormous humanitarian 'problem' which the situation has spawned, deserves immediate and dramatic attention.

More than five hundred thousand refugees from Pakistan have already fled to nearby India and for all that, the latter nation's determination to meet the problem head on, it can be seen that international assistance will be required quickly.

To be sure India may well have her sympathies in order but the enormous costs and mobilizing the action required to handle the ever-growing refugee total, will soon go beyond any single power's ability to sustain.

When last year's massive tidal-wave killed an undetermined number of Pakistanis, the idea was bandied about of establishing a fast-reaction emergency-relief force, which could spring to assistance to disaster area survivors.

International organizations such as the Red Cross, various United Nations groups and other deserve monumentous commendation for their efforts in this field, but it can be seen that as good as they are they simply cannot handle the work-load involved.

The refugee problem which India now faces, will undoubtedly be a case in point. Awesome responsibilities of housing, feeding and tending to the medical needs of hundreds and hundreds of thousands of totally helpless refugees, will put an enormous strain on any nation or group that accepts responsibility of involvement.

With vast resources being devoted to the destruction of life, it hardly seems inconceivable that some small pittance could be put aside for worthy efforts in other directions. With enormous amounts being spent on discovering the mysteries of space, it is only proper that some be delegated to soothing the miseries which remain behind.

It is impossible to divorce reason for a refugee's departure, and departure itself, but it is only fair that the immediate aspects of the problem be viewed in an humanitarian sense. This must be done, it must be done quickly, and it must be done effectively.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯৩। লাখো গৃহহীন মানুষ	অটোয়া সিটিজেন	১০ মে, ১৯৭১

THE OTTAWA CITIZEN, MAY 10, 1971

### Editorial

## MILLION HOMELESS REFUGEES ADD TO INDIA'S WOES

The arrival of a United Nations Team in New Delhi to study the problem of refugees from East Pakistan highlights a pathetic situation that could become compelling in the near future.

India claims that 1,481,000 refugees from East Pakistan have so far crossed into India and that more are pouring in. It says it has spent about 13 million Dollars on their needs so far.

"If these figures are correct, it is unfair to expect India to carry the full burden of looking after persons who are not her own citizens. Especially since there are millions of Indian in desperate need themselves.

"Beyond the problem of providing them food, shelter, clothing and medicine now is the bigger one of their future. Given India's over-population, especially in West Bengal, the prolonged stay of these refugees in India is bound to create resentment, perhaps even violence, against them.

"They obviously must go back to their own country and they would do so only if they were freed of that fear which prompted them to flee in the first place. And they would still need help to start a new life.

"Perhaps some of the foreign assistance which Pakistan is seeking could be directed toward rehabilitation of these refugees. After all, the basic motivation behind all foreign assistance is to improve life for the common man in the recipient nation".

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯৪। ভয়ঙ্কর অভিজ্ঞতার বর্ণনা	পালাভার	২০ মে, ১৯৭১

*THE PALAVER, ACCRA, MAY 20, 1971*

### **HARROWING ACCOUNTS**

The world must be shocked by harrowing accounts of genocide perpetrated against the people of Bangladesh by statocratic and aristocratic regime of East Pakistan and must raise its voice in anguish to express its sense of outrage at the crimes committed by an increasingly unpopular military junta against the defenseless people of East Bengal.

But again and again we warn the unpopular military regime of East Pakistan that genocide is not the end of a people's legitimate aspiration for political freedom; it is not even the beginning of the end but rather the end of the beginning of a more determined effort to fight against forces that oppress.

The military regime of West Pakistan may deceive itself in thinking that it has succeeded in suppressing the political aspirations of the people of Bangladesh but we wish to point out to it that the time is coming, and now is, that the blood of millions of East Pakistanis they killed in cold blood would be on its ugly head.

The Palaver: An Independent Weekly

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯৫। বিশ্ব কি ছুই করছে না	ব্যাংকক পোস্ট	২৪ মে, ১৯৭১

*THE BANGKOK POST, MAY 24, 1971*

### Editorial

### THE WORLD HANGS BACK

"If we can comprehend a situation in which every citizen of Bangkok and Thonburi was without food, a home, a job, and in desperate need of medical attention, we will have some idea of conditions applying to 2.6 million East Pakistanis turned into refugees by bitter fighting in their homeland. That figure is the number of East Pakistanis generally agreed to have crossed into India in the last seven weeks to escape the fighting. How- many other homeless people have chosen to stay in East Pakistan is something that can only be guessed at. And despite President Yahya Khan's statement last Friday that conditions in East Pakistan have returned to normal and all refugees in India could now return, it is obvious that there is an urgent need for massive worldwide aid.

"Mrs. Gandhi complained bitterly last week that 'no prosperous country' has come to the aid of these refugees and that the task of caring for them has dangerously strained India's already taut resources. Even after her words are denuded of their political content it is obvious that there is considerable Justification for what she says. There has been no coordinated mobilization of aid for these refugees; it seems almost that the world has become so irritated, confused and apathetic about political and social upheavals on the Indian subcontinent that it no longer cares to listen or to help.

"There has been no spontaneous provision of aid such as we saw last year when a terrible cyclone devastated so much of East Pakistan. Hardship then was mitigated by an almost embarrassing overflow of outside assistance. But no Royal Marines have landed in the Bay of Bengal this time; no U.S. helicopters hover over the ground, dispensing sacks of rice. The world has stood back almost as if to say "let them fix it themselves this time". But we cannot let this happen; in the name of humanity, we cannot allow cruelty of civil war to be compounded by international apathy, when there is so much good the world can do in East Pakistan now. Last week U.N. Secretary General U. Thant Shat made a Plea for funds to help the refugees. His words should not have been necessary; that they were, shows how dangerously close we have come to forsaking the principle of helping our fellowmen. Thailand is not a rich country nor is it altogether poor. Surely we can start the ball rolling and certainly we have enough rice to spare right now. If we truly want to help the cause of peace in our troubled part of the world, then feeding the hungry, tending the sick and housing the homeless of East Pakistan would be a fine way to start. If we can how ourselves to be above messy politics that for so long have hindered regional co-operation, then we will have done a service both for the Pakistani civilians and ourselves. At least, it behoves us to try".

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯৬। সাহায্য	নিউ হেরাল্ড	২৬ মে, ১৯৭১

*THE NEW HERALD, KATHMANDU, MAY 26, 1971*

### **Editorial**

### **RELIEF**

The massive influx of refugees from East Pakistan into India has lent weight to the view that whatever has happened or is happening in the Eastern Wing of Pakistan is not an internal affair of Pakistan, as claimed by Islamabad Government and its allies. This testifies its reports of widespread carnage let loose by the Pakistani Army in East Pakistan after March 25, 1971. That a reign of terror still prevails in East Pakistan is clear from the continuing influx of East Bengalis into various Eastern States of India. The number of such refugees is said to have already reached approximately 3.5 million. India is naturally deeply worried over pressing of so many refugees on its soil which has put a heavy strain on its resources. It is natural therefore that India should try to awaken conscience of the world to the situation in East Pakistan and its impact on India. India cannot continue to feed millions of refugees indefinitely without gravely undermining its own effort for economic development. World public opinion is now gradually appreciating the Indian view point regarding refugees from East Pakistan. The U.N. and a number of world powers are coming forward to assist in the relief effort of the Government of India.

No nation can and should lag behind in contributing to the international effort for relief of the East Pakistan refugees in India. It is quiet heartening to see that conscious people of this country too are realizing this point. We on our part have to contribute to the best of our capacity to this effort.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯৭১ জাতি সংঘের প্রতি চ্যালেঞ্জ	দি এজ	২৫ মে, ১৯৭১

*THE AGE, CANBERRA; MAY 26, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**CHALLENGE TO THE U. N.**

If proof of the full extent of the East Pakistani tragedy were needed, it has been provided by the immense and continuing flow of homeless refugees across the border into India. The Prime Minister (Mrs. Indira Gandhi) estimates there are now 3,500,000 of them in West Bengal, and that the Hood is maintained at rate of 60,000 a day. Many bring reports of continued killing between factions and a ruthless campaign of scorching the earth by the Pakistani army. If order had been restored, as President Yahya Khan has been saying, the wholesale exodus would have ended weeks ago. It has not.

This mass flight to safety presents a new and menacing problems, far outweighing in terms of sheer human misery the hardships of the Palestinian refugees. India has suddenly found itself called on to stretch its supplies of grain, its transport and health services to keep alive an influx of people equal to the whole population of Victoria. If it could do so physically, its precarious finances would suffer an unexpected and crippling blow. President Yahya has reported an offer from the Secretary-General of the U.N. (U-Thant) to help distribute the food he claims to have in store. He has also offered a partial amnesty to refugees who return, but his words would carry more conviction if the killing and burning had stopped.

This is not likely to be of much help to India in the coming northern summer. Apart from the very real danger of warlike clashes in West Bengal, international help is needed- and needed urgently-to prevent famine and epidemics among the million of refugees huddled on its soil. Mrs. Gandhi's appeal to the great powers to use their influence is phrased in political terms; she is anxious, that they should pressure the Pakistan Government into restoring the situation in its east wing, and put the movement of peoples into reverse. But in the meantime the D.N, through such agencies as UNHCR (which deals with refugees) and UNICEF (the children's fund) should be doing more to help India cope with its frightening new problem, if it claims to represent the conscience of the world, this is a challenge to prove it.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯৮। একটি মানবিক দৃষ্টিকোণ	দি কমনার	১ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE COMMONER, KATHMANDU, JUNE 1, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**A HUMANITARIAN POINT**

It does not involve any violation or negation or contradiction of neutrality and non- alignment to say that when people are in need, such as those who have fled to India from East Pakistan since the past few weeks are in today, one must come forward with whatever help one can extend.

As Press reports say, millions of people have trekked into India from East Pakistan. Leaving behind their belongings, they are refugees encamped at various points along the Indo-East Pakistan border. Naturally this is not a happy living for them. Recently, news reports have been appearing that at various such camps diseases like cholera, and gastro- enteritis have broken out, taking a heavy toll of human lives. Things like these are not abnormal when such a heavy influx of people takes place. India, it must be noted, has been doing her best to help these people but it is obvious that it is a burden which India alone cannot be expected to shoulder. Neither are these refugees only India's responsibility. The international community has therefore to come forward with whatever help it can provide these people in trouble.

Islamabad's feelings in regard to this problem, which is associated with the East Pakistan affair, can be understood. But whatever the state of relations between India and Pakistan may be today, it is incomprehensible on the part of Islamabad to contend that these refugees were encouraged by India to come in. It is just not understandable why any country, including India, should willingly invite such burdens. Likewise, it is only too obvious that when people started fleeing East Pakistan the only place they could go to was India. Geography has its own compulsions which cannot be obliterated by polemics and even politics. India therefore cannot be blamed for the refugees burden she has come to bear in this manner, although it is obvious that she has no soft feeling for Islamabad. Indeed, she has begun to express her concern and seek aid for these refugees. This aid has begun to trickle in. For the moment, extending help is the only task facing the international community. But if this problem is not to lead to further complications, it shall have to be seen, even in the interest of Pakistan, that these millions go back to the places from where they came. We need not point out how refugee problems have been hampering settlements and peace in various parts of the world.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯৯। বাংলায় পীড়ন ও প্রতিক্রিয়া	সানডে অস্ট্রেলিয়ান	৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE SUNDAY AUSTRALIAN, JUNE 6, 1971 Editorial*

### **BENGAL AGONY AND RESPONSE**

In West Bengal today we are witnessing a human catastrophe for which even the tormented history of the twentieth century can offer few parallels. In the awesome scale of the disaster, in the uniquely harrowing quality of its suffering, there has been little to compare with what is happening at this moment to the refugees of East Pakistan. The known statistics of death and dislocation are appalling enough: the prospects are even more terrifying. They have already produced in some of us a paralysis of the will, and anesthesia of the mind, blinding up to the urgency of the crisis. Let us imagine, if we can, the combined populations of Melbourne and Sydney driven in terror from their homes by a marauding army, cast adrift in a wilderness without food or shelter, to face the imminent prospect of extermination from starvation or rampant disease.

East Pakistan has had more than its share of disaster. It now ranks with Poland or Vietnam as the unluckiest country of modern times. It is barely six months since the cyclone devastated vast tracts of the countryside and left thousands of people dead or homeless. It is two months since the vengeful army of West Pakistan moved in to crush the local secessionist forces and begin their ritual campaign of killing and destruction. History can offer no crueler irony than the spectacle of millions of impoverished, frightened and desperate people fleeing for succor to a land almost as poor, as overcrowded, as ridden by disease and as prone to crisis as the country from which they have fled.

It has taken the world too long to grasp the scale of this tragedy. The response in aid from foreign governments has been pitifully slow and scarcely a word has been offered in warning or condemnation to President Yahya Khan's Government, which persists in the callous pretence that the refugee problem has been exaggerated by the foreign Press. The first hand evidence of the Red Cross and international relief organizations can leave us in no doubt that the influx of refugees into West Bengal is placing an intolerable burden on the Indian authorities. They cannot be left to shoulder it alone. The Indians estimate that to keep the current numbers of refugees alive for six months will cost more than S 200 million. Faced with this sort of expenditure-willingly undertaken by India in the name of humanity-the economy of West Bengal will soon collapse. Already Mrs. Gandhi has warned that India may be "forced to act" to ensure the repatriation of the refugees. Thus, to the prospect of social disintegration and pandemic cholera in West Bengal has been added a new threat to peace throughout the Indian sub-continent.

There has as yet been no sign of any effective steps to reconcile the two halves of Pakistan and ensure a return to political stability in the Hast. The refugees are unlikely to

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return to their homes while the threat of terror persists and some measure of political autonomy is denied them. The responsibility for ensuring this rests squarely with President Yahya. There can be no solution to the present appalling suffering until the refugees are removed from their squalid camps and repatriated to their homes-or whatever is left of them.

But the immediate need is to prevent the imminent deaths of five million or more human beings. Here, surely, is an inescapable challenge to the conscience and resourcefulness of the rest of the world. Australia has promised aid worth \$ 500,000-enough to keep the refugees alive for one day, assuming they can be fed and inoculated in time. This is not enough. We believed the Government should give its full and urgent support to the appeal planned by Austcare, the agency that has already done most to bring the scale of the disaster to the attention of Australians. But relief, if it is to have any real effect, must be planned and coordinated on a world scale. It must not be directed through the Pakistan Government, who may be tempted to use it to bolster their own army and prolong their campaign of repression. At one time, the obvious agency to administer relief would have been the United Nations. So far it has shown little sign of urgency. In the absence of prompt U. N. action there is much that Australia can do on its own: one pressing need is for vaccine, saline solution and mass-inoculation machines to check the spread of cholera; this is not a time to dose our minds or take comfort in isolation. Here is a chance for Australians to prove the reality of our pity and compassion. We must give all we can, knowing that every dollar we withhold, and every day we delay our response, will be paid for in human lives.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০০। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে হত্যা	বিউনো এয়ারেস হারাল্ড	৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE BUENOS AIRES HERALD, JUNE 7, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**SLAUGHTER IN EAST PAKISTAN**

An international relief operation on a huge scale is necessary to keep these people alive. It was bad enough that world opinion found no way of stopping the slaughter in East Pakistan. But the world cannot stand idly by and allow another tragedy to take place. Human suffering can only be alleviated if there is human concern. Translating sympathy into practical aid is not so difficult. The problem is getting people to care.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০১। পূর্ব বাংলায় শরণার্থী	স্ট্রেইটস টাইমস	৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE STRAITS TIMES, MALAYSIA, JUNE, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**EAST BENGAL REFUGEES**

Non-involvement in the "internal" affairs of sovereign states has rarely been carried as far it has in the East Pakistani crisis. Four million refugees have crossed into India. There have been cholera outbreaks in many refugee camps, the death toll estimated now at 8,000. To prevent the spread of the disease to Calcutta, vulnerable to epidemics, the Indian Government has felt compelled to seal the East Pakistan frontier. This does not guarantee an end either to the refugee influx or to the spread of cholera.

New Delhi is clearly unable to cope with this situation and has made no secret of it. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has dispatched her Foreign Minister on a six-nation tour to impress on the major powers the fact that the East Pakistani crisis has become an almost intolerable problem, even threatening peace in the sub-continent. Thanks to the Western Press and political leaders in Europe and the United States there is some hope of assistance. Oxfam has flown ant cholera vaccine and medicines and the Royal Air Force is standing by to fly mercy missions. Washington has earmarked substantial aid and is sending transport aircraft to India to move refugees from the border zones to areas where there are better facilities. But will sufficient aid reach India and Pakistan in time to prevent catastrophic tragedy? The answer will be known in the coming monsoon weeks.

Pakistan too has asked for massive aid but international response is qualified by caution. Pakistan's inability to use properly the aid sent after last year's cyclone, and its reluctance to admit international agencies freely have provoked an element of suspicion and distrust. The deep-seated hostility between the East Bengalis and the military administration is an important element which cannot be wished away.

At least Pakistan appears to be relenting. Two representatives of the United Nations Secretary-General are to visit Dacca to set up machinery to coordinate U. N. relief efforts. Here again time is of the essence. Many parts of East Pakistan will become almost inaccessible except by river-craft. Chittagong port is not yet back in working condition. And Islamabad must be persuaded towards a political settlement in the absence of which refugees will still struggle to reach India, and those who are already there will stay put.

The developments in East Pakistan are no longer solely an internal problem. Even Pakistan has given up the pretence of being able to come to grips with it without massive external assistance. The fact that it has also created a problem for India has added a dangerous element.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০২। একটি বিশ্ব সমস্যা	স্ট্রেইটস ইকো	১০ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE STRAITS ECHO, MALAYSIA, JUNE 10, 1971*

### Editorial

### A WORLD PROBLEM

"The world has waited too long. True, aid had been offered and in the beginning this was refused by the military authorities in East Pakistan. But the international community has lamentably failed to take a moral stand on what clearly was a ruthless attempt to subdue a whole people. Evidence has not been wanting. The bloodshed and destruction have been on a scale which can best be described as a pogrom.

"But the clearest evidence of all is the continuing flight of East Pakistanis into India. They could well number ten million before too long. They have gone to conditions no better than those they left-to emphasize their utter rejection of West Pakistani rule.

"It is painful to think that all this evidence has not stirred the world community and the United Nations to some action to persuade Islamabad to stop the terror and create an acceptable civilian Administration. However right minded President Yahya Khan and other West Pakistani leaders may have left when the crackdown began, it should have been clear to them as weeks went by what a terrible mistake they have made. The civil war is still not over. The nation is almost bankrupt. Stupendous problems of reconstruction lie ahead. What is to be the end of it all?

"Even if the cholera epidemic is contained, what is to become of the millions of refugees in India? That is not their home. It is not India's problem. It would be the height of cynicism to regard it as such, besides condoning the circumstances which drove these multitudes across the border.

"It is an international problem and the international community and the United Nations must accept the responsibility of rehabilitating the refugees in their own homeland. This means prevailing upon the Pakistan authorities to create conditions which would enable the refugees to return and to assist in the mammoth task of moving them back.

"The use of force has reaped a bitter harvest for Pakistan and further pursuit of this course could lead to national disintegration. There is still an opportunity for national conciliation. The world should help Pakistan seize it."

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০৩। অবর্ণনীয় পরিস্থিতি	ন্যাশনাল জাইটুং	১৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE NATIONAL ZEJTUNG, BERNE, JUNE 13, 1971*

# **DEPLORABLE SITUATION**

By Heinrich Kuhn

What is actually taking place in the Ganges delta, is not civil war in the narrow sense but a brutal and bloody attempt at vengeance, instigated by the ruling clique in West Pakistan.

Islamabad's repeated assertions that law and order have returned and that things are back to normal, are quite contrary to reports from reliable sources. The situation there is in fact deplorable. Towns and villages have been left in ruins and the economic life has come to a complete standstill.

It is at this point that the tragedy of Bengal turns into a scandal. Not one of the Big Powers dared to lift a single finger to put a stop to the brutality with which the Bengalis have been treated.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০৪। মানবতার ধ্বংসলীলা	জামিয়া ডেইলী মেইল	১৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL, LUSAKA, JUNE 14, 1971*

### **WANTON DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN LIFE**

We feel the whole world must awaken to the realities of the conflict in regard to the wanton destruction of human life by tanks and shells, famine and disease. The Government of President Yahya Khan is trying to force the East Pakistanis to accept its authority by force. Since the conflict started a few months ago, thousands of people have died from bullets, hunger and disease. The exact number is not known and may never be known. There have been accusations of genocide by the Pakistan Government troops.

Every Government has the right to defeat rebellious elements in the Government. But we feel that in the case of Pakistan, the loss of life has reached sickening proportions. It appears there has been a deliberate attempt to annihilate the people of East Pakistan.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০৫। পাকিস্তানের ভবিষ্যৎ	সিডনি মর্নিং হেরাল্ড	১৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, JUNE 14, 1971*

### Editorial

### PAKISTAN'S FUTURE

In the Tragic sequel to President Yahya Khan's decision to abandon negotiation and resort to armed force in East Pakistan the world's attention has been focused rightly, on the terrible plight of the refugees in West Bengal. There can be no slakening of this attention, even though hopes are rising that the outbreak of cholera is being contained. The number of refugees continues to rise there are now probably about six million of them in India and the toll among them from malnutrition and exposure to the monsoon rains and from other diseases may still be frightful. This is the short term problem. Behind it, however, there looms the problem of repatriation. India, as Mr. Ray made clear on Friday has no intention of accepting the refugees indefinitely. Repatriation in its turn raises the many grave political and economic problems of Pakistan's future.

The resort to force in Pakistan against the overwhelmingly popular Awami League and its Bengali nationalists has inflicted savage wounds from which the region is likely to bleed nearly to death. The Army, it seems dear, has virtually destroyed the indigenous administration. It has killed, imprisoned or driven underground civilian officials and leaders at all levels, from cities to villages, and it has disrupted the agricultural economy on which East Pakistan depends. The major victim seems likely to be the jute industry, already threatened by Indian competition and by the development of synthetic substitutes. Jute producers have been turning to rice, but the destruction of roads and the bridges and the disruption of marketing facilities will put the harvest in jeopardy. Tea East Pakistan's second export, is also endangered. Worst of all, there is the possibility of famine within three months. The prospects for recovery seem to be utterly bleak. That no doubt is why Moslems are now following Indians over the border to the refugee camps.

The future of West Pakistan is gloomy, too. Here the wounds are self inflicted, the loss of much of East Pakistan's export earnings (about half of the whole country's trade revenue) and the disruption of a major outlet for Western Pakistani manufacturing. Islamabad now faces a foreign exchange crisis, perhaps as early as July. It also faces the continuing cost of an army of occupation in East Pakistan-an army which controls the cities and towns but by no means the countryside where the majority of the population live and where Bangladesh nationalism has its roots.

In other words. President Yahya's militaristic solution of his political problems has involved him in a quite classic example of the nemesis of force. His search abroad for financial aid is running into the hostility of nations, like the United States, unwilling to give help which might be mainly used only to sustain the Army. Attempts by West Pakistan to picture a quick return to civilian rule in the East-rule by whom? and an understanding with more moderate Awami members, to put the national constituent assembly into business, have not been convincing, in these circumstances the repatriation of the six million refugees may become a very difficult operation. Their future, now a harrowing human problem, could become a no less harrowing international political problem.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০৬। বাংলার বিপর্যয়	রেডিও প্রাগ, উদ্ধৃতি : বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস	১৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

*RADIO PRAGUE. CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON JUNE 14. 1971*  
**TRAGEDY IN BENGAL**  
**COMMENTARY BROADCAST IN THE AFRO-ASIAN SERVICE**

When the Head of a State admits that Pakistani forces during their reprisals in East Pakistan were behaving "roughly" this only confirms that the alarming reports from this part of the world are founded on truth. And even if it were not far this unexpected admission, the unceasing How of refugees from East Pakistan itself indicates that in that country one of the most terrible tragedies of modern history is being enacted.

It is never easy for anyone -with the exception of political adventurers-to leave his own country. There always must be a serious reason for doing so. For the five and a half million refugees from East Pakistan there is a serious reason in the situation that has arisen after the unique election victory of the East Pakistani Awami People's League. The victory of that Party which won practically all votes in East Pakistan and more than 50 per cent majority in the envisaged all. Pakistan parliament is due to the fact that the Party voiced the just claims and complaints of the population. Among its leading election slogans was the demand for an equitable distribution of the national income and a call for a higher degree of autonomy. On both these points, the leaders of the Party, held a realistic view, taking into account that East Pakistan makes up the majority of the whole country's population and that it contributes a larger share into the common treasury.

Although at the fringe of this Party stood some extremist forces calling for a fully independent East Pakistan yet the Awami League as a whole could not be described as separatist.

Events only took an unfortunate turn when the West Pakistan authorities began to see in the legitimate East Pakistani demands a threat to the country's integrity. On March 25th they responded to political arguments by military force. What followed only reflected the loss of goodwill for any dialogue guided by common sense. There was an uncoordinated forceful resistance by the population, the desperate calls for an independent Republic-Bangladesh, and finally the massive fight of the population caused by the "rough" treatment meted out by the army, which is mainly recruited from West Pakistani citizens. The fact that among the refugees there are about one million Muslims shows that the army does not seem to differentiate between the people of different religions.

The fate of the refugees, who, rather than risking their lives at home, chose an uncertain existence, hunger and the threat of cholera in refugee camps on Indian soil, is only one aspect of the tragedy. The other-still more serious with regard to the international situation-is the danger of the tension that has, arisen between India and

Pakistan. It is an unbearable burden for India to look after five or six million refugees. The exchange of fire between Indian and Pakistani frontier guards and reprisals on both sides are a serious warning that what was originally an internal political problem could easily grow into a dangerous international conflict.

The attempts made by the U.N. Secretary General, U Thant, to coordinate international relief have been most valuable and will help alleviate the plight of the refugees in the camps at least in the immediate future. However, all relief schemes are aimed at overcoming the consequences and not the causes of the suffering and tension.

Rude Pravo, the daily of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia writes today that the situation on the Indian-Pakistani borders is indeed "extremely gloomy and intolerable from a human point of view, while at the same time being dangerous with regard to foreign political affairs ..." It emphasizes that the only solution would be the immediate creation of conditions for a safe return home of the refugees.

The urgency of the matter was stressed last week in a communiqué issued during the unofficial visit of the Indian Foreign Minister Mr. Swaran Singh in Moscow and also by the Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Alexei Kosygin who said Soviet Government believes that the Pakistani authorities must take immediate steps to solve this problem:

We should remember in this connection that the Soviet leader once before five years ago played an important part in setting the Indian-Pakistani conflict and that his name is connected with the success of the well-known Tashkent Agreement. All the more reason for his warning to be heeded by the Pakistani authorities once more today.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০৭। শরণার্থীদের ব্যাপারে আশঙ্কা	গায়ানা ইভনিং পোস্ট	১৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE GUYANA EVENING POST, JUNE 17, 1971*

### Editorial

### GUYANESE CONCERN OVER REFUGEES

The impact of such a sudden influx of six million people was sound to cause severe disturbance to the social and economic life of the people of India, but humanity demanded that the sacrifice should be borne.

According to Mrs. Gandhi, no other country in the world had ever had to face an influx of that magnitude; no other country, in fact had ever been called upon to face even one-tenth of the situation. But, said Mrs. Gandhi, India would, if necessary, "go through hell" to help the refugees.

But clearly, this is not a situation that should concern India alone. It calls for the assistance of the world at large. The most urgent need is food, shelter and medicine. And the people of Guyana can contribute to this need by raising funds. It must never be said that in a crisis like this facing their kindred people of India. Guyanese were found lacking in sympathy. Guyana is itself a poor country but the situation facing India is one which calls for sacrifice and the people of Guyana know how to make sacrifices.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০৮। বাংলায় ভয়াবহ অবস্থা	সানডে টাইমস	২০ জুন, ১৯৭১

THE SUNDAY TIMES, WELLINGTON, JUNE 20, 1971

### APPALLING SITUATION IN BENGAL

In considering the appalling situation in Bengal it is proper that immediate concern should be centered on succor for the survivors.

The refugees and their embarrassed hosts in West Bengal deserve all the help the world can raise both to feed and nurse the stricken millions and to prevent their destroying unwittingly the health and economic stability of the province to which they have fled.

But when the urgency of this problem is met, the Pakistani Government must not be allowed to escape wholesale condemnation for a totally insane application of political policy that has resulted in unrestrained brutality and a murderous onslaught that amounts to genocide.

The horrifying facts are only now becoming clear. Though it is still too early to know what they add up to it is certain that the abhorrence we are so ready to show to South Africa for its policy of apartheid must be multiplied many times before it can appropriately apply to Yahya Khan's repression of the East Pakistan revolt.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০৯। হিংসাত্মক তৎপরতা বন্ধ করতে হবে	দাগেনস নাইহেটার	২৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

THE DAGENS NYHETER STOCKHOLM, JUNE 27, 1971  
**TO STOP VIOLENCE**

"The reign of terror in East Bengal is now in its fourth month. The fleeing and hunted people are still streaming across the border into India. There is no limit to the brutality of the Pakistani military dictatorship-very few of the terror victims belong to the Bengali group of leaders whom the aggressors are trying to eradicate. Also the common man falls victim to the 'final solution' which the Pakistani Army, obsessed by power, is trying to force through as the terrible climax to decades of systematic misgovernment. Scenes which are a daily occurrence along the border between East Bengal and India expose the miserable lies about the 'return to normalcy' with which the dictatorship is trying to camouflage its crime against its fellow men.

The longer this war, this persecution and devastation goes on, the stronger will be our condemnation of (he Government which have not yet managed to pull themselves together in a determined effort to stop the bloodbath. The suffering we see in the Bengali woman's eyes is a compromising picture of our era's statesmanship. Behind the official inability to being pressure on Yahya Khan from outside-moral, political and above all economic pressure-lie cynicism and totally unfounded speculations that the Pakistani military dictatorship in future could stand for any kind of stability at all in this part of the world.

However, according to information from Washington, the big givers of aid to. Pakistan-the so far favored recipient-now seem to have adopted a policy of not granting any new apart from purely humanitarian measures. The decision is said to be motivated by the economic chaos that has arisen in Pakistan since the dictatorship decided to go all out to crush East Bengal-the last few drops of foreign currency reserve are being squeezed put to get still more weapons to create still more violence.

This would be the first international step towards circumscription of the aggressive policy of the Pakistani regime. Further measures will be required to create at least a breathing space for a thorough survey of Pakistani existence which the dictatorship is trying to lay in ruins.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১০। পাকিস্তানের আকাশে বিপর্যয়ের ছায়া	ম্যানিলা ক্রনিকল	৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*MANIIA CHRONICLE, JULY 5, 1971*  
**GUILT AND DISASTER OVER PAKISTAN**  
 by Peter Hazelhurst

Within the space of a few short weeks both East and West Bengal have suddenly become international trouble spots. Millions of people have been uprooted by civil war. thousands have been killed, famine and disease are already beginning to stalk the countryside and a full scale war between India and Pakistan threatens to break out at any moment.

But even more disturbing is the fact that the situation can only deteriorate. World leaders are, of course, talking glibly about the hope that East Bengalis and the West Pakistanis will come to a "political settlement." But even the most naive student of Pakistan affairs knows that a political settlement is out of the question now.

In the coming months the legal aspects behind this man made holocaust will be hotly debated in the capitals of the world and on international platforms. But many of the issues which precipitated this convulsion have been clouded by the cries of "secession" or "genocide" and other accusations and counter accusations and if an accusing finger is to be pointed at any single Pakistani leader then one must, at this juncture, take a judicious look at the chronological sequence of events leading up to the rift.

It is worthwhile picking up the threads in January, 1970, when President Yahya Khan, who had promised to hand over power to a popular government, lifted the ban on political activity in both East and West Pakistan as the prelude to election of a constituent assembly. To hasten the constitution making process and to assuage the fears of West Pakistanis who believed that integrity of Pakistan might be jeopardized by imagined East Bengali separatists, the President had earlier issued a legal framework order (L. F. O.) which gave him the right to ratify or reject the constitution.

It was already obvious that the former Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto would emerge the most popular leader in West Pakistan and the fiery East Bengali leader. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had already demonstrated his strength on the streets of East Pakistan.

But as the two leaders launched their campaigns it soon became clear that they were fighting the elections on rigid and diametrically opposed grounds and that there would be hardly any common meeting ground in the assembly. Mr. Bhutto, whose whole political base is essentially founded in the militant Punjabis obsession over the Kashmir dispute, began stomping up and down the western province talking of a thousand-year war with India. And to maintain this attitude he assured his voters that he stood for a strong central government, a strong army and a new offensive to liberate Kashmir.

As millions of Pakistanis went to the polls in the country's first free elections last year. General Yahya Khan and his aides waited for the results with bated breath.



President Yahya certainly intended to hand over power but had hoped that the results would force East and West Pakistani leaders into an alliance which would preserve the integrity of the country. But the generals had not counted on two factors. At the last moment the Awami League's major political opponent, the left wing National Awami party, decided to boycott the elections leaving the field open to the Awami League.

Almost every Bengali endorsed the Sheikh's six point programme which turned the election into a referendum. The Awami League swept the polls and claimed 167 of the 169 Bengali seats and with the support of the anti Punjabi regional parties in the western province Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was confident of obtaining the support of more than two thirds of the 313 members of the Constituent Assembly. In West Pakistan Mr. Bhutto and his People's Party won 82 of the 138 seats allocated to the western wing. The Punjab recoiled in honor for it became blatantly obvious that the Bengalis would be able to draw up their own constitutions the moment the assembly met.

On the night after the elections the flamboyant lawyer revealed part of his plan to me: "What do you think I will do. The Sheikh will push his constitution through with his brute majority and the responsibility will lie on the President's shoulders. I doubt whether he will sign a document which is unacceptable to West Pakistan."

In other words Mr. Bhutto had a vested interest in keeping the L. F. O. in force but he had told me that he had heard disconcerting reports that the Sheikh was planning to declare that the Constituent Assembly was sovereign body the moment it met. In other words the L. F. O. and the Punjab's veto would disappear.

But Mr. Bhutto had other ideas. At first he tried to oppose the early sitting of the Assembly but on February 13, President Yahya announced that Assembly would meet on March 3.

The actual point of no return which precipitated the present crisis came two days later on February 15. Mr. Bhutto announced that this party would boycott the Constituent Assembly and at the same time he threatened any other West Pakistani politicians who were planning to travel to Dacca. In short, Mr. Bhutto began to pile up pressure on President Yahya.

At the same time, Mr. Bhutto had met several of President Yahya's generals who were considered hawks on the subject of East Bengal. They included the present governor of East Pakistan, General Tikka Khan.

In the meantime several West Pakistanis had defied Mr. Bhutto's threat and had travelled to Dacca in the last week of February to participate in the framing of the constitution. In terms of arithmetic the representatives of two thirds of the country had congregated in Dacca.

But on February 28, Mr. Bhutto flew to Rawalpindi to remind President Yahya of the consequences he would have to face if he ratified a constitution which was unacceptable to the Punjab and subsequently to a Punjabi army.

The President made his first mistake. He succumbed to Punjabi pressures and without consulting Sheikh Mujib, as the leader of the largest party, he postponed the Constituent Assembly on March.

The Bengalis who saw the move as a conspiracy went wild and the Army was called to quell disturbances in Dacca. The Bengalis had lost their faith in the President and the first cries of Bangladesh were heard on the streets of Dacca.

Life in the entire province was disrupted and as the cries of Bangladesh become louder the President flew to Dacca on March 16, with two alternative offers. (1) He said he was willing to restore power to the elected representatives of the people immediately if the Sheikh was willing to form a provisional national government at both centre and at provincial level or (2) He would restore power to provinces and an interim government led by the President himself would administer the day-to-day needs of the country until a constitution was framed.

When President Yahya asked the Sheikh whether he was prepared to take Bhutto the leader of the largest West Pakistani party, into a central coalition government, the Sheikh cited democratic precedents and said that as the leader of the single larger party he must be allowed to select his own partners. Again his willingness to participate in the central affairs of Pakistan does not suggest that the Sheikh was planning secession. But the President succumbed to Mr. Bhutto's strident threats again and the proposal for a national government was dropped.

As time began to run out the Sheikh and Yahya Khan agreed to the second compromise formula: immediate restoration of power at provincial level. The Sheikh asked the President to issue an immediate proclamation withdrawing martial law, and restoring power to East Pakistan and the four provinces of West Pakistan. The Sheikh agreed to the suggestion that the President could continue to administer an interim central government until a constitution was framed.

As the soldiers supplied into battle dress in the barracks angry and frustrated Bengalis began to raise the flag of Bangladesh in Dacca. It was Bhutto who finally brought the President to take the decision which set East Bengal on fire. When the President put the Sheikh's proposal to the West Pakistan leader Mr. Bhutto pointed out that if martial law was withdrawn Pakistan would be broken up into five sovereign States the moment the President restored power to the provinces. He expressed the fear that Mujibur Rahman was trying to liquidate the central government. Because the President withdrew martial law he had no sanction to carry on as the head of State.

Half convinced the President went back to Mujibur Rahman and expressed these fears. He promised Mujib that he would withdraw martial law the moment the National Assembly met and gave a central government some form of validity. Sheikh Mujib reiterated his demand for the immediate withdrawal of martial law and President Yahya now fully convinced that he was dealing with a traitor, turned to his generals.

Taking events to their logical conclusion there is no doubt that the present holocaust was precipitated by President Yahya Khan when he postponed the Assembly without consulting the Bengalis, but even more so by Mr. Bhutto's deliberate decision to boycott the Assembly on March 3.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১১। ব্যায়নেটের সাহায্যে স্বাভাবিক অবস্থা	ভেসার্নজে নভস্তি	৮ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*VECERNJENOVOSTI, YUGOSLAVIA, JULY 8, 1971*  
**NORMALCY-WITH BAYONETS**

Three months after the military attack against the Bengali movement for autonomy, the first foreign journalist were allowed to enter East Pakistan, and even travel without escorts. Though the traces of destruction were removed what remained speaks for itself about previous atrocities.

The capital Dacca is still in the shadow of fear, violence and terror. The Government calls it a "normal situation" though in the street, everybody only whispers, and on the rough roads cars hardly appear. There are not many soldiers in Dacca, but the special police squads transferred from West Pakistan stop the cars and passers-by and check them carefully. Arrests are also numerous.

The "normalcy" includes very severe punishments if somebody secretly listens to radio-station Bengal, and a large numbers of shops are still closed. Number plates on cars in Bengali have been substituted by English, and in empty streets and shops people whisper that the Army still chases Bengalis, arrests them and sometimes kills them.

Though traces of tanks and rockets have been removed, the devastation and fear are visible in UK. old part of Dacca, the area inhabited by the poorest class, the most devoted followers of the Awami League. Life returns unbelievably slowly in devastated markets and dirty narrow streets, because the majority of proprietors were Hindus, who were murdered mercilessly unless they abandoned their homes in time.

Out of 6.5 million Pakistanis, who escaped to India, before pointed guns, about 4 million are Hindus. The Government decided to destroy their temples, and their houses were given to "loyal" citizen.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১২। সাহায্যের জন্য আর্তনাদ	পালাভার উইকলি	৮ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE PALAVER WEEKLY, GHANA, JULYS, 1971*

### **EAST PAKISTANIS CRY FOR HELP**

On March 25, 1971 under cover of darkness, one of the most gruesome crimes in the history of mankind was perpetrated by a blood-thirsty military junta against a whole population of seventy-five million, constituting the majority of the people of Pakistan.

Many newspapers, reputed for their objectivity, have come out with documentary evidence in the form of photographs and eye-witness reports of one of the greatest genocide exercises in the annals of man.

Eminent British M.Ps and statesmen, including Presidents and Prime Ministers and the U.N Secretary-General have directly voiced or indirectly the strongest expressions against the crime.

According to all available evidence and report the awful genocide which was deliberately planned and executed ruthlessly by the West Pakistan Army and has been marked, among other unspeakable atrocities, by the systematic decimation of East Pakistani's intellectuals and professionals, including eminent professors, lawyers, journalists, doctors, students etc, is still continuing.

It is only too well known that the only fault of the defenseless victims of this internal operation was their participation in the first democratic elections in their country's 23 years of existence. They elected, almost with one voice, their chosen leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party the Awami League.

The only crime of Sheikh Mujib and his party was that they sought through normal processes of democracy, to end the erstwhile colonial status of their part of the country and restore it to a position of respectability, within a united Pakistani federation.

In this respect it must be noted that the tragedy of East Pakistan is quite unlike that of Biafra. An after parallel would be South Africa or Rhodesia where a small minority of the population has been deliberately denying and suppressing the fundamental rights of vast majority of the population.

Yel. the parallel goes only a small part of the way. Even Vorster or Ian Smith have not indulged in anything like the barbarities and reign of terror let loose on the majority of the country's population by the West Pakistan military junta. Yet is claimed that this is an internal matter of Pakistan. Is it so?

The answer to this provided by over six million terror-stricken people of East Pakistan who have fled their country to neighboring India, constituting a grim 'witness to the colossal dimension of the East Pakistan tragedy.

For humanitarian reasons India, which has always been regarded by Pakistan as its enemy number one, has despite its own population explosion and sacrifices, done whatever it could do to house, shelter and feed the vast number of refugees from East Pakistan.

The number of refugees fleeing East Pakistan into India is still increasing at a rate of fifty thousand a day. If a Government can force millions of its people to seek protection in another country, one wonders what earthly or heavenly right that Government has to remain in power any longer.

As the situation is reported to be, there seems little hope of the East Pakistan refugees in India being able to return to their own homes.

New Constitutional proposals announced by the Pakistani President are clearly calculated to perpetuate rule by a brutal minority in that country. The time has therefore come for the U.N. and all freedom-loving peoples of the world to bring the maximum possible pressure on the military junta of Pakistan to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people-in this case Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League. It is only by that they can create conditions in East Pakistan which will enable millions of East Pakistan refugees in India to return to their homeland without fear of persecution or worse.

"It is only thus that one can hope to avoid an already dangerous and explosive situation from worsening with unpredictable and disastrous consequences."

"Once again Palaver joins all right-thinking people in the world to condemn, in unequivocal terms, the atrocities being perpetrated by the military junta in Pakistan against the defenseless people of East Pakistan."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১৩। ভারতীয় অর্থনীতির জন্য একটি বড় বোঝা	জা রুবেজম	১৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*\*ZA RUBEZHOM, JULY 16, 1971*

### **HEAVY BURDEN FOR INDIAN ECONOMY**

It is already the 4th month after the tragic events which took place in East Pakistan that millions of refugees from this part of the world are leaving their homes and are seeking refuge in the neighboring Indian States of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Bihar.

The number of refugees is increasing day by day. If at the end of May this was 3.5 million then now according to the official data it is more than 6 million. Most often these people having crossed the border are living under the open sky in thatched huts or shades put up in a hurry. Only a very small percentage could be accommodated in barrack and public buildings.

The huge accumulation of people at the special points for receiving the refugees is creating the danger of epidemics. In West Bengal where the majority of the refugees (arrive?) from East Pakistan that is about five million people, have concentrated already many cases of cholera including fatal cases have been observed. Happily the fast out- breaks of this disease have been controlled.

The influx of refugees is a heavy burden for the Indian economy. The Indian Government considers that for easing the lot of the East Pakistan refugees they require three billion rupees in the next six months and this can create the danger of over-straining the national budget.

Refuting the calls of various instigators to join a war with Pakistan in order to achieve the return of the refugees to their homes, Indira Gandhi made a request for giving help to India in solving this problem.

The Soviet Government responded to this request and had already presented India 50.000 tons of rice for the East Pakistani refugees.

Now the public opinion of many countries who are following the dramatic development of events in South Asia with anxiety and sympathy are waiting for a very quick settlement of the problem and creation of necessary condition for the normal return of the refugees to their homes.

*\*A Russian Language Weekly*

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১৪। কায়হান পত্রিকার কয়েকটি প্রতিবেদন	কায়হান	২৭ জুলাই- ১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*KAYHAN(INTERNATIONAL), JULY27, 1971*

### **THE RELUCTANT PRESIDENT**

By Amir Taheri

Kayhan International's Amir Taheri has just completed a week-long tour of Pakistan during which he visited both wings of the country. He also met a number of Pakistani leaders, including President Agha Muhammed Yahya Khan. Here he gives an account of the interview with Yahya. This is the first in a series of articles on the recent events which brought Pakistan to the brink of civil war.

The Presidential palace at Rawalpindi, Pakistan, looks like any other residence of head of state in this part of the world. Vigilant guards at the gates maintain a constant sentry. A lieutenant-general paces the waiting room in measured, unhurried steps. A couple of brigadiers stroll on the deep-green lawn. Tall, turbaned waiters serve visitors deep black coffee. There are huge corridors and vast offices where faintly smiling officials rustle their way through the papers.

Then there is the Presidential office itself with the scarlet velvet furnishing that is somehow associated with authority. On the wall, there is a huge portrait of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

### **Soldier At Heart**

The man who works in this room is four-star general Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, officially the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, but at heart still a pure soldier who. one immediately gets the impression, would be happiest in his uniform as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces.

This in fact, is the first point he emphasizes. His close associates remind friendly visitors that the President still prefers to sign himself in as the army C-in-C whenever he visits a club, an exhibition or any other "non-political establishment."

We met Yahya Khan the other day when he just returned from a few day's working holiday in Abbottabad, the centre of his few native part of the mountainous Northwest Frontier Province that has given Pakistan some of its bravest soldiers. In Abbottabad he presided over a meeting of the military chiefs and took time off to think about the turbulent events of the past civil war.

The 56 year old silver-haired Pathan soldier, who speaks in a deep untrained voice, was at pains to remind us that he did not seek the presidency and that he was put in the

palace at 'Pindi' when Field-Marshal Ayub Khan stepped down under popular pressure just over two years ago. When Yahya Khan came to power, first as Chief Martial Law Administrator and later as President, he did not, perhaps even, dream of the day he would have to order his army into East Pakistan to crush what he describes as a secessionist movement inspired by India.

"Right from the start," he told us, "my sole objective was to restore law and order in the country and to hand over power to an elected civilian government. That objective remains unchanged."

### **Free Elections**

True to the Pakistani army's tradition of staying out of politics he lifted the ban Ayub imposed on free political activity and allowed the old parties to return to the scene while new parties also came into being. Then Pakistan's first free general election took place on the basis of universal adult franchise late last year. For a few months of glowing hope, Pakistan seemed to be heading for a democratic system in which the political parties would be free to fight each other for power and base themselves on popular backing.

A few months later, however, the Awami League, the East Pakistan party that had won a sweeping victory at the polls was banned and its chief leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman accused of secessionism and high treason.

The Pakistan People's Party which won the election in the West wing of the geographically divided country was also told to forget the possibility of coming to power, at least for the time being.

"I was prepared to do all that was necessary, provided the unity of Pakistan would not be undermined," Yahya Khan told us in an unmistakably sad tone, "I was not interested in this chair and was all along waiting for the first chance to return to my life of a soldier."

With an air of dejection, he went on to say that he had been let down by the politicians who could not agree among themselves and who later brought the country to "the brink of partition".

### **Compromise with Mujib**

He recalled how he had gone out of his way to reach a compromise with Sheikh Mujib. He had flown to Dacca, East Pakistan to meet the Sheikh although the latter should have gone to 'Pindi to see him'.

"I even said he would be Pakistan's next Prime Minister," he reminisced "I did not believe what was said about the man and thought that all he was interested in was putting the situation in the east wing right. I knew that the East Pakistanis had legitimate grievances, and I was ready to hand over power to the Awami League provided I was assured that Pakistan would not be split into two separate countries.



Yahya Khan added that he had been prepared to give East Pakistan "the largest measure of autonomy ever thought of in politics" but that he had to take military action when he was convinced that Sk. Mujib had prepared a full plan for secession.

The President's abortive attempt to give Pakistan a democratic system has already led to so many difficulties that many people, some in the army, seem convinced that no fresh experiments should be made.

And yet Yahya Khan insists that a civilian government must take over. He told us he hoped there would be such a government before the 2500th anniversary of the Iranian monarchy in October and in any case before the end of the current year.

"I am determined to hand over power to the elected representatives of the people", he emphasized.

### **By-Elections In The East**

At the moment he is busy preparing the grounds for a series of by election in East Pakistan to fill vacancies created by the banned Awami League National Assembly members departure to India. The number of Awami League deputies who have fled to India is estimated to be 40, out of a total of 168. Some of them will be able to return and retain their seats since a general amnesty has been given to all people guilty of "political crimes."

The sole exceptions made about people charged with high treason or found guilty of "murder, rape, arson, loot, violence and armed robbery".

### **Disqualified Deputies**

The President refused to say many Awami League deputies would be disqualified but assured us that an announcement would be made very soon. A special committee has been set up to decide on the matter.

The by-elections, he told us, would not take place on one day since he did not wish to have "forces of law and order stretched too thin". All AL members 'not guilty of crimes' would be able to stand as independents. The President will be visiting East Pakistan within the next few days and the by-elections are expected to take place in August.

Once all the vacancies are filled, the National Assembly will be immediately convened. It will no longer be charged with the tasks of drafting a constitution but would be asked to form a government. A draft constitution prepared by the President's own advisors will be submitted to the Assembly as "a broad framework." The assembly will be able to amend it in whatever way it deems fit.

The draft constitution. Yahya Khan told us, "will be based on the demands of the parties. I know what the politicians want and I have asked my advisors to take all their demands into account, keeping in mind that whatever is necessary should be done to preserve the unity of the country".

We asked him if it was true that he had been advised to set up a "puppet civilian government" consisting of a number of highly unpopular figures in both wings. He said this was a rumour and that, as a soldier he considered rumour mongering as "a crime".

"I don't listen to rumours", he emphasised. "I am a soldier and always speak my mind openly. I don't use tactics like that".

### **Civilian Government**

We asked if he would consider forming a government with the help of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's People's Party. He said that Bhutto had a majority only in the west wing, but a civilian government should consist of representatives of "the two parts of the country".

In any case, since a civilian government would be formed "in a matter of months" all the parties could wait a bit longer." he said, "I must have a full national assembly representing the nation as a whole" Yahya Khan said. "I will be prepared to accept a civilian government formed by such an assembly, but would not hand over power to anyone individual or party before that is done".

Meanwhile, the President has given the green light for Pakistan's five-year Development Plan to continue. "I cannot throw the economy to the dogs, pending the formation of a civil governments" he said. "The national economy cannot come to a standstill just because we have had political difficulties".

Once a civilian government is formed, however, the plan could be altered in accordance with the new government's wishes and policies, he assured us.

We asked the President what would happen if AL members won all the by-elections in East Pakistan, if they formed a majority once again, and if they tried to put into effect the same policies that, according to the army, would have led to a division of Pakistan.

He replied that the Awami League had won the previous election through the use of "intimidation, terror and malpractices". We asked why he did not stop the general election as soon as it became clear that Sheikh Mujib's party was breaking the game.

Election malpractices occurred in every country, including the most advanced-the President said. In any case, he said he did not have accurate information about Awami League activities at that time. "It is now that we realize what Mujib was doing to win every seat," he said. "Most of his men were returned unopposed because people were afraid of challenging the Awami League. He won mainly due to the Hindu minorities vote in East Pakistan; no more than 20 per cent of the Muslim electorate backed his men".

### **High Treason**

He said "Mujib would be tried for high treason very soon-that is, as soon as the case against him is complete".

We asked whether the Awami League leader would be tried and possibly executed before the new national assembly convened. The President said the matter was in the

hands of military justice and he could not give any exact date for the trial. "He would be court-martialed, and I cannot say whether or not he would be alive when the assembly meets," he added.

Asked what his government intended to do about the East Pakistan refugees now living in India. Yahya Khan said that he had invited all of them to return but was not sure that his invitation had been communicated to the displaced persons. "Some 10,000 refugees had already returned home and about 1000 were coming in every day through unofficial channels". India, however, was doing its best to prevent the refugees so because Mrs. Gandhi wished to use the issue as a political weapon against Pakistan.

"India," the President said, "has set up training camps for rebels in its territory. Some 35,000 rebels are being trained and the displaced persons are being used as a means of pressure on Pakistan."

We asked if it was true that a "new Tashkent", had been proposed by the Soviet Union. The President said he had no official information on this. "I am ready to meet the Indian leaders anywhere and anytime, provided we discuss the return of displaced persons, treating the issue as a humanitarian and not political," he said. "But they have refused all our offers of negotiations and sabotaged the work of the United Nations in this respect. They hope to break Pakistan and think they have no interest -in talking to us".

He added that India was openly saying it would not allow the refugees to return to "Yahya Khan's Pakistan but only to Mujib's Bangladesh".

### **Under Pressure**

"This," he said, "is clear intervention in our internal affairs and obviously, we reject it".

He repeated that he was a soldier and would not give in to any pressure. "They say", he went on, "that I am under pressure from this or that big power. That is nonsense. Those who say it don't know me. A man can be subjected to pressure only if he is interested in this chair. I am not, and I have made it clear that I shall throw any aid back in the donor's face if there are any strings attached."

"Yahya Khan said that the Soviet and American governments had adopted 'a correct policy' towards Pakistan right from the start of the crisis but he could not say the same about Britain.

"The British government" he said, "has been openly hostile to us trying to meddle in our internal affairs. Their foreign secretary has made this clear. As a member of the Commonwealth we had expected Britain to remain at least neutral and not back India so openly.

We told Yahya Khan of talks we had heard in Pakistan about keeping him President at least for a few more years.

"I am not interested," he said. "My mandate is clear: it is to keep the country united and to give it a civilian government and then leave"

We reminded him that the People's Party the main political force in the West wing, wanted him to stay on as President, provided a civilian government is formed.

"The People's Party" he said, "represents only one part of the country. If the national assembly, that is the collective will of the people wants me to stay on. I will." Otherwise, I would be too glad return to the army".

President Yahya Khan spoke warmly of Iran during our meeting, which lasted nearly 75 minutes. He described the Shahanshah as 'Pakistan's greatest will-wisher' and Iran as "a great source or strength for us." He recalled Iran's help to Pakistan throughout its history and said Pakistan always took heart in knowing that Iran, now "the strongest power in this region, stands behind it."

"We are not two countries" he said quoting a Iranian verse that says, "We are the same soul in two bodies".

"I myself am an Iranian," he said. "My ancestors came to the subcontinent from Iran. At home, our language is Persian and we take pride in our nations cultural affinity and unshakable bonds with Iran. I have not been talking to you as an outsider but as my own brother or my own son. My message to the people of Iran is just the salaam of one member of the great family to the other members... Having come to our country you have, in fact, travelled in another part of Iran. We thank God for having given Iran increasing economic and defence strength, and we pray to the Almighty for the greater success of the Shahanshah-a success which will be that of Iran, Pakistan, the whole Muslim World.

*KAYHANINTERNATIONAL, JULY 2., 1971*

### **FIVE VIEWS OP A TRAGEDY**

*By Amir Taheri*

"Oh. this is now a matter for the historian," an East Pakistani friend told me in Dacca the other day when I asked him to give his version of the events that plunged the unhappy land into bloodshed last spring. He was perhaps right. But journalism is the writing of instant history. I decided to ask a number of people to give their accounts of what happened in East Pakistan. It might take many years before the thick fog of unreality created by propaganda and prevarication on all sides clears away. Nevertheless, it is possible to form a provisional picture approaching the reality of the events in East Pakistan. In this article, we shall see different views of the dramatic events of spring.

#### **(i) Lt.-General Tikka Khan**

Tikka Khan is the military governor of East Pakistan. He arrived on the scene shortly before the decks were cleared for the bloody confrontation between the army and the

Awami League partisans of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He smiles broadly, has a slight nervous tick and speaks at top speed. He received us in his mansion in the centre of Dacca. His three and a half year old son was present at the meeting, lashing out at imaginary flies with his toy whip. This is what Tikka Khan had to say in response to a series of questions I put to him:

I was sent here shortly before the rupture came. I was asked to do two things: first, to keep the army united and, secondly to keep the door open for further negotiations with Mujibur Rahman. The President had made it clear to me that under no circumstances was I to cause a breakdown of all chances of further talks. It did not take me long to realize that Mujib was hell-bent on secession. His party and his friends were working in that direction. Yet, I did not take any action against them until the eleventh hour. We all wanted a settlement.

During the election campaign, Mujib had made it clear both publicly and in private that six-point Programme was negotiable. The Programme would lead to a virtual division of Pakistan, but we took no action against Mujib. Later, two dramatic events took place. First Mujib swore in public not to make any compromise on his Six-Points. By doing so he destroyed all chances of agreement.

Then, he set up a parallel government while we were here. He closed the National Bank in Dacca and gave its duties to another bank. He stamped on the Pakistani bank notes The Independent State of Bangladesh and made it clear that he would never agree to join a National Assembly that would include representatives from West Pakistan. He wanted two Assemblies.

Furthermore, he preached hatred against the armed forces -and said he would put us all trial. Through his agents, he told the East Pakistani soldiers and officers to desert the armed forces and the police, while he set up a paramilitary organisation of his own. All along, however we hoped that he would realize that the army would not allow him to divide Pakistan, he failed to see this underestimated our resolve. He had told the press radio and television in East Pakistan not to publish or broadcast any news of Pakistan and to ban whatever information we wished to publish. Then he ordered the pulling down of Pakistani flags and insignia from all public buildings and banks. At a ceremony, his supporters burned the Pakistani flags and all the pictures of Jinnah (the founder of Pakistan) were destroyed in Dacca.

As you can imagine, our patience knew no bounds. When Pakistan Day came. Mujib and his supporters called it "Bangladesh Day" and no mention was made of Pakistan. They told the TV not to show the Pakistani flag. I told the TV people I would close down their programme if they did so. They showed the flag a few seconds after midnight-that is, after the Pakistan Day had officially ended. Then they made fun of me on that score and said they had their Bangladesh Day. The Sheikh himself appeared all smiles and waved a Bangladesh Hag.

That was not all. We had reports pouring into army headquarters about atrocities committed against the non Bengali soldiers, and officers of the regular army were involved in massacres of the Biharis and the West Pakistanis.

At that time my forces occupied only 20 square miles of East Pakistan's 55,000 square miles. Mujib and his Indian backers had never thought it possible for us to fan out of this 20 square miles and work our way through a complete control of the province with amazing speed. This we did although at that time our forces were outnumbered one to 18. The rebels had some 80,000 armed men; most of them were trained by ourselves and members of the East Bengal Regiment and the East Pakistan Rifles. The Indians had given them large quantities of arms. They murdered their West Pakistani officers along with their wives and children and spread a reign of terror in the country.

I remember when I had to order the chaps into action, we had planned a cricket match that day and we had to cancel it. The boys knew they would be fighting against heavy odds, but they fought for Pakistan, and this gave them double strength. We smashed the rebels quickly and secured the borders preventing the Indians from bringing in their regular forces to seize a part of East Pakistan and call it Bangladesh as they had planned. Our speed surprised the Indians and destroyed all their dreams.

I cannot say the situation is completely back to normal but the army is in full control of the province. There is no fighting, although we are mopping up pockets of resistance. There are acts of sabotage, to be sure only the other day there were three bomb attacks in Dacca itself—one against a power plant. The jute convoy has also been attacked on several occasions and now we send the jute to Chittagong with an escort of soldiers.

The lies published by the Indians make me laugh. On the second day of the disturbances they said I had been assassinated. The same day the American Consul-General told me jokingly that the Indians had said he, too, had attended my funeral.

Then they spread rumour that the star was shining on my own head and that I was a power-hungry butcher. They also said we are massacring the Hindu minority as if we had nothing else to do. Our boys attacked a village near Dacca to round up some miscreants, and in the process two villagers were killed. The Indians said we had killed 2,000 Hindus. In fact only one of the two chaps killed was a Hindu.

Now the Indians are training troops for the so-called Mukti Fauj (Liberation Army) of Mujib. There are training camps all along our borders. But they won't be able to harm us in any serious way unless they launch a full-scale attack by their army. That would be army fighting army and we shall meet the eventuality.

#### **(ii) Awami Leaguer M.S.**

M.S., who does not wish his identity to be known, was an active member of the banned Awami League. I had met him in Dacca last winter and he called on me again last week in East Pakistan. He had escaped to the countryside when the troubles broke out but has returned to Dacca under the general amnesty declared by President Yahya Khan. This is what he told me:

The night of the 26th of March was a true Indonesian night in Dacca. Everyone knew that the rupture had come and that there would be reprisals and counter-reprisals. The army had lists of Awami League activists and naturally it stalled rounding them up under

the cover of a curfew. The student leaders, most of whom were active Naxalites and responsible for attacks on West Pakistani families, were the first targets. At least 100 of them were shot immediately after arrest. Others were killed while trying to make their escape.

The Awami League extremists meanwhile took their revenge and massacred as many non-Bengali as they could get hold of. The dream of a political settlement had been shattered with such speed that those of us who were still Roping for a compromise were taken completely aback.

Once the army action started, the Awami Leaguers in villages and remote towns began murdering the non-Bengalis whom they feared to be "spies." In any case they were afraid that non-Bengalis would help the army identify the activists. So they killed the Biharis, the Punjabis and others out of sheer fright.

In Dacca alone some 10,000 people have been killed while some people put the number as high as half a million. But there are no means of establishing any true figure. Many people have left the town and still hiding in villages. So, their relatives and friends think they are dead. My own friends had written me off as dead while I was in hiding. So the number of those presumed dead is being reduced every day.

Most of us do not believe that Mujib wanted secession, although the student leaders and their friends in the leadership did want it. My own reckoning is that Mujib wanted to separate East Bengal from Pakistan in the long run-not immediately -but was forced to speed up his work and reveal his plans under pressure from the Naxalites and Bengali nationalists in Calcutta.

I cannot say what will happen next. No one can. The army is in military control but the political problem remains untouched. The trouble is that so much hatred and suspicion has been created that it is difficult to start a dialogue between the people and the army. Even the Bengali civil servants who agree to co-operate with the army are still suspect. Hundreds of civil servants have been flown here from West Pakistan and their task is to keep a watch on the East Pakistani civil servants.

I don't know what is the situation outside Dacca, but I heard that Chittagong and Cox's Bazar have been bombed by army planes and shelled by the navy. It seems that some fighting is also going on in the north-east. But unless India intervenes openly, the Bangladesh forces would have no chance against the well-trained and highly disciplined soldiers of Tikka Khan. With Mujib in goal the Awami Leaguers have no recognized leader and rivalries and jealousies among his colleagues have already started. It will take a very, very long time before the two-halves of Pakistan can forget what happened here. I hope it will not take too long because with every day that passes, the chances of an understanding are reduced.

It would be easier for the East Pakistanis to talk to West Pakistani political leaders. But the West Pakistani political leaders themselves have no say in politics-not for the time being at least. Furthermore, we have the Indians who are sure to claim they must be made a party to a settlement. With Mujib in goal they are talking on his behalf and

gradually claiming to express the wishes of the people of East Pakistan. The danger is that if we do riot start a dialogue between political leaders of the two wings we will soon have the army and the Indians talking on behalf of both wings and perhaps, plunging us into a war.

**(iii) Major-General Rao Farman Ali**

Major-General Farman Ali is a tall, intelligent and soft-spoken soldier who looks after the civilian side of the martial law in East Pakistan. He knows the region well and his understanding of the political situation is unusual for it professional soldier. This is what he had to say:

The first thing I want to make clear is that, had we not been convinced that Mujib and his party would divide Pakistan, we would not have taken the action we took. We did not want political power. We proved our goodwill by having the election and allowing all panics freedom of action. Had we wanted power, we would not have held the election and would have stayed in without further fuss. You see that we have broken the Awami League. This we could have done earlier when Mujib was still weak. I have known Mujib for a long time. I was in contact with him almost every day during the past two years. He turned out to be a weak man who could be hypocritical. He told us one thing in private and said exactly the opposite in public. He thought he had taken all of Us in the army for a ride, misinterpreting our desire for a political settlement as a sign of weakness.

There is no glory for the army in undertaking such an operation. We would not have done it had we not been forced to by Mujib. The man was unfit for leadership since he was a megalomaniac who could be driven to do all sorts of things under fear of losing his popularity. He was a rabble-rouser who, through a series of coincidences, was forced to assume the task of a statesman.

Let me tell you something I have told no one before, apart from my superiors. A day before the trouble broke out and the army had to take action, I called on Mujib with a last plea for a settlement. He said he was "finished as a man". He said that he was convinced he would be killed in any case.

"If I do what you want," he told me, "the students will kill me. If I do what they want you will kill me. In any case I am finished."

Now, was this the way a statesman should think at the most decisive moment in his career? I am not a politician and don't wish to sound like one. But how can anyone with such a degree of cowardice be in politics? We were prepared to accept anything from Mujib short of secession. He did not want to stand up to his secessionists because he wanted to remain popular with everyone. How is that possible? You say he might have been forced to take to secessionist role. Well, but a man who is induced to commit a murder by others still remains the main agent of the murder.

Now let us turn to other topics. The Indians say that we used the period of negotiations between the President and Mujib as a cover for flying green troop into East Pakistan from the West. I give you my word of honour as a soldier that not a single man



was flown in during that period. We started burning in reinforcements only after midnight of the night of March 25. Our officers were being massacred and the civilian population was being attacked, and for the first few days we could not cope with the situation. Had we wanted to bring in reinforcements, we could have done it much earlier.

Also, the Indians say that over 35,000 West Pakistani troops have been killed by the rebels during the past few months. I assure you that if this figure were true, there would not be a single West Pakistani soldier left in East Pakistan right now.

They also say that a million people have been killed and eight million other have become refugees. This means nine million people out of a population of 70 million. How can anyone believe this? There are thousands of displaced persons but I assure you that the number of all people killed throughout East Pakistan during the disturbances does not exceed 10,000 of whom at least half were non-Bengali minorities massacred by Mujib's storm troopers and rebellious elements of the regular army in East Pakistan. In Dacca, for example, no more than 365 people were killed on both sides. Now, the Indians speak of 10,000 or even half a million. I would like you to do something. Walk in Dacca and ask anyone you like how many people have been killed. Chances are that he would say several thousands or more. But ask him if he himself knows of anyone who has been killed or whether or not he has lost any of his own relatives and friends. I am certain he would say 'No' to your second question.

The same is true of the displaced persons. Some 10 per cent of Dacca's population have gone into hiding in the country-side. So you see shops closed and some houses abandoned. But I am sure you will see that the Indian accounts have been exaggerated. As far as the administration is concerned, we are rapidly getting back to normal. Some 90 per cent of the Bengali civil servants have returned to their posts. Some of them had gone into hiding being afraid that they might be massacred as quislings by Mujib's supporters. As soon as the army moves into a locality they come forward and resume their tasks. We are soldiers, and we don't wish to intervene in the civil service. Our sole task is to reinforce the administration whenever necessary, using the army's superior organisation, discipline and resources at its disposal. Beyond this, I have nothing to do with the administration. What do I know about the economy or agriculture and things like that?

Thousands of displaced persons are returning home and we are helping them regain their villages and resume normal economic activity. We have over 20 reception centres on the border, which you will see, and we have a crash programme for the rehabilitation of all displaced persons, whether inside East Pakistan or coming from India. Those who are returning home from India have to use untracked routes since the Indian army has been ordered to stop East Pakistanis from returning home. As you know, a general amnesty has been ordered by the President and everyone can return home with complete safety.

#### **(iv) Former Secessionist A.A.**

A.A. is a Bihari who lives in Dacca. I first met him in Dacca last February when he told me he believed that East Pakistan should be turned into a separate state. At that time

he was bitterly opposed to Mujib because the Awami League leader was apparently against secession. When trouble broke out in East Pakistan, A.A. went into hiding. He has just returned to the city, benefiting from the general amnesty declared by the President. His account of the turmoil:

I have not yet recovered from the shock. As a Bihari. I risked being murdered by the Awami Leaguers. As known secessionist, I was a legitimate prey for the zealous soldiers. Yet, you see that I am still alive. Alive but frightened. I had advocated secession because I thought the situation in Pakistan, which is divided by over 1,000 miles of Indian territory, was untenable. We were refugees when secession came and had high hopes in Pakistan. Our hopes were dashed by the dictatorship and the fact that East Pakistan was plundered by a few capitalists from both wings.

In West Pakistan, no one was aware of our plight until Ayub was overthrown. Ayub was the man responsible for what the two wings are suffering today. A nation is not given many chances in history. Pakistan, as a nation, lost most of its chances under Ayub.

I don't know about that atrocities on both sides. We the Bihari\_, in any case, suffered in the hands of Mujib's Liberation Army. They butchered, many of my relatives and friends and I know that there were Indian troops and West Bengal volunteers in their ranks. Now I know that had Bangladesh come into being, as I had wished, I would not have been alive today.

The people are suffering from psychosis. They have been caught unawares by the tragedy. They feel defeated, bitter, cowed and utterly helpless. The worst thing is not the death of relatives and friends. It is the death of hope. And these people as you know, have been living almost exclusively on hope. The people need kindness, generosity and their spiritual wounds should be healed if they are not to suffer a complete collapse. It no longer matters who was responsible. What matters is to save an entire people from psychological collapse.

I don't believe Mujib was a true secessionist. He was a plaything of political cross-currents. Had he really wanted Bangladesh, he should have taken over as Prime Minister of Pakistan sending the soldiers back to the barracks and gradually paved the way for an independent state. East Pakistan does not have the personnel, the administrative organization nor the military backbone that an independent state needs in these circumstances. Had Mujib declared the birth of Bangladesh and succeeded, he would have had to rely on India for day-to-day survival. In that case East Bengal would have become an Indian colony. The alternative would have been united Bengal, including both East Pakistan and Indian-held West Bengal. There is a big movement for this in West Bengal. In that case, however, India and West Pakistan would have joined hands in crushing the united Bangladesh.

It no longer matters whether East Pakistan should remain with West Pakistan or not. In any case, that is the best course under the circumstances. What matters is that East Pakistan should remain alive.

**(v) Tahseen Muhammad**

Tahseen Muhammad is a PIA steward who has been flying "more than what is good for me" between Karachi and Dacca during the past few months. This is what he told me:

When the crisis came, we were flying to and fro like mad-taking troops to Dacca and returning with plane-loads of maimed and wounded women and children. Most of the victims were Biharis. We have flown thousands of them. Many had their eyes knifed out of their sockets by the Bangladesh forces. There were woman with breasts cut, Children who almost went insane after witnessing the beheading of their fathers.

I have seen enough horrible scenes to keep me awake at night for the rest of my life. We were children when Jinnah launched the Pakistan movement. We were afraid of being massacred by the Hindus in India and never thought we would see the day Muslim would butcher Muslim in a fashion worthy of Hitler.

*KAYHAN (INTERNATIONAL), AUGUST 1, 1971*  
**THE DECLINE AND FALL OF SHEIKH MUJIB**  
*By Amir Taheri*

In the middle of Dacca's fashionable Dhanmandi district there is a pale yellow three- storied building which is said to be haunted by ghosts in the dark nights of the monsoon. Most of the windows are broken and there are bullet marks on almost every wall. The wild ivy pursues its green conquest of the mud-brick walls encouraged by generous rain. Amid of thick leaves of the old trees there are soaked little slogans saying: Joy Bangla (Long Live Bengal).

People who pass from the street on which the houses are situated make sure to keep their distance from this badly designed semi-Georgian house that has already been shrouded into legend.

The house belongs to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the goaled leader of the Awami League whose meteoric rise to popularity and his equally sudden decline and fall have become something of a dream mixed with hints of nightmare to the millions of people who were stirred up to hysteria by his fiery speeches over no more than a year. .

In the modest room that was Mujib's house we found a pile of letters still unopened invitations to weddings, requests for this or that and page after page of, for us, undecipherable Bengali scribbling. All the letters had arrived at the house in mid-March but the Sheikh, who was arrested on March 26, had no time to open them.

On his desk we found Sir Ivor Jennings, *Constitutional Problems of Pakistan* dedicated to Mujib by his teacher, one Zuberi. Inside the cover we read: "Politics leads to power but knowledge is power, too. And Mujib has added a few sentences saying this was the book he read every time, he was thrown into prison. This time, however he did not have time to take the book with him.

In other rooms there are books and records scattered everywhere as well as withered flowers, colored bulbs, black flags and party slogans. The whole house has the aspect of a place where a big party has been wrecked by the intervention of vengeful gate-crashers.

The Sheikh must have been quite a desperate man during the last 48 hours of his freedom. With a thumping electoral victory behind him and with no opponents in sight in East Pakistan he had obviously found himself the Messiah of 75 million desperately poor East Pakistanis.

Throughout the complex game of man oeuvres and counter-man oeuvres that followed the election-the first in Pakistan's history-the Sheikh had conducted himself with masterful composure and always contriving to appear to the wronged side.

He had managed to advocate his Six-points with complete freedom despite the fact that the programme was a truly revolutionary one which if implemented, would have led to a virtual end to central authority in East Pakistan, at the same time he had succeeded in holding his Party together and the Awami League which he headed with a spectrum of various political ideas and socio-economic interests. Inside his central committee there were sworn pro-Mao Communists, anti-Communist landlords and rich merchants, nihilistic student rebels, pompous middle class lawyers and rustic jute growers from the dark hinterland.

The election had been held for the formation of a constituent assembly that would write a constitution for Pakistan. But in the last days of March the Sheikh, no doubt egged on by his extremist lieutenants, asked the military government to agree to an immediate transfer of power to the assembly.

In doing so he was encouraged by numerous West Pakistani leaders including Qayyum Khan of the Muslim League and other lesser figures such as Air-Marshall Asgar Khan, Nasrullah and Mian Mumtaz Daulatana. So he thought that his call for an immediate end of martial law and handover of power to the assembly would be backed by the West Pakistanis as well. The only man he did not count on was Zulfikar AU Bhutto, Chairman of the West Pakistani People's Party -the second largest group in the assembly that never met.

Mujib accused Bhutto of having caused the postponement of the assembly, and when a fresh date was given by the President. Mujib was no longer interested in constitutional niceties alone. He wanted power then and there. Looking around him he found the military chiefs weak and undecided and thought Yahya Khan would balk at the thought of plunging the nation into, what Mujib was convinced, would be a long and bitter civil war.

To this was added his demand for an enquiry into shooting incidents that had claimed over 300 lives in East Pakistan in the second week of March. What, in effect he asked for, was a trial of the generals responsible for martial law in East Pakistan.

There was a remarkable degree of naiveté in his moves. He wanted the generals to hand over power to him and agree to be tried by him. At the same time he had no definite strategy for imposing his will upon them.

By mid-March his "Hartal" (strike) movement was in full swing although he was still negotiating with President Yahya. He talked as if he had already seized power and made it clear that from then on he would be dictating his terms to the military government as well as the assembly members elected in the west wing.

Beyond saying he would put the generals on trial, Mujib had no well-defined policy to offer as the basis for the activities of the government he proposed to form. He did not say whether this would be a government for East Pakistan alone or whether he was aiming at creating a government for both wings. The first alternative in more Plausible since the Awami League would not have been able to completely ignore Bhutto had it had a chance to form a national government.

Negotiations between Mujib and Yahya Khan dragged on and both sides gradually grew impatient. Yahya wanted Mujib to join the assembly as majority leader, help draft a constitution and then head a civilian government. The only conditions were that end his "hartal", withdraw the demand for the trial of the army chiefs and drop his insistence on forming two separate assemblies-one for each wing of the divided country.

Mujib was adamant. He argued that the martial law government had lost its authority in East Pakistan and that he accepted nothing less than *carte blanche*. He told Yahya Khan that his party had won a free election and thus was entitled to power. What the military government did in West Pakistan was of no concern to him.

It was at this point that the talks broke down. Neither side knew what the next move would be. The breakdown of the talks was hailed by the extremists in Awami League as a "victory". They began organizing group of armed volunteers and asked - Bengali soldiers and policemen to rebel against their West Pakistani officers.

Yahya Khan, on the other hand, was not given a chance to weigh the results of his nightmarish encounter with the Sheikh. He saw his army on the verge of disintegration and his government about to lose control not only in East Pakistan but also in the West Wing. For, had Mujib succeeded in doing what he had set about to do, the military government would have collapsed in West Pakistan also. Finding himself in a hopeless situation the President chose military action as the sole way out of the crisis.

By doing so he also solved a problem that must have been plaguing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman-viz. what to do next? For Mujib, having successfully pulled off his "hartal," still had to eliminate the army from the scene and establish some form of order in the turbulent country in the mercy of "goondas" (thugs) and Naxalite rebels. He would have been completely unable to achieve the double objective and since he had no more cards to play he decided to allow events to take their "natural" course. Having forced the army into a head-on collision with the Awami League, the Sheikh did not have the ghost of a policy designed to save his party from destruction.

He was urged by his militant juniors to declare the independence, of "Bangladesh" and to immediately invite military aid from India. He was not sure India would be able or willing to embark upon a war with Pakistan on his behalf. He knew there would be violent repercussions in West Bengal-a development the Indians do not welcome.

Somehow he was expecting some kind of a miracle that would save him from having his back to the wall.

His middle-class supporters were gradually leaving the band-wagon. They had joined it in the hope of getting a share in East Pakistan's trade, then entirely in the hands of the West Pakistanis. They had certainly not backed the Sheikh in order to be plunged into a civil war that would mean their own economic ruin as well.

All the properties strata of the society were by then frightened and chose "law and order", withdrawing their support from Mujib although not saying so openly. Mujib had asked them to starve the army. But supplies continued to flow into the barracks. Notables began to have secret meetings with the military chiefs.

The extremist students were also abandoning Mujib for entirely different reasons. They wanted him to do a Mao while he was trying to do a Gandhi. In the last fateful hours of his career the Sheikh was left with the unreliable support only of the unorganized mass of the Bengali peasantry. The pace of events was too quick for him and soon his authority was superseded by that, of men like Tajuddin Ahmed, the Awami League's secessionist secretary-general and student leaders like Noor-e-Alam Siddiqui and A.S.M. Abdur Rob.

On the other side the initiative was in the hands Lt. General Tikka Khan reputed to be the toughest officer to come out of the Punjab for a generation.

There was no room on such a stage for romantic, indecisive and utterly confused political actors such as Mujibur Rahman. From then on the only valid dialogue was that spoken in the language of bullets.

The Awami League extremists hastily announced the birth of their independent "Bangladesh" while Mujibur Rahman sat in his house in Dhanmandi ready to be arrested by the army.

Mujib was seized and flown to Karachi in the early hours of March 26. On the plane he slept for just over an hour. He did not talk to anyone. At Karachi airport he had to change planes for Quetta, the capital of Pakistani Baluchistan. He was taken into the VIP lounge and offered English tea. He asked for black coffee. Then two policemen posed behind him and a snap-shot was taken.

Few people know of Mujib's whereabouts at present. He is being moved from one prison to another. Last month he went on a hunger strike but he agreed to eat when his wife and children were taken to see him. During the past few weeks he has been writing feverishly. No one knows what he is writing but some people say he is preparing his defense for the time he goes on trial.

There are rumours that he has gone insane and is making unintelligible "speeches" for several hours a day, But I have First hand information that this is not true. The Awami League leader is quite-sound and has neither been tortured nor treated with disrespect. In fact, he is being treated as if he were a VIP spending some time behind bars.

A group of lawyers and military' chiefs are preparing the case against him. He is expected to be put on trial within the next few weeks on a charge of high treason. The maximum penalty would be death by firing squad.

Few people in West Pakistan believe Mujib will be executed. No political executions have taken place in the history of Pakistan so far and there are strong reasons to believe that this tradition will not be broken. Most West Pakistanis were convinced Mujib was a secessionist and involved in a conspiracy planned by the Indian government. In East Pakistan it is still practically impossible to assess Mujib's present standing; Few people like to talk about him, and those who do, are former members of his party who now accuse him of having led his people into a trap.

Meanwhile, Mujib still has to give his version of Pakistan's bloody nightmare. When his trial opens in Islamabad he will be facing the judgment not only of a court martial but also of history.

*KAYHAN (INTERNATIONAL), AUGUST 2, 1971*  
**THE LOOMING SHADOW OF A HUNGRY GIANT**  
*By Amir Taheri.*

Noontime is kebab-time in Dacca's riverside district. There are about 20 kiosks made of tin and tree-trunks which specialize in making a mixture of flour and minced intestines of sheep that passes for "kebab". To the teeming crowds of the district this curious mixture represents a wholesome meal. There are thousands of Fishermen, vendors, fortunetellers, crap-shooters, lay-a bouts, boatmen, beggars, ruined peasants wandering in the town and sundry other semi naked walking skeletons who mob the "kebab-shops" at lunch-time.

The whole meal costs one-quarter of a rupee (about 2.5 rials) and yet most of the crowd who gather to watch the grilling of the coveted meal cannot afford the treat. Out of every 10 by-standers at the kebab-shops only one or two can afford the meal. They eat with pleasure and look as if they have just secured a chunk of paradise. The rest of the crowd look on in envy mixed with wonder.

"Too poor to be true", the head of the East Pakistani water and power board-a charming Bengali-described his land when briefing us on the region's problems. "We have the highest population density in the world and the lowest per capita income", he said with a hurt smile. There are some 75 million people occupying an area of 55,000 square miles. The population of the region will be over 100 million before the current decade is over.

East Pakistan is a flat land "like the centre of a saucer" that "attracts all the floodwater from the uplands of India and Nepal". Every year it is practically submerged by raging floods while the monsoon rains are heaviest in this eternally green and seemingly eternally poor land.

The water and power department chief told us that some \$ 5 billion is needed' to create flood control and irrigation network if the present standard of living-already the

lowest in the world-is to be maintained over the next two decades. This is equal to nearly one-third of Pakistan's total GNP each year. The national government simply does not have the resources to meet the challenge.

In most areas of the province conditions of near famine have always prevailed. The recent disturbances-causing much destruction of capital, food and a huge loss of labor, have made the situation graver still. There is every possibility that the bulk of the jute harvest-the region's chief cash crop and Pakistan's biggest single source of foreign exchange-will be lost next year. Many fields are abandoned and few people feel inclined to set about their normal work as long conditions of uncertainty continue in the land.

The crisis has also bit the export of pineapples. India has banned Pakistani aircraft from overlying its territory and thus it is not economical to export pineapples by air.

To make matters worse, acts of sabotage disrupt vital communication links making every single commercial transaction something like a military operation. In the remotest regions of the province such as Bogra and Sylhet, rebels are still active, terrorizing the peasant population and preventing them from tilling the land and tending the farms. Millions of peasants have been displaced and most of the government plans for flood control and irrigation have become nothing but paper dreams.

Even under the British this part of the empire-then serving as the backward and exploited hinterland of Calcutta-was proverbial for its poverty. In those days Malthusian "corrective measures" such as famine and cholera would make sure that the population did not grow beyond the means of the soil. Nears 20 years of efforts by Pakistan-helped by half a dozen other countries-has kept the peopie of the region alive, but on the frontiers of semi-starvation. No progress beyond this has been possible due to the region's centuries of accumulated backwardness and poverty and an unjust system of economic organisation that constantly disfavored East Pakistan.

This was perhaps, only natural within a free-enterprise economic system. In such a system investment is motivated by a desire for profit and enterprises in West Pakistan- that was at least 200 years ahead of the east wing-were obviously more profitable. This led to a vicious circle. The more West Pakistan developed at the expense of East Pakistan the less attractive investment became in the latter.

For nearly three years now the central authorities as well as increasingly large section of public opinion in West Pakistan have been aware of this. But these were years of uncertainty and turmoil, and as a result, nothing positive could be done to save East Pakistan from further decline.

The West Pakistanis are now waiting for complete peace to return to the cast wing before they launch their "crusade to save the east" from further suffering. They admit that they should have thought about this 20 years ago and blame one corrupt and inefficient central government after another for the present tragic situation.

Whether complete peace will return to East Pakistan in the foreseeable future remains any one's guess. Over 35.000 guerrillas are being trained by India. A large number of the



East Pakistanis who escaped into West Bengal during the past few months are unlikely to return home except as rebels and saboteurs. Powerful disruptive forces are at work and West Pakistan's resources to meet the Herculean challenge of saving the east wing from the four horsemen of the Apocalypse are strictly limited.

The military authorities say that as soon as India stops its "campaign to divide Pakistan" they will be able to make a real breakthrough in the east wing.

Some West Pakistani leaders, notably People's Party Chairman Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, believe that the restoration of civilian rule would do the trick. Bhutto says the situation in East Pakistan can be "put right" in just five years provided a civilian central government would take over from the military soon.

A small but significant number of West Pakistani intellectuals believe that the battle against poverty and disruptive forces is already lost. They see the recent disturbances in East Pakistan as "the beginning of the disintegration of the entire sub-continent.

They believe that the military will be unable to hold on to the east wing and that the loss of the province would be immediately followed by the secession of West Bengal from India. They point to the fact that West Bengal has been turbulent and under virtual military occupation for the past decade. The catalyst for such a disintegration, they claim, would be a war between India and Pakistan which would "break into pieces the mosaic of nations that covers the sub-continent.

Neither India nor Pakistan have yet recovered from their losses in the 1965 war. But there are forces on both sides which advocate armed confrontation as "the final solution".

The Indians seem to believe that by smashing Pakistan into pieces-using East Pakistan as the springboard-they would save their own unity. There are Pakistanis who would be prepared to meet the challenge in the hope of pulling down India as well as they themselves into the abyss.

Here, the policies of the Big Powers, have an important role to play.

West is anxious to keep India as a buffer state between its own zone of influence and that of People's China. Peking, on the other hand, is also interested in keeping the buffer with Pakistan as a "corrective force" against Indian illusions.

But the fate of the sub-continent is not being determined in either Washington or Peking. It is being decided in the two-halves of Bengal both of which are poor enough to think they would have nothing to lose but their chains when the final conflagration erupts in their midst.

There are quite a few thinking East Pakistan's who believe that the disintegration of sub-continent would bring about "massacres unheard of in the annals of mankind". Millions of people lost their lives during partition and a fresh partition leading to the emergence, perhaps, of 20 different nation states in the sub-continent would be accompanied by far more widespread atrocities and genocide.

The tragic events of the past few months in East Pakistan have led to a strengthening of militaristic tendencies in both India and Pakistan. The military chiefs, hungry for honor and desirous of "action for the boys" as they are beginning to wield increasingly effective influence over the policies of both Islamabad and New Delhi. Both countries have military heads that are too heavy for their frail bodies. There are nearly two million men under arms in the sub-continent and many more millions could be armed, no matter how crudely, if and when a confrontation come.

When the Naxalite rebellion was in full swing in West Bengal the Pakistanis did all to help the insurgents in the hope of weakening India. Rebels found shelter in East Pakistan and the bulk of the arms they received from China passed through Dinajpur and Rajshahi. The result was that West Bengal became virtually ungovernable. Now the Indians are talking their revenge by sheltering East Pakistani rebels, training and arming them and throwing full political support behind them both sides might prove to have succeeded in relating the Bengali giant that was captive in two interlinked bottles.

Yahya Khan's government might well be the last Pakistani government capable of making a fair deal with India. But it is precisely this government that New Delhi hopes to overthrow. At the same time Mrs. Gandhi's government risks becoming a captive of the military chiefs if the present situation deteriorates. In trying to stab Pakistan in the back India might well be committing harakiri at the same time.

But these are all considerations of a strategic nature. What is of immediate importance is to save East Pakistan from famine and West Bengal from economic collapse under the pressure of the refugees. The Americans have apparently promised massive financial and food aid to Pakistan. The first doses are expected to be administered before the end of the summer. But much more is needed. The situation in East Pakistan and West Bengal must be treated as one of vital importance to the world as a whole. For the seeds of a gargantuan Asian tragedy are being sown in this arena of human struggle against poverty and starvation.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১৫। অকল্পনীয় বিপর্যয়	ইন্দোনেশিয়ান অবজারভার	৩০ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*INDONESIAN OBSERVER, DJAKARTA. AUGUST 30, 1971*

### **Editorial**

### **TRAGEDY OF UNPRECEDENTED PROPORTIONS**

The main reason, why events in East Pakistan continue to get a wide press coverage everywhere, is simply because in that part of the world a tragedy of unprecedented proportion is unfolding as a result of the endless flow of refugees into India.

Senator Edward Kennedy, after an extensive tour of the refugee camps in India's West Bengal in his capacity as Chairman of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Sub-committee on refugees, confirmed that the five-month-old conflict between East Pakistan and West Pakistan had driven over seven and half million Bengalis to take refuge in India.

On his visit to some of the refugee centers inside India, Kennedy said he saw "a scene which only can be described as the most appalling tide of human misery in modern times".

What the Yahya Government is accused of is the militaristic way with which it attempts to solve a political problem, one which since the period of Ayub Khan has plagued not East Pakistan alone but the entire Republic as a whole.

Yahya Khan is worse than his predecessor only because in this case he threw the full weight of his army against the unarmed millions of Bengalis, driving them into India and inviting bloody clashes from a meaningless few.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১৬। শরণার্থীদের নিয়ে ভারতের সমস্যা	লা সোলেইল	৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE LESOLEIL (DAKAR) SENEGAL, SEPTEMBER 7, 1971*

# **INDIA FACES AN ORDEAL ON THE ROAD OF PAKISTANI EXODUS**

*By Bara Diouf*

India is at present screening the most dreadful drama of her history. 50,000 refugees are daily crossing into its border. There are more than 8 million in Bengal. The Government is spending 20 million rupees daily to feed them. A drop of water in the ocean of their misery. This is the tragedy of the civil war in East Pakistan. The state of Bangladesh was born on 26th March, 1971 at least in the spirit of the militant Bengali separatists of the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. East Pakistan, they explained, is separated from West Pakistan by more than 1500 kilometer of Indian territory. The language spoken in one part of Pakistan is different from the other as are the populations. Even Islam which is our religion is different from that of West Pakistan. Under these conditions how can there be a cultural unity which could justify a united single Nation?

The worst thing, they add, is that West Pakistan has been exploiting us like a colony instead of treating us as part of the Nation. In administration, army, police, all posts of responsibility have been reserved for the people of West Pakistan. The banks, insurance company industry and trade are all controlled by them. This led to an impossible colonization. The things had become worse till the general elections were held in Pakistan in which the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman emerged successful. With a total of 169 members out of 300 members of the future Assembly it obtained a simple majority but sufficient enough to reclaim for Sheikh Mujib and for his party the substantial responsibilities in the conduct, of government affairs and in the legal structure.

Was General Yahya Khan prepared as he had earlier promised, for elaboration of a Constitution and maximum autonomy for East Pakistan? . It does not seem so since his armed intervention on 25th March, 1971 gave a signal for a bloody repression, arrest of irredentist Bengali", exodus and finally as most of the observers feel, to the civil war which now rages in Dacca.

Twenty thousand guerrillas scattered all over East Pakistan should be able to obtain independence by force against 70,000 soldiers equipped with modern arms of the army of Yahya Khan. The issue of combat should not give any doubt but the wars of resistance and national liberation cannot be subject to the same criteria and same norms as of classical wars of major states. At the moment this is the exodus into the neighborly India which has abruptly precipitated a tragedy that could conflagrate the situation.

Calcutta is perhaps the most picturesque as well as difficult city in the world. A jewel of the ex-British empire of India, it now suffers under the burden of human misery and

confusion. Her drama started in 1912 when the authorities decided to deprive her of the envied title of the capital of Indian empire by shifting it to Delhi, situated about 15(H) kilometers in the North-West. The partition in 1947, resulting in the division of Bengal of which Calcutta was the commercial and industrial city and the largest port of communication with outside world, inflicted a second blow on her from which it will never recover. The jute, which was the source of her prosperity and which came from rich plantations of East Pakistan, no more feeds the factories of Calcutta. The port itself, which used to be an active place, is now in distress. Today Calcutta, with its 8 million population is no more than its own shadow. Filthy and over-populated, Calcutta has now a misery which continues to increase due to incessant flow of refugees. Bicycles rickshaws, auto-rickshaws, shabby vehicles. Hood its streets on which, one finds unperturbed cows, always sacred in the eternal India.

Thousands of small businessmen are now settled on narrow footpaths. Small and filthy shops, destitute families are seen occupying houses which are no better than wooden frames, the traffic is impossible and disorderly and multitudes of unemployed persons always ready for adventures is the picture of Calcutta at this moment when India is undergoing perhaps the most gloomy lime of her history. The guide who came to escort me from Oberoi Hotel, one of the latest palaces of the past, informed me that our journey was long and hard. He was going to take me for a bath of refugees (bain de refugies).

Calcutta due to her geographical situation with East Pakistan and being an old capital of Bengal, is the city to which rushed all those who tied from civil war of East Pakistan. Some kilometers from the city, on a plain soil of many hectares. lies the human misery which I was able to see. Accumulated, Pell-mell in the refugee camps, were 200,000 persons who had escaped from the terror and have now during a few weeks created a new city in the neighborhood of Calcutta. A suffocating smell and filth all around obsessed me. The children in clusters were lying under the sun in front of their tents. They looked dull and sometime bewildered. The smiles seemed to have deserted their faces, howsoever sweet they were. At a distance from them were their parents, including women and aged persons, clothed in rags of faded colours, who were rushing to form a queue for their food ration which was being distributed with parsimony. There was milk, semolina and dry-vegetables but food shortage was obvious. The Indian administration, assisted by international organizations, is trying with all means at her disposal to meet the situation which unfortunately is deteriorating every day. In Calcutta itself there are two camps of refugees, each of about 200,000 persons. Twenty other camps are scattered all over Bengal. A camp for administration purpose and for distribution of food is divided in zones. In each zone there is a centre of distribution of food and vaccinations. The relief is being provided by UNICEF. FAO, U.N. High Commission for Refugees, International Red Cross. W.H.O. and other private humanitarian organizations. But still this does not suffice. On 15th August, 1971 the number of refugees became up to 8 million and according to specialists it continued to increase at the rate of 50,000 refugees per day. The Indian Government is spending 20 million rupees per day to meet the situation and is looking forward for international help in face of such a misery.

Bongaon, about 52 miles from Calcutta, is the frontier city which has become the point of entry for refugees. I spent two hours to reach there and another two hours to contact the misery of a horrible magnitude. The car in which I was travelling was running on a rough but a good road. On both sides of embankment there were immense plantations of rice and jute. This is the season of monsoon, a terrible rainy season, cool and persistent which is common in India. Everywhere along the road there was stagnant water and refugees shivering with cold and disabled bodies of sick and hungry persons. They were taking shelter in feeble huts of bamboo and jute and the monsoon was continuously falling aggravating their miseries.

These were the refugees who had not yet been taken in charge by the Government as they had just crossed the frontier with their handy baggage on their heads after walking for many days and leaving everything behind. Entry into the Indian territory was a hope for them. The first relief which they receive is the medical assistance. At the post they are given all vaccinations-plague, cholera; and small-pox etc. An official told me that at this stage the Government came to know about the precise number of refugees entering India. They were keeping the record in the medical files. While I was speaking with him a stretcher was brought by two relief workers on which a woman of 20 years was lying still with her eyes without life. Beside her a child of skeleton structure was lying. It was obvious that the mother of this child was certainly dying. Nothing was less sure.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১৭। পূর্ব বাঙালীদের সাহায্য করুন	দাগব্লাডেট	৮ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*DAGBLADET, NORWAY, SEPTEMBERS 8, 1971*

Editorial

### **HELP THE EAST BENGALIS**

The world has not yet grasped the extent of the catastrophe which has hit the East Pakistani people. By the end of the year. 10 million people are expected to have fled the country, and this is going to create enormous nutritional problems for the neighboring country, India, where the refugees have settled down.

Those who are working out there say that up till now 100,000 children are threatened by death due to starvation if aid is not given soonest possible. Only about 3 million refugees in West Bengal are accommodated in the camps established by the Indians. To this Indian state have arrived more than 5 million refugees. That means that more than 2 million people are living on the road out in the countryside, on pavements in the towns and in other places where there is a possibility for existence.

Apart from hunger, there is still cholera. The epidemic has been slowed down to a certain degree, but the disease is still paying havoc with the less resistant and undernourished among the refugees. The least resistant are often children and a part from the 100,000 directly threatened by deaths there exit over 300,000 who are seriously undernourished.

In these figures lies a tragedy which is inconceivable to outsiders. The tragedy is of such vastness that the Biafra events in all likelihood are small in comparison.

The relief work done so far has been considerable but far from sufficient. The fact that aid for close to half a billion Norwegian kroners has been given, indicates the extent of the tragedy. And this is far from sufficient. By the end of this month, the Refugee Commission of the U.N. needs another 700 million kroners to keep going.

It is on the basis of this sombre background that 5 Norwegian Relief Organizations have started their great collecting campaign in Norway and on September 20, on Election Day, 10,000 volunteers will be outside the election premises and approach 80 per cent of the electors who are going to the polls on that day.

We do hope that each and everyone has something to give.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১৮। পাকিস্তানে যা করণীয়	টরেন্টো টেলিগ্রাম	১৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE TORONTO TELEGRAM (CANADA), SEPTEMBER 13, 1971*

### Editorial

### THE NEED FOR ACTION IN PAKISTAN

East Pakistan needs imports of about three million tons of food grains to prevent famine, according to American doctor who recently attended a Toronto conference that discussed the tragedy on the subcontinent. Dr. John Rhode, of the Harvard University medical school, writing in the British medical magazine Lancet, estimates that 25 million of East Pakistan's poorer people are facing starvation. Dr. Rhode spoke at the South Asia conference in Toronto last month after touring refugees camps in West Bengal and other Indian border states. He is among thousands of prominent Americans who have condemned the United States Government for continuing to deliver arms to Pakistan, arguing that this can lead only to continued civil strife in the country. It is difficult to say whether or not the figure of 25 million represents an exaggeration by a concerned U.S. citizen and doctor. But the possibility certainly exists, because within a period of less than a year. East Pakistan has been hit by the country's worst cyclone, by floods and by one of the most grisly military campaigns in the history of the subcontinent. The situation has become so critical that of East Pakistan's population of 75 million, eight million have already fled in to India. It has been the greatest migration in history within a period of a mere five months. Ever since March 25, civil war has raged in the country. Crops have been neglected, roads railways and communications cut, houses, shops and villages looted and burned. It is therefore quite obvious that dozens of millions face severe food shortages. The irony of the situation is that world surpluses of food grains, particularly rice, are growing. Japan alone has a surplus stock of rice of around 6.4 million tons. 64 per cent of which is held by the Government. Record rice crops were harvested last year in India, Indonesia, Ceylon, Cambodia, South Korea. Malaysia and South Vietnam-all nations comparatively near to East Pakistan.

The fundamental problem will be how to distribute food aid if and when it arrives in the stricken country. Even at the best of time, roads and other communications are poor. Yet clearly the need for action in East Pakistan is urgent if the world community is to prevent yet another major disaster in this unhappy, convulsed land. The United Nations is one organisation that must involve itself more deeply in the tragedy of Pakistan in the months ahead.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১৯। ব্যাপক ব্যবধান ও তীব্র ঘৃণা	অটোয়া সিটিজেন	১৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE OTTAWA CITIZEN (OTTAWA), SEPTEMBER 17, 1971

### Editorial

## DEEP GULF AND HATRED-CAN PAKISTAN EVER BE THE SAME AGAIN?

Today the author discusses various attitudes in Pakistan. Many countries have been split from time to time-the United States during its civil war, Nigeria during its agony. But Pakistanis seem even more deeply divided. A young Punjabi chartered accountant declares: "We have only one problem in Last Pakistan-we don't have enough bullets to kill all of them India-lovers". A refugee from India, now a high government official declares: "It's true we are ruling them as a colony now and we will. They deserve it, after the brutalities they committed against innocent men, women and children. You wouldn't believe it. They behaved worse than animals". An East Pakistani says defiantly: "You can kill Mujib if you like. We are all Mujibs. You cannot kill us all. or rule us forever". One Bengali domestic servant took a shoe and hurled it at the screen when President Yahya Khan was addressing foreign newspaper men on television. Police were summoned and they took him away, as he kept on repeating: "Our army is being trained in India. We will soon be free". The gulf and hatred between the Pakistanis seems incredible.

The East Pakistani policemen revolted in March. When government appeals to report for duty went unheeded, a police force was shipped from West Pakistan. Laborers were shipped to work in the mills as the Bengalis deserted the cities for the countryside. So were civil servants and bureaucrats from West Pakistan. Now slowly the East Pakistanis are returning to the cities and their jobs. Some policemen are back on duty, but are not issued arms as yet. In the central government, East Pakistanis draw full pay but have been transferred to posts where they can do little harm. These precautions seem justified for the present-and East Pakistani cook was caught not long ago mixing poison with food that was to be served in Quetta's military hospital. Hearing these stories, one wonders whether such a divided nation can ever be united except by force.

There is some optimism in West Pakistan based on the argument that West Pakistan isn't interested in exploiting East Pakistan or in denying it autonomy and that once the East Pakistanis realized that Islamabad crushed only a foreign hatched secession movement they'd come around. Others feel the wound is now too deep to be healed. Not all West Pakistanis, however are behind the government nor are all East Pakistanis for secession. In West Pakistan, many voices were raised before March 25 against any tough action. Admiral S. M. Ahsan former commander-in-chief of the Pakistan navy, warned President Yahya that armed action in East Pakistan would be immoral and in the long run unworkable. He was removed as governor. Lt.-General Yakub similarly was replaced.

Air Marshal Nur Khan, former air force commander became deputy martial law administrator and West Pakistan governor when General Yahya became President. He later resigned. One day after Yahya postponed the assembly session. Nur said: "The President must call the session again in March, otherwise irreparable damage will be done. The President is being wrongly advised by a highly placed person. If change of power does not take place. West Pakistan will always have army rule.. Air-Marshall Asghar Khan, former air force commander, said on March 6: "Power should immediately be transferred to Mujib. Our hearts are crying with tears of blood for the people in East Pakistan". On March 12 Major-General Sher Ali Khan, former information minister in Yahya's cabinet, cabled the President urging him to do nothing which would leave him with "the blame for putting an end to this Islamic republic". On March 20, five days before the armed action in East Pakistan the minority parties in West Pakistan held a convention at Karachi and the 40 members-elect of the National Assembly "endorsed for withdrawal of martial law and transfer of power to the public representatives.

The Pakistan Students' Association of America on April 4, called for establishments of democracy throughout Pakistan, withdrawal of army from the cities, release of Mujib and the formation of government by the Awami League. As for the East Pakistanis, both before and after the elections many of them had condemned the rough methods of the Awami League.

On February 1, 1970, a public meeting in Dacca was disrupted after which Pakistan Democratic Party president Nurul Amin. who was later elected to the assembly, said: "I have no words to condemn such activities by the Awami League which, it is clear, has planned the fascist methods to impose their plan on others. This is not the first occasion the Awami League has adopted this policy". The league ran a highly provocative election campaign. At one public meeting. East Pakistan Awami League General Secretary Tajuddin Ahmed said: "The flesh and blood of the Bengalis had been swallowed up by the exploiters and dacoits all these years. They must be wiped out from the body politic of the country through the ensuing polls," After the election power could have come to Awami League if they had displayed wisdom or even flexibility. But they became adamant and must share the blame for what happened.

Yahya after the election invited all major leaders for talks. Mujib's refusal not only aroused suspicions in West Pakistan about his motives' but it also gave Mujib's rival Bhutto a monopoly over Yahya's ears. While this does not justify Yahya's following Bhutto's advice, it helps explain why things happened the way they did. Yahya, by most accounts, blundered in postponing the assembly session. But East Pakistan's vehement reaction made Yahya reconsider and on March 3 he invited 12 elected members of parliamentary groups in the assembly to meet at Dacca to solve the crisis. Mujib refused.

On March 6, Yahya announced, the session would take place on March 25 Mujib listed four demands, including the immediate transfer of power to the elected representatives at both the central and provincial levels, before he would consider whether to attend.

In despair, Yahya flew to Dacca for talks with Mujib. Even the East Pakistanis working in the President's house were on strike and Yahya reportedly had an

uncomfortable time. But though he conceded the six points of the Awami League, he received fresh demands, including the one changing Pakistan from a federation to a confederation of sovereign slates. The atrocities against Urdu-speaking civilians in East Pakistan before March 25 and after turned West Pakistani public opinion against the Bengalis. These were not reported in the Western press, probably because they took place in the interior while the western correspondents were covering the Yahya-Mujib talks in Dacca. The Pakistani government also suppressed the news initially to prevent retaliation against the Bengalis in West Pakistan.

If there was a conspiracy, the Awami League played right into the hands of the conspirators. A little flexibility and statesmanship would have brought them power and the chance to implement their programme and it would have prevented the butchering of hundreds of thousands of Bengalis and non-Bengalis. Whether Pakistan can ever be the same again now nobody knows.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২০। ইয়াহিয়ার উভয় সংকট	সাউথ চায়না মর্নিং পোস্ট	১৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, HONG KONG.*

*SEPTEMBER 17, 1971*

**Editorial**

### **YAHYA'S DILEMMA**

The People's Party leader, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, is coming close to threatening President Yahya Khan with a popular uprising in West Pakistan unless he is made Prime Minister of the whole country.

It is, however, unlikely that Mr. Bhutto, whose intrigues contributed largely to the break, between President Yahya and the imprisoned Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, would be accepted by the people of East Pakistan.

At the same time. General Yahya faces a deadline of his own making. On June 28, he told his nation that a new constitution would be promulgated and an elected National Assembly would be convened within four months. More than half of that period has now- elapsed and the President's aids are still dickering with Mr. Bhutto over procedural matters.

The mood in West Pakistan and inside the Army is not one of conciliation. Can President Yahya entirely ignore the strength of feeling in East Pakistan so eloquently demonstrated by the large-scale desertions of East Bengalis from the diplomatic and other forces?

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২১। বাংলার আগুন	ফ্রাঙ্কফুর্টার আলমাইন জাইটুং	২৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY FRANKFURTER A LLC EM EINE ZEITUNG  
(WEST GERMANY) SEPTEMBER 23, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**THE BENGAL FIRE**  
*By Klaus Natorp*

The tragedy in Bengal continues without an end in sight. Is this really unalterable? The matter has long taken on a form which makes it impossible to describe the conflict as the "internal affairs" of Pakistan. The indescribable suffering, which millions of people in Bengal are undergoing, gives the indirectly concerned parties the right to speak out. But still, what could they do?

Humanitarian aid is most important and urgent. The care of the East Pakistani refugees in India and the equally numerous afflicted and needy in eastern Bengal could still be greatly improved. But the matter should not rest there. Not only the symptoms of the crisis are to be treated, but also the root of the sickness should be cured. Two requirements are necessary for that; the internal peace in Pakistan, that means, reconciliation of the estranged wings of the stale, jointly formed in 1947, and the abatement of the dangerous tension, which developed during the course of the East Bengali conflict between the sub-continental neighbors, Pakistan and India. As far as the latter is concerned, lately there have been some signs of relaxation. The danger of war seems to have lessened. Of course, the sounds of fighting can still be heard on both sides but it seems that in the meantime ail responsible persons in New Delhi and Islamabad are convinced that a military confrontation would be a greater disaster for both countries than the present situation, which resulted from the violent suppression of the Bengali liberation movement.

The Indo-Soviet treaty, signed on August 9, also seem to have played a role in decreasing the danger of war. The Soviet Union would like to prevent any chaotic clashes in the immediate vicinity of her southern border, especially any kind that the Chinese could possibly benefit from. And even if at first, it seemed that Moscow biasly preferred to side with India and the movement for an independent Bangladesh, which is so vehemently supported in India, it however, became soon evident, that the Soviet leaders are really trying to consequently follow equal treatment of India and Pakistan, which was initiated in 1966 in Tashkent. Moreover, just recently she announced her interest in the preservation of a stable Pakistan and even documented this position through the continuation of her development aid. This probably had a sobering effect on India. Naturally, the Indo-Soviet treaty also had a cooling effect on Pakistan. The Government in Islamabad would have to reckon with constant international involvement, if it meddles with India. However, the danger of an armed conflict between the sub-continental states has not passed, because the origin of the tension still exists. The partisans of the East Bengal liberation movement, who mainly operate from India, are a constant vexation for

Pakistan. During counter fights, border violations can easily occur, which could then result in even greater fighting. With the end of the monsoon the civil war parties will have a greater chance for advance. An increase in clashes can be expected.

Therefore, a neutral mediator is urgently needed, who could bring India and Pakistan to the negotiation table, before new critical incidents arise. On such an occasion the subject would also have to be discussed how the East Pakistani refugees could be hastened to return to their homes. Their permanent maintenance is an unbearable burden for India. Naturally, the subject of the internal situation of Pakistan would come up, thereby making it all the more difficult. Because the refugees would only return if they could be sure that they would be safe there and the West Pakistani troops would be in their barracks.

But Pakistan would not be willing to discuss the internal situation in Bengal, even with an unbiased agent. Namely, because then the Government in Islamabad would have to admit that the reconciliation of the western wing with the eastern wing-the already mentioned number one requirement-still lies far off, if it is at all possible. The majority of the population still consider the West Pakistani soldiers as an occupation army and looks upon the civilian administration, which was appointed by them, as traitors. They offer passive and active resistance-even without Indian support. Their idol is and remains the imprisoned Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. If he and the other leaders of the Awami League are not also included in President Yahya Khan's general amnesty, then the chances for an internal settlement are quite slight. Without a new start, it will be impossible to break through the vicious circle of military suppression, resistance, retaliation, sabotage, flight, hunger, disease and what other terrible things it may store. But so far too little has happened to encourage Pakistan to make a new start.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২২। বিশ্ব শরণার্থীদের কথা ভুলে গেছে	ওয়েস্টার্ন মেইল	২৪ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE WESTERN MAIL (CARDIFF), SEPTEMBER 24, 1971*  
**WORLD HAS NOT KEPT FAITH WITH EAST BENGAL REFUGEES**  
*By Sunanda Dana Ray*

As the six-month period set by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for the return of the East Bengal refugees draws to an end. India's harassed relief officials are battling desperately against world indifference and heavy monsoon floods. Five and a half million of the official total of nine million refugees have been cut off from all supplies of food medicines and clothes. Even the distribution of rapidly vanishing local stocks is becoming almost impossible in the waterlogged terrain. There is desperation in the stench that envelops the refugee camps in the helplessness of 8(X) young doctors and their 2,000 medical assistants who complain that dispensaries are running out of drugs for the two most prevalent diseases gastro-enteritis and scabies; and in the forced reduction of the rice dole from 500 grammes to 350 grammes. Thousands of skeletal shacks of bamboo are without tarpaulin or polythene covering.

Famine is not an immediate danger but officials fear another outbreak of cholera which affected 60,000 people in May and June taking nearly 9,000 lives. The new danger arises less from insanitary camp conditions than from a fresh influx: Pakistani reprisals after attacks by the Mukti Bahini guerrilla fighting for the independence of East Bengal have brought an additional 16,000 refugees from the Sylhet district to the hills of India's Meghalaya state. Many of them arrived stricken with cholera-the incubation period is a week-but relief headquarters in Calcutta is unable to fly out a much needed cargo of vaccines to Gauhati in Assam which is the main dispersal point for the north-east. The traditional river route from Calcutta to Gauhati was closed by Pakistan during the 1965 war with India.

The world has not kept faith with the refugees. The actual aids received are less than a tenth of the amount promised by the nations of the world. Though the daily influx of the refugees dropped from 34,000 in August to 26,000 in September, planners who had earlier expected-somewhat optimistically as it turns out that the problem would disappear by the end of the month are now busy drawing up a budget and a programme of action for the next six months. That the relief effort has survived at all against such tremendous odds is a miracle. But there is a newfound hope in camps that is totally at variance with the squalid surroundings. Only wrinkled old men, womenfolk and the children remain: young men are leaving refugee camps in droves to join the Mukti Bahini. In a camp for 5,000 people I saw rows of neat little shops with pathetic little fish and lotus stalks-which the local people eat-laid out for sale. Young boys were busy weaving fishing nets and a bent old woman chased us insisting, with the true village hospitality, that we have a nibble of the malt-flavoured milk biscuit given her by Oxfam, the British charity.

This is refugee life at its most constructive. There are schools, weekly singsongs and cleaning operation by groups of volunteers from among the refugees. But, in those districts where camps have been cut off, life could not be more hazardous. Overflowing canals, turbulent rivers and lashing rain have in the past few weeks converted the West Bengal landscape into an angry sea of swirling brown water. The crumbling masonry of provincial towns has given way; streets are inundated; bridges have been wrenched from their supports and flung aside; roads and railway tracks swept away. West Bengal's flood death toll totals many thousands. Communications are the single most important problem that faces the relief effort. West Bengal's five northern districts—West Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Bihar, Darjeeling and Malda; accounting for nearly 3,500,000 refugees—have been totally cut off by the angrily swelling Ganges at Farakka, 200 miles north of Calcutta. This was also the main route to the three northeastern states of Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura, which have together received nearly two million refugees. Calcutta is the principal supply base for all these areas and, unless communications are quickly restored, the 400 refugee camps there (out of a total of 940 in five states) will soon run out of stocks of food medicines, clothes and building materials.

The desperation of the situation has forced Oxfam—five of whose trucks are stranded by water—to charter an aero plane to airlift essential drugs, but the one company that enjoys a monopoly of this route—flying ramshackle old Dakotas, many of which are relics of World War—has callously taken advantage of the crisis to raise its charter rate to Agartala, Tripura's capital. Indian Air Force planes have already made a dozen sorties on missions of mercy to Gauhati but this is not enough. Oxfam's regional director, Julian Francis, says that he expects to spend about £634,000 by the end of this year on East Bengal refugees. But Oxfam is also embarking on a £42,000 relief project for Hoods in Bihar and to keep costs down Francis sent out three vehicles last week, each laden with nine tons, of high-protein food, medicines and clothes on an experimental and circuitous route to avoid the floods.

Time is running out. The worst phase of the monsoons may now be over but storage facilities have always been inadequate in the north and north-east and supplies are running dangerously low. Nearly 230 Japanese trucks given by the United Nations have been lying idle with their distinctive markings in a Calcutta street for the past 20 days because of the condition of the roads. It has become impossible amid such widespread misery to tell the newcomer from the native peasant. Draped in the same grimy rags, both are equally homeless. Where the raised tarmac of a road still winds its way through the Hood waters they have camped on it. huddled in a mass of hungry, rain-sodden humanity along the 40 miles to the town of Bongaon on the Pakistan border.

An Indian Roman Catholic priest, Father Joe d'Souza" says that he can now visit only three out of the 17 refugee camps that he was looking after; the others have either been completely submerged or are inaccessible. The Catholic voluntary organisation, Caritas, has promised Father d'Souza some money and he is trying to buy a fleet of country boats to re-establish contact with his uprooted and dispossessed parish. The main relief effort continues in spite of these drawbacks and Colonel P.N. Luthra, the Indian officer in charge of operations, claims that relief has emerged from its earlier haphazard work into



a coherent pattern. There is a swift efficiency nowadays about at least the first stages of the process. Refugees are inoculated, vaccinated, cross examined for possible Pakistani agents, registered and given their dole and other cards within three days of arrival in India. The second step is to gel together the inmates of small and scattered camps and consolidate them in large shanty towns, each housing about 100,000 people. Jalpajguri's 54 original camps have already been reduced to 22 and the target is to regroup all the district's refugees in only 12 camps. Col. Luthra's argument for large establishment on high ground away from main roads is that they will reduce overheads and make medical care and distribution of supplies simpler. The snag is that there will be neither food nor medicines to hand out unless foreign aid is more substantial. Even more uncertain is the projected third phase of the process, which is the evacuation of the big consolidated camps now coming into being for return to East Bengal: by the present look of things Col. Luthra, who is still a comparatively young man, will have retired from the service before the refugees return.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২৩। বাঙালীদের পরিকল্পনা	ফার ইস্টার্ন ইকনমিক রিভিউ	২৫ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, SEPTEMBER 25, 1971*

### **BENGALI PLANS**

By T. J. S. George

Hong Kong: The skies over Bengal will be dry again by next month. Tanks can move again, aircraft can fly and troops get around. Just before the onset of the monsoon, the military authorities had struck, hard and rapidly to secure the border towns which had been under rebel control. When the rainy season ends, they are likely to fan out with equal speed in mopping up operations.

This possibility lends an enigmatic aura to the claim being made by "official" representatives of Bangladesh-travelling Awami League members of parliament or defected diplomats-that their struggle will be carried to a successful military conclusion by the year's end. The only safety clause they admit is that either Bangladesh will be free in the next two or three months or the struggle there will turn into a long guerilla war of attrition.

This is not entirely wishful thinking. Five thousand extremely well trained guerrillas have entered the battle during the past month or so supplementing though with out-dated arms, the 10,000 members of the former Bengal Regiment and East Pakistan Rifles still active inside the country.

The Bangladesh "government" (location unknown) also is pushing through an intensive programme of military training for what may eventually turn out to be a "regular army" of 60,000 to 70,000 men. These personnel come almost exclusively from the ranks of the refugees, now officially estimated by the Indian side at 8.5 million, and by the Pakistan at around two million.

The freedom fighters will be only as effective as their weapons. But on this score the Bangladesh leaders are full of confidence. Arms, they say, are no problem. They cite the substantial funds collected by overseas Bengalis, the availability of modern weapons on the commercial market and the willingness of some countries like Israel to help them. They do not mention it, but the "reliable area" of India must also be a major factor in these calculations.

Logical as most of these calculations are, it is difficult to imagine the West Pakistani military ordering an about turn in East Pakistan. Latest moves suggest a plan to impose a civilian administration under whose cover the military can continue to rule. The recently appointed civilian governor has picked a 10-man caretaker cabinet and by election have been scheduled in the eastern wing for the last week of November. By then the government-drafted constitution will be ready.

These moves will only make the Bengali more bitter; they don't recognise Governor A. M Malik as one of them, the cabinet consists of hated members of rightist parties thronced in the election, the by elections are for seals arbitrarily denied to elected members of the Awami League.

What could help the freedom fighters still more, however, is unrest in West Pakistan. The Bengali struggle may slowly be having an effect on tribal movement for autonomy in the Western wing. The Khaiber Mail recently reported the activities of the Baluchistan national front for liberation, Kabul (Afghanistan) Radio recently broadcast a report about mammoth meetings by Pathans demanding a sovereign Pakhtoonistan.

Perhaps more significant politically is the growing unrest among workers and students in the urban areas. For the moment they seem to be, looking to the effervescent Zulfikar AU Bhutto to lead them to the Promised Land.

Bhutto is maneuvering. He is still believed to be on friendly personal terms with his cocktail companion. President Yahya Khan, and was recently credited with the suggestion (hat Yahya become the "national Prime Minister". On the other hand he is cementing his relations with the younger middle-ranking officers who an known to be disenchanted with the old men at the top.

It would not be beyond imagination for Bhutto to consider the possibility of a coup d'etat using the younger officers for the principal thrust and perhaps Yahya as a temporary unifying symbol.

If Bhutto gets into the driver's seat, he can be expected to go to any length lo hold on to East Pakistan. But others could intervene-a decision by the younger officers not lo continue military repression in the east, a well-timed military move by India, a decisive strike by the, Bengali forces themselves at the right moment.

The very fact that talk of all kinds of possibilities has started in West Pakistan is significant. There have even been public demands by some leaders for an end to the excesses in the eastern wing. By any reckoning, October-November could be a decisive period for Pakistan.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২৪। অবস্থার উন্নতি হচ্ছে না	ইয়াক্বি	২০-২৬ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

(YANKI. ANKARA NEWS MAGAZINE -SEPTEMBER 20-26, 1971)

### SITUATION IS NOT IMPROVING

Yahya Khan's promise that the Government will belong to the representatives elected by the people will probably not materialize. It is reported that recourse to civil rule is still difficult, since the situation in East Pakistan is getting worse. The real reason, however, is that the rightist military group is desirous to hold on to the reins of power.

A civilian has been appointed to take the place of General Tikka Khan as the Governor of East Pakistan. Apart from the foreign diplomats, some high officials have also supported this decision. This is because of the fact that as long as Tikka Khan remained the Governor of East Pakistan, it would have been impossible to find "suitable" candidates for the 78 seats in the National Assembly in the mid-term elections.

The military clique supports the Muslim League, which could not win even one seat in the elections held last December. Another alternative for the leaders is to support the Pakistan Democratic Party, headed by Nurul Amin. However, Amin is no longer popular among the people.

The party of ex-commander of the Pakistani Air Force, Marshal Asghar Khan, proposes that a role be given to the National Assembly in the preparation of the Constitution.

Unless Mujibur Rahman is released and leads the Awami League it is impossible to establish unity in Pakistan. However, this is out of the question under the present rule...

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২৫। পূর্ব-বাংলা শরণার্থী : একটি বিশ্ব সমস্যা	এডভান্স	২৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*ADVANCE. MAURITIUS, SEPTEMBER, 27, 1971*

### **Editorial**

### **EAST BENGAL REFUGEES: A WORLD PROBLEM**

No sooner had the embers of hate started dying down in Vietnam than a worse holocaust was let loose in East Bengal. Over eight and a half million human beings have fled from their homes leaving all their possessions behind and crossing swamps to live in over-populated tents, but to stay alive.

Since March this year when the trek started, refugees have kept pouring into India, itself already over-populated. Almost fifty thousand of them have crossed over every day and helped to swell a population as large as that of London or Paris. At first, world opinion was slow to assess the impact of such a change of population on the economy of a country which itself has been, since its independence, struggling to survive yearly floods, drought, a growing birth-rate and wars. Thanks to visits by personalities belonging to all parts of the world, and wide newspaper coverage of one of the greatest migrations ever within human memory, the immensity of the holocaust hit public opinion in the face like a man's fist. Representatives of religious or benevolent societies have come back with harrowing tales of sufferings and deaths of women and children whose corpses are often seen uncared for on the way to the other side of the border. The presence of such a huge amount of refugees not only tells on the economy and life of these states, but is a danger to peaceful living in the area. It provides the inflammable material conflicts and riots need to flare up.

Unless the countries of the world get together and do something about it, it may well mean the beginning of another Vietnam. The only difference is that the impact will be more deadly and the consequences more dangerous. They are no longer a localized problem. They have become a world problem, because the world has allowed them to be uprooted from their homes.

Despite his age, Andre Malraux has offered to go and fight for them. Like him, writers and artists all over the world have called for a humanitarian approach to the problem of those millions dying of hunger and cold. Senator Edward Kennedy broke down in tears when visiting the camps of refugees near Calcutta. The Press in each and every country is calling for more international aid to be sent. Swiss philanthropists have gone on hunger strike to awaken the conscience of the world. And only yesterday, Caritas has appealed to the conscience of all men to live up to the dimensions of the holocaust in Bengal.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২৬। শরণার্থীদের ফিরে আসার আবেদন	আল-আমবা	২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*ALAN BAA (WEEKLY) BEIRUT, OCTOBER 2, 1971*  
**CALL FOR RETURN OF BANGLADESH REFUGEES**

The fact which we have come to realize during this visit to India was that the tragedy of the Bengali people is really horrible, and that the oppression experienced by them was beyond imagination. The crimes committed against women, children and intellectuals remind us of those committed by the Zionists in Palestine. The refugees have exceeded now eight million....

We raise our voice in demanding the cessation of these massacres, restoration of rights to these people and the return of the refugees to their homeland.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২৭। ইয়াহিয়া খানের নতুন রাজনীতি	লা মন্ড	২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY LE MONDE (PARIS), OCTOBER 2, 1971*  
**PAKISTAN: PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN IS TRYING TO  
 REGAIN BENGALIS' CONFIDENCE**

*By Viratelle*

The Government of Pakistan has accused India for creating conditions of famine in East Pakistan, by sabotaging the supply boats. According to an official communiqué issued on 30th September, frog-men, trained in India, were intercepted while they were putting mines near the port of Chittagong. On the other hand, Mr. Bhutto denounced on Wednesday the Soviet interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. He assured President Yahya Khan of the support of his party in restoring democracy in the country. If this democracy is not restored before the end of the year, he added, then, it will be too late to save the country. Six months after the Bengal crisis, the government of General Yahya Khan is trying to regain the confidence of the East Pakistan population and to encourage political life in the country. During the last few weeks, it has granted general amnesty which, however does not apply to those Bengalis who are charged of criminal acts, especially the Awami League leaders. But on the other hand thousands of members of paramilitary forces who rebelled towards the end of March, after having killed their Punjabi officers, are benefitted by this amnesty. This decision constitutes a very important gesture of appeasement, but to say the truth, it has not brought any result.

A civilian government has replaced General Tikka who led the repression against Bengalis. However, people have no illusion about the representative character of the moderate and right wing personalities who are placed under the army's umbrella. Certain politicians in the western wing have on the other hand, deplored that transfer of power has taken place in Bengal whereas law and order have not been restored so far. Nevertheless by elections will take place in two months to fill the seats vacated by majority of the Awami League elected representatives who have tied to foreign countries. Although eighty of the elected Awami League representatives have retained their mandate only twenty of them have rallied the government program. One wonders in what conditions these elections will take place. The autonomist party, which had won an overwhelming majority in the last elections will not participate in these new elections.

Lastly, the Islamabad authorities have adjourned the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which was to take place in camera in the middle of August. It is generally thought here that the Bengali leader will not be executed, even if he is condemned to death by the Court. In any case his counsel will appeal for amnesty. Anyway there is no doubt that these various initiatives of the government come in response to the pressures brought by certain foreign powers notably the U.S.A and the Soviet Union for a political solution.

The members of the "Washington Club" in which France is represented have equally preconditioned their economic and financial assistance to the restoration of a civil administration in Dacca. The foreign aid plays a major part in Pakistan's development and its balance of payments. The United States have not suspended its aid and have, since the beginning of the year, supplied \$240 millions, for aid to the victims of the cyclone and of the repression in Bengal. It is probable that they will soon ask other members of the consortium for fresh credits to the regime of Islamabad. The Islamabad government wants to create a better impression at a time when the question of Bengal is raised at the United Nations.

The purpose of the time limit for the by-elections is mostly aimed at gaining time. But its objectives after the by-elections are not very clear. It is officially asserted that government will always be prepared to grant wide autonomy to the province, provided this status does not disintegrate the largest Muslim country of the world. But, in the present circumstances, they are not thinking to negotiate with the government of Bangladesh which Islamabad terms as "India stooges" ; official circles declare "they should come and clear themselves before the Court. If they do not come, then, we will do without them. If India was not helping the infiltrators, then, we could control the situation in a week." In spite of all this, the general impression in Islamabad is that the authorities are concerned by the increasing number of acts of terrorism in East Pakistan, where a minister of the local government, Maulana Mohammed Ishaq was murdered. The brutal intervention of the army in East Bengal also has its repercussions in the western wing. Mr. Bhutto, who had approved the army's action because it was taken to preserve the unity of the country is now frequently criticizing the policy of the regime, without wanting however, to break up its contacts.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২৮। জরুরী সমস্যা	মাইনিচী ডেইলী নিউজ	৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*MAI NIC HI DAILY NEWS, TOKYO, OCTOBER 3, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**URGENT PROBLEM**

... Unless internal conditions in East Pakistan are restored to normalcy, there cannot be any solution to the refugees problem. The danger of war also cannot be eliminated. The Yahya Khan Government is taking measures to restore the administration to civilian control. But confusion still reigns, and food is short. Aid-giving nations, including Japan, have stopped assistance to Pakistan until normal conditions are restored. It is hoped that steps will be taken for a political settlement in East Pakistan so that the flow of aid will be resumed as early as possible.

It is a principle in international society not to intervene in the internal affairs of another country. But no one can be indifferent to the tragic state of the refugees and the crisis which Pakistan faces. It is an urgent matter for all mankind to ponder upon. The United Nations General Assembly now in session seems to be a proper forum to take up the matter.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২৯। পাকিস্তান শাসক গোষ্ঠী কোণঠাসা	ইন্দোনেশিয়ান অবজারভার	৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE INDONESIAN OBSERVER, (JAKARTA), OCTOBER 1, 1971*

**Editorial**  
**A HARD PRESSED REGIME**

Time is fast running out for Pakistan's military regime under General Yahya Khan as the combined forces of public opinion in the world as well as within the country itself exert great pressure for political economic reforms. Yahya Khan's desperate attempt to avert his country's total bankruptcy by announcing general amnesty and the replacement of East Pakistan's military governor by a civilian has not aroused the least interest among the 9 million refugees from East Pakistan in India. The Pakistan President has not touched the essential core of the problem in promising a lenient attitude towards the refugees. He did not mention about the future legislature of Pakistan as result of the general elections of last December in which the Awami League achieved an overwhelming victory.

Overlooking this problem will not bring the crisis in Pakistan an inch closer to solution. Meanwhile, as the days wear on without a clear Political solution in sight, Pakistan's plight becomes the more unbearable. With the specter of financial bankruptcy looming ahead and the economy in shambles, even the most optimistic Supporters of Yahya Khan's regime would not dare to predict how much longer it will last.

Pakistan's effort to arouse sympathy for her position by way of exaggerating India's role in supporting the Bangladesh idea has also failed to hoodwink the world towards the developments in East Pakistan. Sooner or later President Yahya must take a clear-cut stand on the problem of East Pakistan and its connection with the general election. The sooner he does so, the better for the country because only then it will be able to draft concrete plans for recovery.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩০। স্বৈচ্ছাচারিতার শিকার	প্রাভদা	১২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*PRAVDA, OCTOBER 12, 1971*  
**VICTIMS OF ARBITRARINESS**

The continuing repression has deprived millions of peoples of all religions of shelter and a peaceful life. More than nine million have fled to India.

At the given moment, India is faced with the exceptionally difficult problem of feeding 9 million persons. The condition of these refugees is not easy. They are expecting India to render them shelter and hospitality. But what can India, with her own resources so limited, offer them? The total volume of foreign aid received for refugee relief up to this date is a little more than 153 million dollars. But to feed the refugees even for 6 months, India has to spend almost four times as much. That is why the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, declared that the Government is determined to take measures for the return of East Pakistani refugees to their homeland. What is meant by return is a return in an atmosphere free from fear which would guarantee the nine million peoples the safety of their honor and dignity.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩১। পরাশক্তিসমূহের দায়িত্ব	লা লিব্র বেলজিক	১৮ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE LA LIBRE BELGIQUE, (BRUSSELS), OCTOBER 18, 1971*

### Editorial

## RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GREAT POWERS

Is war going to be added to the drama of millions of Bengali refugees? Every day, on the roads leading to Calcutta, this capital of Indian poverty, Bengali men, women and children, all coming out in miserable conditions from East Pakistan, chased by an army which wishes to make the place empty, die from hunger and disease. Tomorrow, will we see more victims made through war? Is there going to be an end to this absurd situation?

The world is today taking account of the width of this tragedy of the 10 million Bengalis threatened by death. The solidarity movement is growing day by day. Because one must help these unfortunate people and no one can rest indifferent to their misery. But the funds which have been collected here and elsewhere could better be used to serve the rehabilitation of Bengalis in their own country and permit them to reconstruct it. And here, one comes to the heart of the problem which is Political. The question arises today: Can we leave a Government, that of Pakistan, to continue to chase out, day after day the Bengalis from their own country and thus create a dangerous tension with India? Is it admissible that in the name of grand international strategy, the U.S. Government furnishes by one hand, arms to the Pakistani leaders, who throw out the Bengalis on the exile route and on the other hand, doles out aid to these refugees which enables them to survive in their exile?

The reply in Washington is that Pakistan has regional importance in the Asian sub- continent, that Peking is supporting her, while Moscow has aligned itself with India through a friendship treaty of 20 years and that United States must therefore play its role.

But has not President Nixon opened the era of dialogue in meeting the Chinese and the Soviets? And should not one of the objectives of this dialogue be to put an end to this absurd game: that millions of refugees should pay through their suffering for the global designs of the Great Powers of the world.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩২। এশিয়া বিস্ফোরণোন্মুখ	গ্লোব এন্ড মেইল	২০ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE GLOBE AND MAIL, (TORONTO), OCTOBER 20, 1971*

### Editorial

### ASIA AT FLASH POINT

Relations between India and Pakistan are now at flash point, and a stray shot anywhere along the border of the two countries could precipitate a disastrous war. Such a war would instantly threaten to involve the two super-powers of Asia. Russia and China. Even if that extreme danger were avoided, the consequences of the war for these principal countries of the Indian sub-continent, and their peoples, would be devastating beyond description. Can nothing be done to stop this tragedy?

At this stage, there is no point in apportioning blame between the two countries. Their quarrels go back to the beginnings of their independence in the partition of British India; that these problems persist is not primarily due to more than the normal amount of human folly in Indian and Pakistani leadership. It is obvious, however, that the present crisis is beyond the capacities of both countries to resolve. For India, the immediate problem is the flood of refugees from East Pakistan. Indian authorities estimate the total at nine million. Even Pakistani spokesmen admit to four or five million. In either case their maintenance imposes an unacceptable burden on the Indian economy, costing more than 5 percent of government expenditure, and much more than all the foreign economic aid India is receiving.

The flow of refugees continues, and virtually none of them will contemplate returning to Pakistan under present conditions. India grows desperate and moves steadily closer-for more general foreign policy reasons as well-to action aimed at dismembering Pakistan and establishing an independent Bangladesh in the East.

President Yahya Khan of Pakistan has plainly got his Government into an impossible position with his misguided attempt to use military force to suppress the autonomist movement in the country's eastern province. Yet there is some truth in the Pakistani claim that some force was necessary against revolutionary excesses in the first stage of the crisis. Now he is showing signs of looking again for a political solution. It remains doubtful whether the solution can be found that will both restore peace and security in East Pakistan, and preserve some semblance of integrity of the country as a whole. But certainly much more time is needed, and a war at present would ruin every hope.

What is need now to avert ultimate disaster is some means to take the refugee burden off India's back. This puts the responsibility squarely on the 13-nation World Bank consortium (including Canada) that has been channeling economic aid to India. At a meeting on October 26 in Paris, the consortium will be asked to raise \$750 million immediately to help pay for India's refugee programme. More will be needed later. The price is high, but the cost to the world of the likely alternative would be incalculable.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩৩। পূর্ববাংলা : সামরিক সমাধানের ব্যর্থতা	আল সাওরা	২২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*AL THAWRA, DAMASCUS, OCTOBER 22, 1971*

### **EAST BENGAL: FAILURE OF A MILITARY SOLUTION**

The trend of events, with the possibilities of war between the two countries, makes it imperative that the flow of refugees from East Pakistan should be stopped and a political solution of the problem should be found, especially as a military solution has proved futile and resulted in inhuman consequences.

Also, it is necessary to make serious efforts to find a way to save millions of refugees and to extend aid and relief to them.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩৪। ইন্ডিয়া-পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধের জন্য প্রস্তুত	ফার ইস্টার্ন ইকনমিক রিভিউ	৩০ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, OCTOBER 30, 1971*

### **INDIA-PAKISTAN: ARMED TO A POINT**

By A. Hariharan

New Delhi: The Armed forces of India and Pakistan are fully geared for war. "From alert to scramble should not take more than two minutes", said India's minister for Defense Production last week. And sabre-rattling goes on all the time. Car strikers proclaiming "Crush India" and "Conquer India" are out in force in Lahore. Karachi and other Pakistan cities. Indian Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram said a new war would be fought on Pakistani soil and India would not only take the cities of Lahore and Sialkot in Punjab but keep them for good.

Ram was obviously referring to the 1965 war when the Indian army marched up to the outskirts of Lahore but did not take the city, following the Tashkent agreement. India had to withdraw from the area and also give up the strategic heights of Kargil and Haji Pir in Kashmir which had been gained at great cost.

There are conflicting versions about the "22-day war" of 1965. Political leaders maintain India did not take Lahore because of the problems involved in feeding the civilian population. However, General Harbaksh Singh who was Commander of the Western Sector at the time has said the corps commander after having established a bridgehead across the Lechogil canal in Lahore, got cold feet and failed to consolidate his gains. There must be some truth in this for the corps commander was subsequently fired.

What may prevent war this time is the extremely difficult military situation Pakistan faces. In 1965 both countries refrained from opening a front on the East Pakistan border. Today, with the Bengali population ranged as one man against Pakistan Government there, 80,000 troops in the Province will be bottled up and perhaps annihilated in the first hours of the War.

There are reports Pakistan already has withdrawn one infantry division from the East to strengthen defenses in the Western Wing. Can it afford to write off the rest? Pakistani military Aircraft and Naval Ships will be unable to make use of Ceylon and any attempt to hold East Pakistan in a shooting war likely to prove helpless.

The military rulers might well see virtue in withdrawing troops from the East and concentrating on the Western Sector with the aim of capturing some Indian territory in Kashmir, Rajasthan or Gujrat, that would be the only way to save face, given the certain loss of East Pakistan.

In terms of military balance, both sides have strengthened their positions since 1965. Pakistan has reportedly taken on loan 75 military Aircraft from Saudi Arabia. It also maintains air force training missions in various West Asian countries, which, in the event of a war, may be expected to assist Pakistan.

India's policy of achieving self-sufficiency in military hardware gives it a decided advantage over Pakistan. Several new types of tanks and ammunition are being manufactured in Indian Ordnance Factories. A major break-through was the Vijayanta tank, considered more maneuverable than Centurion which was India's mainstay in 1965. The first Vijayanta rolled out in December 1965 and an informed guess is that between 350 and 400 hundred of these medium tanks equipped with 105 m. m. guns have been put into service.

India makes aircraft and ships as well. The Hindustan Aeronautics is currently making the Jet ground-attack fighter HF-24, the supersonic interceptor MIG-21, the jet fighter Gnat, the Jet-trainer HJT-16, the transport aircraft, HS-748 and Alouette helicopters. The Mazagoan Docks in Bombay produces Leander class frigates.

Meanwhile. Indian citizens have already been hit by the financial burden of the Bengali refugees and of war preparations. Although the finance minister, Y. B. Chavan, had assured parliament and the people that he had no intention of introducing a supplementary Budget this year, on the eve of Mrs. Gandhi's departure on her foreign tour the Government announced more tax measures to raise Rs. 700 million

New levies are being imposed on railways travel, postal services, bills of exchange The Government also is imposing an excise duty of two paise on each copy of newspaper s. all new measures taken effect from November 15. They were announced through a Presidential Ordinance the first time taxes have been collected in this manner. Parliament is to meet by the middle of November for a brief winter session, and as the tax measures are effective only from November 15 the ordinance came as surprise. In addition to the measures proposed by the Centre the States will have to impose additional duties on certain items falling under their jurisdiction.

The new measures are: 5% surcharge on railway tickets costing one rupee or more; 5% surcharge on air travel within India (the May budget had imposed a 10% foreign travel tax on the value of tickets); a tax of Paise 5 on all postal articles except postcards; duty of Paise 10 on bills of exchange, bills of lading, promissory notes, insurance policies, letter of credit and proxies; and paise 2 levy on newspapers and periodicals.

The additional tax measures are being introduced to meet the mounting cost of maintaining the refugees from Bangladesh and to arrest further deficit financing An estimate says between April and December 1971 deficit spending would have risen to the Figure of Rs. 5700 million. The budget estimate was Rs. 2,300 million And unofficial estimates say that if these levies are collected over a period of 12 months, the yield will be much more than Rs. 700 million.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩৫। উপমহাদেশের বর্তমান অবস্থা	সানডে পোস্ট	২২ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

SUNDAY POST. NAIROBI. NOVEMBER 22, 1971

### SITUATION IN INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT

... India has become involved in this problem only to the extent of the influx of millions of refugees and the economic, social and communal consequences which are threatened by it.

If some of the propaganda talk were to be believed, it would appear as if the refugees are caged in concentration camps by India and are not being allowed to return to their homes by force.

These camps are free and open. Any inmate who wants to quit is free to do so. There is no obstacle or hindrance.

One has been surfeited by the ploy which has been made over the number of such refugees.

After being told that a census had revealed that only about two-and-a-half million, people had left East Pakistan. President Yahya Khan admitted to a correspondent that the number could be three or four million. Or eight or nine million!

An illuminating commentary from the BBC" revealed that the incoming refugees are checked thrice to ensure that they are genuinely displaced persons and not imposters.

This commentary also said that the camps did not contain all the refugees, but only the poorest and the most helpless. Very many East Pakistanis had found shelter with hospitable friends and relatives in and around Calcutta.

Their number has never been recorded. But they all want to go back. But for the colossal tragedy which has evolved before the eyes of the world, one would have been amused by the statement that even nine million refugees could not pose any burden on a country whose population increases by 12 million annually.

These nine million are a direct charge on the state.

Children who are born are the responsibility of their parents and guardians.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩৬। রাজাকারদের নিষ্ঠুরতা	হেলসিনজিন সারোমাত	২৩ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*HELSINGIN SA ROM AT, HELSINKI, NOVEMBER 23, 1971*

### **CRUELTY OF THE RAZAKARS**

The cruelty of the "razakars" has turned the majority of the villagers into supporters of Bangladesh. When people are asked whether they wish to remain citizens of Pakistan or form a state of their own, almost all reply that they are for Bangladesh although the green flag of Pakistan can be seen flying even on top of the most wretched hut, people work for Bangladesh in secrecy. Like Americans in South Vietnam, the leaders of the Pakistani army seem to be totally unaware of the true feelings and loyalty of the local population.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩৭। পাকিস্তানের কার্যাবলী ভীতিপ্রসূত	দে ভল্কসক্রান্ত	২৪ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*DE VOLKSKRANT, NETHERLANDS, NOVEMBER 24, 1971*

# **PAKISTAN IS ACTING IN PANIC**

*By H. C. Beynon*

Pakistani reports of large-scale military action by India in East Pakistan seem to be inspired by panic, war-psychosis, and fear of a definite loss of the eastern province, rather than by military reports of Commanders in the field...

India cannot afford more and certainly not because of the area which is likely to free itself from the military regime. No more can India afford a long guerrilla war in East Pakistan, for the refugee problem is a heavy economic burden and the situation in unruly West Bengal is far from secure.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩৮। অঘোষিত যুদ্ধ	নেপাল টাইমস	৩০ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*NEPAL TIMES, KATHMANDU, NOVEMBER 30, 1971*

### **Editorial UNDECLARED WAR**

Aerial and tank battles fought by the armies of India and Pakistan have confirmed widespread fears that war is now imminent in the Indian sub-continent. The world now realizes how close the two countries are to war. The military rulers of Pakistan have even declared that an "undeclared war" is going on between the two countries and accordingly proclaimed a state of emergency throughout that country.

The one-sided war waged by the rulers of Pakistan inside what was once a part of their own territory, provoked a resistance which culminated in a well-organized war within a few months. It is thus a war going on inside Bangladesh that is now sought to be described by the Pakistani rulers as an Indo-Pakistan war. In their attempt to project the resistance war inside Bangladesh as a war between India and Pakistan, they sent their planes and tanks to attack Indian territory. But the planes were shot down and several tanks were destroyed and much military equipment was captured by the Indian troops. Then, the Pakistani rulers, with an irresistible desire of installing a puppet regime through deceitful means, declared a state of emergency in their country. Not even the valuable service rendered by the villain Bhutto, by paying a pilgrimage to Peking, could fully satisfy the military rulers. His desire of being made President or Prime Minister remained unfulfilled. It remains to be seen when Bhutto will outlive his utility.

The Pakistani army has been finding it increasingly difficult to fight its own people. But it wants to be defeated at the hands of a superior power, not at those of the people's resistance movement known as the Mukti Bahini. And for Pakistan, that superior power could be none other than India. Moreover, the military rulers of Pakistan are still obsessed to some extent with their desire of taking revenge for their heavy losses in the 1965 war. The most important and pressing reason is that the military rulers want to erase the whole effect of the result of the elections conducted and organized by themselves. They sought to wipe out the result of these elections by launching tank attacks on the citizens of Dacca on the night of March 25, 1971, forcing ten million people to flee to India, and murdering, looting and raping a million people. The birth of Bangladesh and activities of the Mukti Bahini were results of this repression. Now the military rulers are seeking to eliminate the people's representatives of West Pakistan as well. The proclamation of emergency and attempts to find a pretext for provocation against India, constitute the second phase of their campaign to suppress their own people.

A sensible answer to the question of what should be the attitude of the world towards this strange desire of the military rulers of Pakistan, fighting against its own people, can

be given only the day when the world is prepared to make an objective analysis of events which have taken place in Pakistan during the past one year. The military regime of Pakistan has been conducting an undeclared war against its own people, a war of mercilessly suppressing the rights, life and property of its people. The world has to direct its appeal for disengagement from this war and restraint towards Pakistan, not to any third country. The intentions of those who try to teach a lesson of restraint to India, which has displayed unparalleled fortitude of enduring an invasion which has been mounted on it by ten million refugees, are doubtful.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩৯। ইয়াহিয়ার বোধোদয় ঘটতে হবে	বিউনেস এয়ারেস হেরাল্ড	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*BUENOS AIRES HERALD, DECEMBER 4, 1971*  
**PRESIDENT YAHYA MUST BE MADE TO SEE SENSE**

The miracle-which would have taken the shape of a political solution to lower the explosive tension in East Pakistan-did not materialize. Pakistan has escalated hostilities by eight air strikes over the western frontier into India. The war that everyone knew was inevitable is raging.

War will solve nothing. It would speed the setting up of an independent Bangladesh state. But to pay the price of war, in terms of terrible human suffering in an area that has had its fill of grief, is morally wrong. If another country is born on the Indian sub- continent in a blood-bath, peace and Prosperity (which have seemed to be in India's reach) would again be postponed. This war is madness. It IS madness born of the irrationality of West Pakistan's attempt to crush the national aspirations of the Bengalis. President Yahya Khan must be made to see sense. He must make some gesture like releasing the Bangladesh leader Sheikh Mujib-which will provide an opportunity, through the United Nations, to turn the tide of war.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪০। তৃতীয় বিশ্বের জন্য শিক্ষা	সানডে টাইমস অব জাম্বিয়া	৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA, DECEMBER 5, 1971*

**LESSON FOR THE THIRD WORLD**

The mild skirmishes, which characterized the start of the confrontation between India and Pakistan, were bound to escalate into open war as long as the world remained unaffected by the plight of the ten million Pakistani refugees who have fled to India.

To her credit, it must be mentioned that the Indian Prime Minister had taken the ultimate step to personally acquaint world leaders about the economic realities of the refugee problem to her country's well being. Her recent trips to most of the world capitals were obviously a last ditch attempt, to persuade president Yahya Khan to moderate his hostility towards India and the Bangladesh movement and seek a more peaceful solution to the problem.

Had Yahya made even the slightest move to re-accommodate the refugees without inflicting reprisals against them, we do not believe that India would have continued on the belligerent course which has now led the Pakistan President to declare war on her.

Of course, had world leaders used their influence with Yahya Khan earlier in the game, things would not have turned out the way they have.

The United States has gone on record as saying that it would spurn every attempt to embroil it in the Indo-Pakistan conflict. Perhaps it resisted too much the attempts of Mrs. Gandhi to use its influence which is very great indeed-with Yahya Khan to make him realist that a war with India was not the ultimate panacea to his internal problems.

It now seems certain that U. S. reluctance to get involved was based solely on selfish motives. The Soviet Union and the people's Republic of China have made their positions known in this situation. Russia supports the Indians and the Chinese are backing the Pakistanis. Perhaps the United States, which has always secretly hoped for a Sino-Soviet conflict, decided for this reason alone to let the situation escalate into open warfare in the hope that the Communists would be at each other's throats in the end.

The United Nations whose record of preventing clashes before they occur is not so impressive, has not lifted a finger to calm tempers in New Delhi or Islamabad. But it will probably be the United Nations which will pick up the pieces after the war has ended.

It is very hard at this stage to halt the hostilities, for most wars have a way of going on until one side gives up or is made to give up. Pakistan is heavily outnumbered militarily by India, but President Yahya must know what he is doing.

The war itself is another result of the assumed non-challenge of the big powers in a conflict that does not directly threaten their own ambitions of expansion. It is a lesson for the Third World, a lesson which must surely convince them that despite their noble mouthing's of "non-alignment" in international politics, they have yet to reckon with the cynicism of the big powers.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪১। পাকিস্তান-ভারত সংঘর্ষ	সাউথ চায়না মর্নিং পোস্ট	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, HONG KONG, DECEMBER 6, 1971*

### **INDO-PAKISTAN CONFLICT**

Islamabad is, of course, largely responsible for the present serious situation in the Indian sub-continent. Admittedly, President Yahya Khan invited Mrs. Indira Gandhi to the conference table to discuss and reconcile their differences and also proposed mutual withdrawal of armed forces from the border areas.

But he took no concrete steps of initiated any move to eliminate the root cause of the developments in East Pakistan which led to the mass flight of ruthlessly oppressed East Pakistanis to seek sanctuary in India.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi had tried for months to persuade President Yahya Khan and the world to help restore conditions that would encourage the more than nine million East Pakistani refugees to return to their homes.

India's own stability is gravely threatened by the continuing influx of these refugees requiring food, shelter and medical care among other necessities.

The world, however, looked away and President Yahya Khan continued to disregard appeals to resolve the East Pakistan crisis through a political solution—allowing the people of East Pakistan to determine their own future, a right which they won at last year's general elections.

With the prospects of easing the extremely heavy burden of caring for nearly 10 million refugees growing dimmer and dimmer, India found herself in a position where she had to act to help the Bangladesh movement bring about a situation conducive to a voluntary return of the millions of refugees to their homes.

The issue has now belatedly been raised in the security Council, but if intervention by the Council is to be effective in restoring peace on the Indian sub-continent, the world organisation must recognize and deal realistically with the basic problem of East Pakistan.

Islamabad must be made to recognize the legality of last year's general election, and at the same time, guarantee the safety and rehabilitation of refugees returning from India.

These are the conditions that President Yahya Khan must accept in the interest of peace in the Indian sub-continent and the world, for further escalation of the war could draw the big powers into the conflict.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪২। যে যুদ্ধ কেউ থামাল না	অস্ট্রেলিয়ান	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE AUSTRALIAN, SYDNEY, DECEMBER 6, 1971*

### **THE WAR NOBODY STOPPED**

Mrs. Gandhi got it right when she blamed the world for the war which has now started between India and Pakistan. For nine months, we have all stood by as if impotent as, day after day, the confrontation escalated to its inevitable explosion. What have any of us done to help India meet the burden of nine million Bengali refugees suddenly thrust upon its fragile economy? Not much, what have any of us, beyond the odd couple of prime ministerial letters, done to get Pakistan's President Yahya Khan to come to his senses and restore some semblance of democracy in East Pakistan? Not much. The rich industrial countries have sent their money to help the refugees. They always do. And Australia, thanks to a public outcry, has done as well, if not better, than most in this endeavor....

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪৩। পাকিস্তান দায়ী	ইন্দোনেশিয়া রাজ্য	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*INDONESIA RAYA, DJAKARTA, DECEMBER 7, 1971*

### **PAKISTAN TO BLAME**

Reason failed and guns spoke. Pakistan is now sending a special envoy to Indonesia, but the whole world has seen Pakistan's bad treatment of its own people in East Pakistan, crushing the victorious Awami League imprisoning Mujibur Rahman and killing or arresting his followers. No single country on earth can bear the burden of millions of refugees as poured into India from Bangladesh following the action of President Yahya Khan's Government. It is Pakistan which must respect the will of the Bangladesh people and make amends for its mistakes.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪৪। একটি রাজনৈতিক সমাধান সম্ভব ছিল	স্ট্রেইটস টাইমস	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE STRAITS TIMES, KUALA LUMPUR, DECEMBER 7, 1971*  
**A POLITICAL SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE**

Indian concern for the seventy-five million people of East Pakistan must be recognized. The failure of the major powers to persuade west Pakistan's president to carry out his election promise, and above all the brutal repression of the popular feeling which followed the arrest of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and outlawing of the Awami League, have been vital ingredients in Indian policy and action. Yet, in the end, impatience has triumphed and Indian national interests are discernible in this dismemberment of Pakistan.

Until yesterday, it was still possible that a compromise could be evolved, amounting to undisputed home rule for East Pakistan. Instead, there is a political solution and inevitability of unrestrained war, not peace.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪৫। অবিশ্বাস্য	মাদারল্যান্ড	৮ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE MOTHERLAND, KATHMANDU, DECEMBER 8, 1971*  
**SIMPLY AMAZING**

Significant as it certainly is. India's recognition of the people's Republic of Bangladesh has also confirmed the suspicion held by many that India actually wanted "Bangladesh" to be a child of the Indo-Pakistan war.

In that. India has by and large achieved her initial Political goals, but does the new development have the capacity to clinch the long drawn controversy for all times to come, is a question the answer to which is neither readily available nor can anybody, Bangladesh leaders and prime Minister Gandhi not excluding, honestly claim to be in the know.

Having been assured of the Soviet veto in the U.N. Security Council India, as events show, found an opportunity to penetrate into areas of Bangladesh rather too irresistibly, and thought, probably rightly, that the time was opportune for according diplomatic recognition to the rebel Government which, as the world knows, commands the approval and loyalty of more than 75 million people.

India has done what all the major powers knew she would do if the drain on her economy, forced by the massive influx of refugees, remained unmitigated.

Of all the big powers, the United States appears to be disturbed the most.

Pakistan's snapping of diplomatic relations with India is but a natural phenomenon, but what is more intriguing is the U.S. decision to suspend credits to India on the ground that India has indulged in delinquent activity.

The American reaction is quite understandable. In fact, one does not have to go farther than the frontiers of Vietnam to get a true picture of the negative aspect of American foreign policy. Its disrespect for the cause of freedom and liberty is simply amazing.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪৬। বাংলাদেশের মানুষের ইচ্ছার প্রতি শ্রদ্ধা দেখাতে হবে	নিউজ ডেসল্যাড	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, EAST BERLIN-DECEMBER 9, 1971  
**RESPECT THE WILL OF THE BANGLADESH PEOPLE**

The war on the Indian sub-continent, by which millions of people are affected, is continuing in all its acuteness. The world public is alarmed about the bloodshed and also the people of the German Democratic Republic watch the conflict with great concern. Now, as before progressive forces the world over demand a political settlement of the Bangladesh problem.

With this demand as a basis, the U. S. S. R. spoke before the United Nations, and with this demand as a basis, the U. S. S. R. Prime Minister expressed his views during his visit to Denmark. There, he repeated that "for the relaxation of tension on the Indian sub- continent, it is necessary' first of all to eliminate the dangerous inner political crisis which arose in East Pakistan as a result of mass, reprisals of Pakistani authorities against the population".

The Yahya Khan regime was well aware of the fact that the flood of refugees and their persecution up to Indian territory would entail grave problems for India. That is why Pakistani authorities prepared for armed conflicts and unleashed the war.....

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪৭। ইয়াহিয়া খান দায়ী	নানইয়াং সিয়াং পু	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

NANYANG SIANG PAU, MALAYSIA. DECEMBER 9, 1971,  
**YAHYA KHAN HELD RESPONSIBLE**

The ruthless repression by the West Pakistan army of the rebels in Bangladesh and the failure to take correct steps for restoring peace in time by respecting the result of the elections, has brought about the present tragedy. It is now too late. The crisis has erupted into war and President Yahya Khan must be held responsible for what has happened.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪৫। যুদ্ধ কেন হলো	ইজভেস্টিয়া	১০ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*IZVESTIA U.S.S.R, DECEMBER, 10, 1971.*

### **WHAT CAUSED THE WAR?**

The sanguinary suppression by the Pakistan authorities of the basic rights and the clearly expressed will of the population of East Pakistan, ruthless terror against millions of people of that part of the country, have been an overt violation of the Universal Human Rights Declaration. Those events are known to have led to a military conflict between India and Pakistan.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪৯। দায়ী কে?	ডেইলি মিরর	১৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE DAILY MIRROR, PHILIPPINES, DECEMBER 14, 1971*

### **WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?**

... The Indian Prime Minister carries a lot of credibility when she says that her country had no recourse but to use force. The repressions in East Pakistan had sent nearly ten million refugees into India. It costs some four million dollars a day to feed them. Not all of them, however, are bonafide refugees. Some are Pakistani infiltrators whom India cannot afford to shelter in any case.

As the source of the repression, the Pakistan Government must bear a major part of the blame. But others are guilty as well. The big powers could have used pressure on Pakistan to stop the repressions, reverse the influx of refugees; and perhaps even lend their good offices, to secure autonomy for East Pakistan. They failed to do so and India had to act to protect her interests.

With Washington unable or unwilling to exercise peaceful intervention, war became inevitable. Curiously, Peking is on the U.S. side now as far as faultfinding is concerned. War, like politics, makes strange bedfellows.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫০। একটি নতুন জাতির জন্ম	ইউটুসান মালয়েশিয়া	২০ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*UTUSAN, MAIAYSIA, DECEMBER 20, 1971*

**A NEW NATION BORN**

The disappearance of East Pakistan from Pakistan's map was caused by the feeling of utter disgust of the people against their rulers. The people in the east wing felt neglected by Islamabad. While they earned most of the foreign exchange for the country, the Central Government deprived them of their right to industrial growth in sharp distinction from the west wing.

Thus, the cherished desire of the people of the east wing to separate themselves from Pakistan has now been achieved with the defeat of Pakistan in the current Indo-Pakistan war. From this defeat has emerged a New nation of Bangladesh.

The seventy-five million people of Bangladesh need financial help and assistance for reconstruction and repair of the damage caused by the war. We would, therefore, appeal to the Muslim countries to take the initiative in helping their brethren in Bangladesh. They should be assured that they could lead a peaceful and prosperous life in their own land.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

## পঞ্চম অধ্যায়

### পত্র-পত্রিক

### ভারত

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫১। এক লক্ষ লোক নিহত?	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

*AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA, CALCUTTA, MARCH 28, 1971*

**GENERAL TIKKA KHAN SHOT DEAD \***

**DACCA, KHULNA BOMBED**

**A LAKH FEARED KILLED**

**FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN MASS ACTION**

Agartala. March 27 -After two days of mounting deaths and destruction, the situation in the East Pakistan civil war was crystallizing tonight with the Sheikh's Bangladesh forces in a commanding position everywhere except in the three major Cantonments of Dacca, Comilla and Jessore as 'many as 100,000 people are feared killed.

Major Zia Khan, Chief of the Bangladesh Liberation Army declared over the free Bangladesh Radio tonight that Bangladesh would be rid of the Pakistani military administration in two or three days.

The Radio Pakistan announcement of Mr. Rahman's arrest (which was later denied by Free Bangla radio) infuriated Dacca residents who stormed the official residence of Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan. Martial Law administrator and shot him dead.

Reliable information reaching here said that flames and smoke danced on Dacca with a population of about ten lakhs and also in Comilla and Khulna where the defending West Pakistanis employed tanks, planes and helicopters in a desperate bid to retain their hold.

Lt-Gen Tikka Khan, martial law administrator of East Pakistan died in a nursing home at 5.15 p. in after being seriously injured when freedom fighters stormed his Dacca residence, reports reaching.

With most of the road and rail links completely cut off by the Sheikh's forces, the movement of West Pakistani troops has been ground to a halt.

Grim fighting was reportedly in progress for control of the dreaded city of Dacca which is feared to have taken a toll of more than two thousand lives in the current fighting.

Hundreds of wounded were lying under the debris of shattered homes, the report said.

Reports from inside the troubled land, broadcast by the Free Bangla Radio Stations and corroborated by other sources across the border, said bombs were dropped over Dacca and Khulna. In the bombing of Dacca a large hospital was destroyed and most of its in patients were killed.

There was no means of estimating the casualties, believed to run into thousands and

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\* ঐ সময় গুজব রটে গিয়েছিল যে আঞ্চলিক সামরিক আইন প্রশাসক ও পূর্ব 'পাকিস্তান'-এর মনোনীত গভর্নর লেং টিক্কা খান নিহত হয়েছেন। অপর এক সংবাদে শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের প্রেফতারের খবরকে অসত্য বলে প্রচার করা হয়েছিল।

fast mounting higher.

The use of tanks and aircraft suggesting the beginnings of a war of attrition followed successful immobilization of troops by the freedom fighters by raising wood and brick barricade across streets in almost all towns, by blowing up bridges over the rivers and streams crisscrossing the land and by dismantling railway tracks and destroying railway stations.

The Pakistani authorities claimed the army had established effective control over the whole of East Pakistan and conditions were fast returning to normal but unwittingly confirmed the impediments in their way when they broadcast a new martial law order calling for removal of all barricades on pain of destruction of all buildings within 1(X) yards of such obstructions.

The army authorities claimed that the father of the newborn Republic Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whom President Yahya Khan had yesterday charged with treason, had been arrested, but the free Bangla Radio stations-at least three of them were on the air at different times during the day-asserted he was safe and free one of them carrying a live broadcast by him assuring the people he was in full command of affairs and exhorting them to carry on the fight.

A steamer carrying arms and ammunition was seized by about 1,000 Bangladesh freedom fighters at Nawabganj. a sub-divisional town on the bank of the Ganga, reports reaching at Krishnanagar said tonight.

The steamer was about to leave for the arm controlled Rajshahi town when it was captured, the reports added.

Mr. Mujibur Rahman, in a proclamation broadcast over a free Bangla Radio, promised to permit the West Pakistani troops to return home safely if they surrendered to the liberation forces with their arms. He warned that if they failed to do 'freedom-fighters will avenge the blood of Bengalis with blood'.

In another proclamation, he declared that anyone in Bangladesh who helped the 'foreign' West Pakistani army would be tried by people's courts.

A Free Bangla broadcast said members of a West Punjabi regiment, under a siege by a Bengali regiment and freedom-fighters since yesterday, had started surrendering. A Baluchi regiment deployed in Bangladesh was said to have defied their West Punjabi Commanders.

Reports from inside Bangladesh said units of the liberation force had repulsed Pakistani troops' attempts to seize control of the towns of Chittagong, Comilla, Dinajpur and Sylhet from the freedom-fighters.

An attempt by the troops to capture the Patenga airport near Chittagong was also foiled. The Liberation force unit there was said to have been led by a Brigadier, named Karim.

Freedom-fighters reported a major success in the capture of Mongla Port. The Chief of the East Pakistan rifles in Khulna with his entire battalion, was pitted against the troops in this action.

They also said naval units at Chittagong and Khulna had joined with the liberation force.

Freedom-fighters today captured the Comilla Police armoury from the control of the military after a day-long Fight with troops, highly reliable reports said.

The fighters removed the arms and distributed these among themselves.

Main supply line to West Pakistani troops in Sylhet district was hit after Bhairab bridge near Akhaura, was blown up by the Liberation army.

A fierce battle raged in Dacca for the second successive day for control of the Dacca Radio, seized by the army when it started the intensive military operations on Thursday night. Casualties on both sides were put at 2,500.

The voice of America said unarmed people in Dacca, the largest city of Bangladesh, had been met by tanks. It also said the Awami League headquarters had been destroyed in the fighting.

One indication of the heavy casualties suffered by the freedom-fighters was a free Bengal radio appeal for blood donations to save the lives of injured liberation force members. Young men were urged to go to the blood bank at the Dacca medical college, which was in the hands of the liberation forces.

Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, leader of the leftwing National Awami Party, today directed members of his peasant organisation, estimated\*to number 50,000, to join the liberation force in Bangladesh.

East Pakistan Riflemen today successfully repulsed an attack by the West Pakistani troops on a EPR centre in Khulna district, authoritative reports received in Calcutta said.

According to these reports troops encircled the centre this afternoon with a view to disarming the EPR men, now freedom-fighters in Bangladesh, when the latter resisted the attack with their guns. Heavy fighting continued for over two hours with casualties on both sides. Later the troops withdrew from the area.

Pakistani Air Force planes, giving air support to the ground forces were, however seen circling the centre for a long time.

In Daulatpur, about miles from Khulna town, the West Pakistani troops machine-gunned a big crowd killing 90 unarmed civilians on the spot. It was not known whether the crowd has assembled to hold a meeting or to offer prayers

Retreating West Pakistani troops today resorted to scorched earth action in several areas in East Pakistan.

Fierce street fighting rocked the major towns of East Pakistan to day and casualties were feared to be very heavy.

Panic-stricken people were reported to be fleeing to the villages.

The Sheikh's clandestine radio station was more in evidence today than ever before since the fighting began.

The streets littered with burnt out vehicles, spent bullets, sticks) stones and broken

glasses told the grim story of the savage fighting between the forces of the Sheikh and those of West Pakistan.

Latest reports said that the West Pakistanis were airlifting troops on a limited scale to augment their strength in East Pakistan.

Reports continue to pour in of heavy street fighting in almost all towns of East Pakistan. Awami League's "freedom-fighters" had blown up the Bhairab bridge near Akhaura and destroyed road and rail communications in several places. They were offering stiff resistance to West Pakistan troops despite the heavy toll of lives.

Radio Pakistan, monitored here this morning, claimed, however, that the situation in East Pakistan had been brought well under control "and that the curfew at Dacca was "being lifted." The Radio continued to broadcast the provisions of martial law orders enforced yesterday and warned the people against their violation.

A number of foreign nationals in Dacca and other places in Bangladesh were injured in firings by West Pakistani troops the free Bangla-Radio said today.

At least 180 persons were killed in Comilla in a clash between the Pakistan and Bangladesh freedom fighters early today, highly reliable reports from across the border said.

The clash occurred when freedom fighters, raided military armory in the district town. Troops machine-gunned the freedom fighters, who included East Pakistan rifleman, policemen, students and other civilians.

Comilla, Sylhet, Mymensingh and Feni towns were under complete control of the Awami League adds our Shillong correspondent.

A people's army of about 12,000 drove out of President Yahya's army after gun battle this morning. The army detachment crossed the Gumti river. The exchange of fire was going on across the river still late in the afternoon.

In Comilla district several railway bridges had been either blown off or uprooted by the liberation force and several roads cut across to disrupt vehicular traffic.

The army detachments had also been forced to withdraw from Bogra town in northern Bangladesh, and also from Mymensingh town, another report said Army detachment in outlandish areas were running short of ammunition and food.

Several road bridges on the highway between Chittagong and Dacca had been damaged by the freedom-fighters in an attempt to halt further movement of army from Chittagong port to other towns of Bangladesh.

The casualties in Chittagong were said to be the heaviest. The Awami League supporters who seized control of the Chittagong radio station overnight, were still holding it this morning.

In Jessore airport area alone, over 1500 urban and rural civilians, many of them clad in "lungis and banians" were killed by machine-gun fire when the Sheikh's supporter armed with spears, lathis, ram daos and daggers, tried to capture the airport.



### **Hartal Call**

The broadcast, heard in Agartala, said Bangladesh forces had surrounded West Pakistani troops in Chittagong, Comilla, Sylhet. Jessore. Barisal and Khulna.

It reiterated the Awami League decision to organise a 'hartal' all over the Eastern wing tomorrow in protest against the Army attacks in the past two days resulting in the death of more than a hundred civilians.

It proclaimed "Banga Bandhu" Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the only leader of Bangladesh "whose commands should be obeyed by the people to save the country from the ruthless dictatorship of West Pakistanis".

Reports received here late tonight spoke of heavy fighting also in curfew-bound Rangpur town one of the three places where the West Pakistani troops shot dead many unarmed civilians two days ago.

Meanwhile curfew was lifted from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. in Dacca today. The Chief Marshal Law Administrator has issued two fresh regulations under which public meetings, demonstrations and processions have been banned and strict censorship imposed on publication and printing, reports Radio Pakistan.

Any contravention of these regulations is punishable with seven years' Rigorous imprisonment.

Reports trickling from across the border said that the port city of Chittagong was completely under the control of free Bangladesh authorities.

Chittagong had gone through a bloodbath on March 25 when Awami League volunteers and others prevented the unloading of troops and equipment from ship arriving from West Pakistan.

The Dacca Cantonment was surrounded by freedom-fighters aided by thousands of common people.

### **Fuel Shortage**

The Pakistan Air force now in East Pakistan is faced with serious fuel shortage, authoritative reports received in Calcutta on today said.

According to these reports, the Pakistan Government made frantic bid to secure this much needed aviation fuel for the Air Force from the Burmese Government and it had been a success of the supply.

The freedom-fighters of Bangladesh' damaged or destroyed large number of bridges in riverine Bengal and army movements are being restricted in towns only.

The situation this morning was described to be serious as the entire population is in revolt against West Pakistani exploiters.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫৩। কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের প্রতি বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দানের আহবান	অতীত বাজার পত্রিকা	২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৭৩

*AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, MARCH 28, 1971*  
**CENTRE URGED TO RECOGNISE BANGLADESH**  
 By A Staff Reporter

The United Left Front at the meeting on Saturday demanded of the Union Government to give immediate recognition to the Sovereign Independent people's Republic of Bangladesh and render assistance to it to defend 'its rights against the imperialist aggression.

Besides this decision, the ULF would hold a mass rally at the Shahid Minar Maidan on Monday to express its solidarity with the struggling people of Bangladesh. The ULF further decided to immediately contact its mass and class organizations to devise a programme for strengthening the hands of fighting people across the border.

The ULF directed its student wings to hold meetings in support of the cause of the people of Bangladesh.

Meanwhile the RSP general secretary, Mr. Tridib Choudhury sent telegrams to President V. V. Giri, the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the External Affairs Minister Mr. Swaran Singh asking them to set up diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Bangladesh. And it pressed for immediate recognition of the Bangladesh.

The Socialist Unity Centre too urged the India Government give recognition to the Sovereign Independent people's Republic of Bangladesh. Moreover, the party called upon the left and democratic parties and mass organizations to chalk out a united programme for building up a mass movement to strengthen the hands of the fighting people of Bangladesh.

Prof. Haripada Bharati, chairman, State Jana Sangh, in a statement not only condemned the military Dictator of Islamabad for a genocide in East Pakistan but also urged the Government of India not to remain an idle spectator. The Union Government should recognize the independent Bangladesh. Prof. Bharati asked his party units all over the State to demonstrate solidarity with the struggling people of Bangladesh.

The CITU also extended support to the freedom fighters of Bangladesh and urged the working class to express solidarity with the people across the border. It also asked the West Bengal Government to lift section 144 Cr. PC from the city so that people could demonstrate sympathy with the people of Bangladesh.

### **Sampriti Samity**

On behalf of the Purba-O-Pachim Bangla Samprity Samity also a statement was issued on the day appealing to all those who shared the cherished ideals to contribute generously to the organization so that it could function effectively for normalization of relations between two Bengals.

The signatories to the statement were Messrs, Tarashankar Bandyopadhyay, Tushar kanti Ghosh, Ananda Shankar Ray, Ashoke Kumar Sarkar, Manoj Bose, Promode Kumar Sannyal, Hirmoy Banerji and Justice Shankar Prasad Mitra.

President of the West Bengal Chhatra Parishad, students wing of the Congress (O) Subir Chaudhuri, in a telegram to the Prime Minister said one thousand Chhatra parishad workers were ready to help the people of Bangladesh. "Please allow us to go to East Bengal to help the freedom fighters".

Prof. Samar Guha, MP. addressing a press conference said that the declaration of independence by the people of Bangladesh under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman soon after the promulgation of the new martial law by General Yahya Khan is the greatest revolutionary event after partition of India. The whole people of Bangladesh has risen to a total revolution against the colonial domination of West Pakistan.

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	শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫৪।	সম্পাদকীয় : বাংলাদেশের জন্য আমরা কি করতে পারি	আনন্দ বাজার	৩০ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

## বাংলাদেশের জন্য আমরা কি করতে পারি

বুধবার পশ্চিমবঙ্গে হরতালের ডাক এই রাজ্যের মানুষের ব্যাপক সমর্থন লাভ করেছে। তার কারণ, মানুষ এই মুহূর্তে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের প্রতি সহানুভূতি, সহমর্মিতা ও সমর্থন প্রকাশ করার জন্য যে গভীর আকুতি বোধ করছেন সেটা এই হরতালের ভিতর দিয়ে রূপায়িত হতে পারে। যদিও একথা বলা যেতে পারে যে, এমন একটা প্রচণ্ড আবেগে মথিত উপলক্ষে হরতালের উপযোগিতা নিতান্তই সীমাবদ্ধ, তাহলেও এ বিষয়ে সন্দেহ নেই যে, এই হরতালের মধ্য দিয়ে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের মানুষের মনোভাব একটা স্বতঃস্ফূর্ত অভিব্যক্তি লাভ করবে। এই হরতালের মূল উদ্দেশ্য সম্পর্কে যেখানে কোন বিরোধ নেই সেখানে জনসাধারণের ঐক্য যাতে অটুট থাকে সেদিকে লক্ষ্য রাখা প্রয়োজন। এই হরতাল পরিপূর্ণ শান্তির মধ্যে, সম্পূর্ণ বিনা বাধায় উদযাপিত হওয়া উচিত। আমরা আশা করি যে, বুধবারের হরতালের উদ্যোক্তারা এ বিষয়ে দৃষ্টি দেবেন।

কিন্তু, প্রশ্ন হচ্ছে, হরতালের পর কি? এটা কি আদৌ অস্বাভাবিক নয় যে, এই দেশের মানুষ প্রতিবেশী দেশের সংগ্রামীদের বাস্তব ও সুনির্দিষ্ট সাহায্য দেওয়ার জন্য বলতে গেলে অস্থির হয়ে উঠেছে। এই বাংলাদেশের মানুষগুলি কয়েক বছর আগে আমাদের স্বদেশবাসী ছিল। বিশেষ করে, পশ্চিমবঙ্গের অধিবাসীদের সঙ্গে তাদের নাত্তির যোগ রয়েছে। এই জীবন মরণ পরীক্ষার দিনে তাদের প্রতি এদেশের মানুষের হৃদয়ের গভীরতম তন্ত্রীগুলি সহানুভূতির সুরে অনুরণিত হওয়া স্বাভাবিক। কিন্তু সেকথা ছেড়ে দিলেও, সেখানে যা হচ্ছে সেটা বলতে গেলে ইতিহাসের একটা অভূতপূর্ব ঘটনা। অসামরিক শাসনের বিরুদ্ধে সামরিক অভ্যুত্থান আমরা দেখেছি, সামরিক শাসনের বিরুদ্ধে অসামরিক জনতার প্রতিরোধও আমরা দেখেছি, কিন্তু একটা সামরিক শাসনের বিরুদ্ধে অসামরিক অভ্যুত্থান, অসামরিক জনতা কর্তৃক সামরিক শাসনের অধীন রাষ্ট্রযন্ত্র অধিকার, এমন দৃশ্য কে কবে দেখেছে? ভারতের মানুষ ঘরের পাশে বলেই এই ঘটনার তাৎপর্যটা সঠিকভাবে উপলব্ধি করছে। সরকারী বিবৃতির মধ্য দিয়ে, লোকসভার সদস্যদের বক্তৃতার মধ্য দিয়ে, দিল্লীর জনসভার মধ্য দিয়ে, কলকাতার ময়দানের জনসভার মধ্য দিয়ে, বোম্বাইয়ে ও অন্যত্র বিক্ষোভ প্রদর্শনের মধ্য দিয়ে বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামী মানুষের প্রতি এদেশের মানুষের অভূতপূর্ব মমতা প্রকাশ পেয়েছে। আর সেই সঙ্গে প্রকাশ পেয়েছে ঐ সংগ্রামী মানুষগুলির পাশে এসে দাঁড়াবার জন্য, যেভাবে হোক, তাদের সাহায্য করার জন্য একটা গভীর আকুতি।

এখন পর্যন্ত এই আকুতি অসংগঠিত ও বাস্তব পরিকল্পনাহীন। সকলেই বুঝছে, একটা কিছু করা দরকার। কিন্তু ঠিক কি করার দরকার অথবা কতটা করা যায় সে বিষয়ে কারও স্পষ্ট কোন ধারণা নেই। সেই কারণে পরস্পরের সঙ্গে সঙ্গতি রক্ষার কোন চেষ্টা না করে যিনি যেমন বুঝছেন তেমনিভাবে কথা বলছেন। কিছু তরুণ উদ্দেশ্যহীনভাবে সীমান্তে গিয়ে ভিড় করছেন, কেউ অনশন করছেন, কেউ পাকিস্তানী দূতাবাসগুলির সামনে গিয়ে বিক্ষোভ প্রদর্শন করছেন। আসল কথা হল, মানুষের মধ্যে যে আবেগ দেখা দিয়েছে, বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের পাশে দিয়ে দাঁড়াবার জন্য যে গভীর আগ্রহের সৃষ্টি হয়েছে সেটাকে হরতালের পর একটা সুনির্দিষ্ট, একমুখী কর্মসূচীর মধ্যে সংহত করার পরিকল্পনা নেই, সেই উদ্দেশ্যে তাদের সামনে নেতৃত্বও রাখা হচ্ছে না। মানুষের আগ্রহ-উদ্দীপনাকে এভাবে বিক্ষিপ্ত হয়ে যেতে দেওয়া শুধু অপচয়কর নয়, ক্ষতিকারকও হতে পারে। এমনকি, এটা পশ্চিমবঙ্গের গতানুগতিক রাজনৈতিক দলাদলির আরেকটি উপলক্ষে পরিণত হওয়াও সম্ভব। এই আগ্রহ-উদ্দীপনা যাতে একটা নির্দিষ্ট খাতে প্রবাহিত হয় সেজন্য নেতৃত্বানীয়া মানুষদের এগিয়ে আসতে হবে। অন্যদ্য রাজ্যের তুলনায় পশ্চিমবঙ্গেই এর বেশী প্রয়োজন।

প্রতিবেশী দেশের এই ঘটনা সম্পর্কে নয়াদিল্লিতে ভারত সরকার কি নীতি গ্রহণ করবেন তা আরও কয়েক দিন না গেলে বোঝা যাবে না। সরকারকে অবশ্যই অনেক ভাবনা-চিন্তা করে, চারদিক বাঁচিয়ে তাঁদের নীতি স্থির করতে হবে। তাহলেও বেসরকারী স্তরে মানুষ যদি সরকারী নীতির সঙ্গে সামঞ্জস্য রক্ষা করেও কয়েক পা এগিয়ে

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

যায় তাহলে কোন ক্ষতি নেই এবং সরকারও তাতে বাধা দিতে পারবেন না। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশের মানুষের আজ ঠিক কি ধরনের সাহায্য প্রয়োজন তা যাচাই করার জন্য, প্রয়োজনীয় সাহায্য সংগঠিত করার জন্য, সেই সাহায্য যথাস্থানে পৌঁছে দেওয়ার জন্য রীতিমত একটা সংস্থা গড়ে তোলা দরকার। পশ্চিমবঙ্গে অবিলম্বে যদি সর্বস্তরের মানুষদের প্রতিনিধিদের নিয়ে একটা শক্তিশালী কমিটি তৈরি করা হয় তাহলে এমন একটা সংগঠিত কর্মসূচী নিয়ে হয়তো অগ্রসর হওয়া যাবে যাতে বাংলাদেশের মানুষকে তাদের এই বিপদের দিনে সত্যিকার সাহায্য দেওয়া যাবে। আর তা না হলে সমস্ত আবেগই একটা নিরর্থক অপচয়ে পর্যবসিত হয়ে যেতে পারে অথবা ভুল পথে চালিত হয়ে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সহায়ক না হয়ে ক্ষতিকারক হয়ে উঠতে পারে।

(সম্পাদকীয়)

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫৪। বাংলাদেশে সার্বভৌম সরকার	ইন্ডিয়ান এক্সপ্রেস	৩১ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

*INDIAN EXPRESS, NEW DELHI, MARCH 31, 1971*

### **SOVEREIGN GOVT. IN BANGLADESH**

Calcutta, March 30, (UNI). The Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is the Sovereign Legal Government of Bangladesh and is entitled to recognition from all democratic countries of the world. Major Zia the provisional Commander-in-Chief of the liberation army declared this morning.

In a broadcast over the Free Bangla Radio on behalf of the Sheikh, Maj-Zia said, "The new democratic Government is committed to a policy of non- alignment in international relations. It will seek friendship with all nations and strive for international peace.

Maj-Zia began the broadcast with these words : "I, Major Zia, provisional Commander-in-Chief of the Bangla liberation army, hereby proclaim on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the independence of Bangladesh. "I also declare that we have already formed a sovereign legal Government under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman which pledges to function as per law and the constitution. We, therefore, appeal to all democratic and peace loving countries of the world to recognize the democratic Government of Bangladesh".

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫৬। সম্পাদকীয়ঃ আবেদনের গণহত্যা বন্ধ হবে না	যুগান্তর	১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

## আবেদনে গণহত্যা বন্ধ হবে না

সংসদ প্রস্তাব নিয়েছেন। পূর্ব বাংলার মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের সংগ্রামে তাঁরা অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন জানিয়েছেন। আর নিন্দা করেছেন পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের গণহত্যার। সংসদ সদস্যদের দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের ঐতিহাসিক সংগ্রাম শেষ পর্যন্ত জয়যুক্ত হবে। আবেগকম্পিত কণ্ঠে বক্তৃতা করেছেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী। সর্বস্বত্বক্রমে গৃহীত হয়েছে প্রস্তাব। দুনিয়ার বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র এবং জনতার কাছে আবেদন জানিয়েছেন সংসদ সদস্যরা। তাঁরা যেন পূর্ববাংলার গণহত্যা বন্ধের জন্য পাকিস্তান সরকারের উপর চাপ দেন। প্রস্তাবের বয়ান সুন্দর। ভাষায় রয়েছে সরল প্রাণের আকুল ক্রন্দন। ধ্বনিত হয়েছে দিশাহারা এবং উদ্বেলিত সাধারণ মানুষের অন্তরবেদনা। সীমান্তের ঠিক ওপারে ফ্যাসিস্ত দস্যুদের নৃশংস অত্যাচারে হাহাকার করছে মানবত্ব। এপারে দাঁড়িয়ে দেখছেন গণতন্ত্রী ভারতের লক্ষ লক্ষ নরনারী। যাঁরা নরপশুদের উদ্দাম হত্যালীলা থেকে গণতন্ত্র বাঁচবার কঠিন সংগ্রামে লিপ্ত তাঁদের কাছে হাতিয়ার পৌঁছে দিতে পারছেন না তাঁরা। প্রতিদিন গড়ে উঠছে শবের পাহাড়। এ অবস্থায় নৈতিক সমর্থনের এবং গাঢ় সহানুভূতির বাস্তব মূল্য কতটুকু? ওপারের মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের কাতর মিনতি- অস্ত্র নাই। দানবীয় শক্তির বিরুদ্ধে লড়াই-এ শেষ পর্যন্ত আমরা জিতবই। হত্যার ব্যাপকতা এড়াবার জন্য দরকার অস্ত্র এবং সমরসম্ভার।

ইসলামাবাদের ডাকাত সর্দাররা নৈতিক উপদেশের ধার ধারেন না। তাঁরা বিশ্বাসঘাতক এবং হীনচক্রী। আপোষ আলোচনার অনিচ্ছায় সৈন্য এবং অস্ত্রশস্ত্র এনেছেন তাঁরা পূর্ববাংলায়। তারপর অতর্কিতে হেনেছেন প্রচণ্ড আঘাত। মুজিবর পাকিস্তানকে টুকরো করে ফেলতে চাননি। চেয়েছিলেন ছ’দফাভিত্তিক স্বায়ত্তশাসন। জাতীয় পরিষদের নির্বাচিত সদস্যদের মধ্যে তাঁর দল নিরঙ্কুশ সংখ্যাধিক্য। গণতন্ত্রের মৌলনীতি অনুযায়ী তিনিই গোটা পাকিস্তানের সত্যিকারের নেতা। লোকায়ত্ত সরকার পরিচালনা এবং সংবিধান রচনার পুরা দায়িত্ব তাঁর উপর। ভূইফোঁড় ডিক্টেটর ইয়াহিয়া তা স্বীকার করেননি। পশুবলে তিনি বাংলাকে বগলদাবা করতে চেয়েছেন। তাঁর ধৃষ্টতা সীমাহীন। মুজিবর রাষ্ট্রদ্রোহী, আর নরাঘাতী এবং বিশ্বাসঘাতক সামরিক নেতা ইয়াহিয়া দেশপ্রেমিক। ইসলামাবাদের হঠকারীর এই প্রগলভ উক্তিই পূর্ব বাংলাকে ঠেলে দিয়েছে সার্বভৌম স্বাধীনতার পথে। মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা নেমেছেন রাস্তায়। দখলকারী সৈন্যদের বাধা দিচ্ছেন জান-প্রাণ দিয়ে। হাজার হাজার শহীদে রক্তে যাদের হাত কলঙ্কিত শুধু আবেদনে বন্ধ হবে তাদের রাক্ষুসী ক্ষুধা- এ কল্পনা অবাস্তব। পাকিস্তান দু’ভাগে ভাগ হয়ে গেছে। একদিকে স্বাধীন এবং সার্বভৌম বাংলাদেশ, অপর দিকে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের সামরিক সরকার। একের হাতে জনতার সনদ এবং অপর হাতে আসুরিক দল। একের লক্ষ্য গণতন্ত্রের প্রতিষ্ঠা এবং অপর লক্ষ্য তার ধ্বংস। এ দুয়ের মধ্যে কোন মিলন সেতু নেই। যদি থাকত তবে মুজিবর-আয়ুব আলোচনার সময়ই তা বেরিয়ে পড়ত। বাঙালীর উপর ডাল কুণ্ডাদের লেলিয়ে দেবার প্রয়োজন ইয়াহিয়ার হত না। নয়াদিল্লী কি মনে করেন, বৃটেন এবং আমেরিকা ইয়াহিয়ার উপর সক্রিয় চাপ দেবে? সেন্টার শরিক হিসেবে আপৎকালে ইসলামাবাদের শাসককুলের পাশে দাঁড়াতে ওরা কি প্রতিশ্রুত নয়? চীন পড়েছে উভয় সংকটে। এতদিন সে দহরম-মহরম করেছে ভুট্টো-ইয়াহিয়ার সঙ্গে। এখন পূর্ববাংলার উত্তাল তরঙ্গে নৌকা ভাসাতে তার সরম লাগছে। দুনিয়ার সর্বত্র গণ-আন্দোলনের উদ্দাম সমর্থনে চীনের বিপ্লবী আত্মা নেচে উঠে। পূর্ব বাংলার বেলায় সে নীরব। সোবিয়ট রাশিয়ার পদক্ষেপ সতর্ক। সে মুখ খুলছে না। মার্কিন, সোভিয়েট এবং চীনা অস্ত্র নিয়ে ইয়াহিয়ার ফ্যাসিস্ত বর্বরদল চালাচ্ছে বাংলাদেশে গণহত্যা। সামরিক অস্ত্র ব্যবহৃত হচ্ছে অসামরিক জনতা ধ্বংসে। গণহত্যা প্রতিরোধে এদের সাহায্য পাওয়া দুঃসাধ্য। অথচ তাদের সমর্থন ছাড়া রাষ্ট্রসংঘে এক পাও এগুনো যাবে না।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

মুজিবর এখন যে পর্যায়ে এসেছেন সেখান থেকে পূর্ববাহ্য ফিরে যাওয়া তাঁর পক্ষে সম্ভব নয়। লক্ষ শহীদের শোণিতধারার অপমান সহ্য করবেন না বিদ্রোহী বাঙালী। স্বাধীনতার ঘোষণার প্রত্যাহারের পরিণতি বর্তমান নেতৃত্বের আত্মহত্যা। সংগ্রামের চরম মুহূর্তে এ পথ নিতে পারেন না কোন দূরদর্শী এবং বাস্তববাদী নেতা। পদ্মার জলে নৌকা ডুবিয়ে চলে গেছেন ইয়াহিয়া খান। ডুবো নৌকা টেনে তোলা সম্ভব নয়। ইয়াহিয়ার আত্মসমর্পণের অর্থ তাঁর গদীচ্যুতি। দুই চরম পথ এক জায়গায় মিশবার চেষ্টা ব্যর্থ হতে বাধ্য। তবু আপোষের অলীক স্বপ্ন দেখছেন নয়াদিল্লী। বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে কথা বলা কোন অধিকার নেই ইসলামাবাদের। ওদের ঔপনিবেশিক শাসন চূর্ণবিচূর্ণ। হয়ত লড়াই চলবে দীর্ঘদিন। শেষ পর্যন্ত জিতবেন গণতন্ত্রী শক্তি। সংসদ সদস্যরাও তাই মনে করেন। এই যদি হয়ে থাকে তাঁদের আন্তরিক বিশ্বাস তবে ন্যায়ের সঙ্গে অন্যায়ের বোঝাপড়ার আশা তাঁরা ছেড়ে দেন। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের হিংস শাসকদের বিবেকের উপর চাঁটি মারার অভ্যাস পরিত্যাগ করুন। যে জিনিসের কোন অস্তিত্ব নেই তার উপর চাপ এবং তার কাছে আর্জি অর্থহীন। স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সরকারের রীতিসম্মত আবেদন আসা মাত্রই তাকে কূটনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি দানের জন্য প্রস্তুত থাকুন। তাহলেই পূর্বের মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা পাবেন অফুরন্ত সংগ্রামী প্রেরণা। সম্বিত ফিরবে ফ্যাসিস্ট বর্বরদের। শবের পাহাড় হয়ত বাড়বে। কিন্তু গণতন্ত্র জয়যুক্ত হবে। বাংলাদেশ বাঁচবে।

(সম্পাদকীয়)

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫৭। প্রাক্তন পাক কূটনীতিকরা বলেনঃ আমরা বাংলাদেশের অনুগত	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

## আমরা বাংলাদেশে অনুগত প্রাক্তন পাক কূটনীতিকদের বিবৃতি

নয়াদিল্লী, ৭ এপ্রিল-শ্রী কে এম সাহাবুদ্দিন ও শ্রী আমজাদুল হক এক যুক্ত বিবৃতিতে বলেছেন, বাংলাদেশের জনসাধারণ ইসলামাবাদ সরকারকে বিদেশী ঔপনিবেশিক শাসকচক্র হিসেবেই গণ্য করেন। পূর্ববঙ্গের অধিবাসী এই দুই পাকিস্তানী কূটনীতিক গতকাল ভারতে রাজনৈতিক আশ্রয় লাভ করেন। যুক্ত বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে, ইসলামাবাদের শাসকদের বর্বরতার নজির ইতিহাসে নেই। নিরস্ত্র জনসাধারণের উপর ব্যাপক হত্যালীলা কতদূর চালানো হয়েছে-বিশ্বের জনমত তা উপলব্ধি করতে শুরু করেছেন।

ওঁরা বলেন, ইসলামাবাদের ফ্যাসিবাদী সামরিক একনায়কত্বের সঙ্গে আমরা সম্পর্কচ্ছেদ করেছি। আমাদের বিবেকের নির্দেশে ইসলামাবাদের চাকরি আমরা ত্যাগ করলাম। বাংলাদেশের পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা দখলদার বাহিনী ছাড়া কিছুই নয়।

এখন থেকে আমরা বাংলাদেশের কাছেই আমাদের আনুগত্য জানাচ্ছি। সাড়ে সাত কোটি বাঙালীর সুস্পষ্ট নির্দেশেই বাংলাদেশ সার্বভৌম ক্ষমতায় অধিষ্ঠিত। আমরা পৃথিবীর সব সব্যমানুষের কাছে সহানুভূতি ও সুনির্দিষ্ট সাহায্যের জন্য আবেদন জানাচ্ছি। পৃথিবীর সব দেশকেই আমরা আবেদন করছি-সার্বভৌম রাষ্ট্র বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি দিন।

স্বাধীন বাংলা বেতার গত সপ্তাহে বাঙালী কূটনীতিকদের উদ্দেশ্যে এক ঘোষণায় বলা হয়েছিল, বদলির আদেশ পেলে তাঁরা যেন যে দেশে আছেন-সেই দেশের রাজনৈতিক আশ্রয় প্রার্থনা করেন। ওই দু'জন কূটনীতিক গত সপ্তাহে বদলির আদেশ পান।

আমাদের অনুরোধেই ভারত সরকার আমাদের নিরাপদ জায়গায় নিয়ে যাচ্ছেন। বাংলাদেশের সার্বভৌম সরকারের নেতৃবৃন্দের নির্দেশিত পথ অনুযায়ী আমাদের দেশের কাজে আত্মনিয়োগ করতে আমরা শীগগিরই ফিরে আসছি ! জয় বাংলা।

-ইউ এন আই

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫৮। ভারত নীরব দর্শক নয়	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA, APRIL 8, 1971*  
**INDIA SHOULD NOT BE PASSIVE OBSERVER'**

Mr. Prafulla Chandra Sen, former Chief Minister of West Bengal; Dr. P. C. Chunder, President, W.B.P.C.C.(O), and Mr. Gobindalall Banerjee, have issued the following statement in Calcutta on Wednesday:

The political situation in Bangladesh is now clear. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the lawfully and democratically elected leader of the majority party in the whole of Pakistan has formed Provisional Government of the free and independent Bangladesh in the Eastern part of Pakistan with the sanction of the people in a circumstance which is known to all. Unlike other countries India has special reasons which are patently clear, to be greatly concerned with the swiftly changing situation in Bangladesh. Other countries including the Western part of Pakistan do not hear the cries of the fighting people who are being mercilessly killed in thousands. They do not see the devastation that is carried on in Bangladesh but India does. To us, because of the proximity the country, it is not newspaper report alone but visual experience. It is not a fight of cannon against cannon or bombing against bombing. It is a fight between total non-co-operation and mad use of modern foreign weapon. It is a fight which knows no defeat. It will degrade us if we remain a helpless witness to the brutalities. History will paint us black if we do not act in a situation like this. Let the people of Bangladesh know and believe that India will respect, and if necessary, guard their independence for all time to come. It is now the time that declaration to that effect would follow the dignified and solemn solidarity resolution that has already been adopted unanimously by the Parliament"-(PTI).

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫৯। মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা রাজশাহী পুনর্দখল করেছে	হিন্দুস্তান টাইমস	৯ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

HINDUSTAN TIMES, APRIL 9, 1971  
**MUJIB MEN RECAPTURE RAJSHAHI**

Agartala, April 8 (UNI, PTI)-Even as Bangladesh freedom fighters liberated Rajshahi and moved on to challenge the West Pakistani troops in encampments elsewhere, Pakistani planes today rained napalm bombs in the northern parts of the land to spread more destruction.

The liberation forces triumphed at Rajshahi after a week-long battle. They also drove out the Pakistani troops from Saidpur after a fierce struggle.

The troops in Jessore were in a precarious position with the liberation forces stepping up the tempo of the battle there. A major battle was in progress in Comilla, which, contrary to some reports of yesterday, was still in the hands of the Pakistani Army.

In the Sylhet area, the freedom fighters captured the Khadimnagar cantonment, where retreating troops from the main town had taken refuge two days ago. The Pakistanis withdrew to the Salutikar airfield and the -hilly area of a tea estate, about 10 kilometres from the town.

Awami League sources reported that an unpublicised battle was going on for the control of the Khulna industrial belt. They said that after several days of effort, the tide in this area had turned in favor of the freedom-fighters, under the command of Sheikh Nasiruddin, Banga. bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's younger brother, who was providing able leadership despite being physically handicapped.

Reports from Rajshahi said a crushing defeat was inflicted on the Pakistani troops there. Nineteen Army personnel were killed in the fighting and about 200 others had been taken prisoner.

Freedom fighters were engaged in repairing the equipment of the Rajshahi radio station.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬০। বুদ্ধিজীবী নিধন	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	১০ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA, APRIL 10, 1971*

## **MASSACRE OF INTELLECTUALS**

By Narayan Chaudhury

The marauding forces of Yahya Khan let loose on Bangladesh have razed the Dacca University to the ground. It is said that the Rajshahi University also has shared the same fate at the hands of the West Pakistan borders.

The grim story of destruction of the Dacca University does not end with the demolition of the buildings including total complex of class rooms, laboratories libraries, students' halls, staff quarters etc., situated inside the campus of the University, side by side with the wanton ravages of this beautiful seat of learning is also reported the almost unbelievable but nevertheless true story of the butchery of about fifty professors who taught in this premier university. These professors\_ among whom there are some top intellectuals of East Bengal, are believed to have fallen to the bullets or mortar fire of barbarous enemy.

To those who have seen the Dacca University with its imposing structures and sprawling green lawns spread over a vast area of Ramna and its adjacent neighborhoods the news of its having been destroyed by West Pakistani army action itself must have appeared an inconsolable loss. The loss is rendered many more times unbearable when we hear of the massacre of some of the most distinguished academicians of the university along with its physical ruination. We are shocked beyond measure at the exhibition of this uncalled for savagery by the Pakistani Army.

### **Parallels**

The gruesome tragedy is not of course, without historical parallels. The pattern of the killings and of the circumstances under which these took place brings to mind the bitter memory of the Hitlerite hordes onslaughts on culture and all that it connotes some forty years back. It is all of a piece with the fascist technique of extirpation of intellectual elites of a country in a bid to extort obedience from the multitudes by denying them help and guidance from their leading lights.

### **Islamabad**

But the clique's calculations are totally wrong. Mad after suppressing a whole people by any means, they are oblivious of the lessons of history. Facists everywhere have met their doom by the very processes they unleashed to crush their opponents. The engines of torture and tyranny set in motion by them as an invariable part of their unscrupulous lust

for power have always unfailingly boomeranged. The same thing is going to happen to the West Pakistani fascists in East Bengal. The ruthless forces of history must operate according to its own set laws. Yahya's hordes are bound to meet their grave in the plains of Bangladesh by the way logic of their criminal folly.

The minority rulers of West Pakistan have not yet been able to gauge the extent and depth of the feeling of solidarity exemplified by the people of Bangladesh in the face of the most treacherous attack yet recorded in history on their life and liberty. Intellectuals, or non intellectuals, the entire population of Bangladesh are united to a man under the banner of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and it is their bedrock resolve to remain so under all circumstances. They are unshakable in their determination to light to the last till final victory is won. Confronted with such determined patriotism of an entire people ready to stake everything for their country, the military junta of Rawalpindi headed by an unabashed dictator and assisted by several divisions of mercenary soldiers on the rampage are very hard put to make even a face-saving show of their prowess. They might be armed to the teeth equipped with the latest mass killing weapons but even with these positive advantages over a practically unarmed opponent, it is very, very difficult to break the morale of a people newly awakened to a sense of free nationhood and bound together by the firm purpose of asserting and maintaining it at all costs. Decimation of some intellectuals here and some there, although the loss is a very grievous one, will not be able to thwart the resurgence of Bangladesh in the least. By now we have seen enough of the stamina courage and sustaining power of the Mujibur's liberation force to lead us to that firm conviction.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬১। যুদ্ধের ঘনঘটা (সম্পাদকীয়)	ফ্রন্টিয়ার	১০ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE FRONTIER, APRIL 10, 1971*

**Editorial  
WATCHING THE WAR**

From reports coming from border areas East Pakistan or Bangladesh, the trends of the fighting going on there are now a little more understandable than they were a week ago. Eyewitness accounts from hidden reporters and refugees add up to a carnage- bombing of towns, mass killing, raping, looting and terrorizing of civilians by West Pakistan troops which accord less with the picture of a startled Administration trying to quell secessionist mobs than with the insensate behavior of an' occupation army.

On the other hand, the earlier reports from the Free Bengal Radio and Indian newspapers to the effect that the West Pakistani troops have been all driven into cantonments now appear to be more wishful thinking than normal war propaganda. It is more probable that an army of 80,000 soldiers who cannot move out in a vast countryside crisscrossed by rivers and canals to its advantage, has deliberately concentrated in cantonments and comes out to destroy the hostiles as and when it finds it less expensive in fuel and ammunition. Its logistics have been complicated by the absence of firm expectations of fulfillment of contracts with Burma and Ceylon which seem to have backed out.

The most heartening surprise sprung during the last fortnight has been the fortitude and resilience shown by the people. They were not covered by the military strength. The popular fighting force is constituted by the First Bengal Regiment. East Pakistan Rifles and the police. The Bengal Regiment must be owing its name to Bengali officers and not jawans; therefore the strength of the rebel regiment is doubtful. Moreover, during the negotiation between General Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujib, these officers and jawans were stealthily disarmed and disbanded; it is hardly possible that they could have taken with them many arms and much ammunition without causing disruption of the negotiations. And compared to the modern armament of the Pakistani army, the weapons in the bands of the police, mujahids and Ansars primitive. The question therefore uppermost is not how long the rebels will be able to stand in open confrontation but how they dared to take the offensive, if they had taken it at all, at some places. As the war goes on they may be able to snatch lighter weapons through ambush but acquiring heavy arms through defeating the enemy is another matter.

The speeches that the Sheikh was making during the fortnight preceding March 25 urged people to prepare themselves against military onslaught. But the way he had conducted his payment and supporters, who constituted 70 per cent of the adults in

Bangladesh, leads one to imagine that armed resistance was not on the Awami League cards. The way many of the party leaders are reported to have been captured and shot dead do not show that they were prepared. It takes time for such a party to get ready for armed struggle. Quite a few of the emissaries of the party crossing the borders betray their petty-bourgeois character: nationalism resembling communalism and lack of organization for popular armed resistance. Many of them talk to their own villagers in a lordly way and intensely distrust the communists who are fighting along with them the same enemy. They would not like anyone in Bangladesh not affiliated with the Awami League to get help from across the borders.

In the absence of extensive and authentic reports from the war-raven country, it is not yet time to discern the pattern of resistance. Who are really giving the military junta a hell of a lime? There can't be a homogeneous picture but significant traits must lie emerging as days pass. And that must be the reason why the Big powers are watching the scene with restraint. They are waiting to see who eventually come out as the decisive factor. India has from the beginning been supporting Bangladesh because nothing would be more to her advantage than disintegrated Pakistan; and a Bangladesh under the control of the Awami League would be a double advantage.

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	শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬২।	ক্ষমাহীন অপরাধ (সম্পাদকীয়)	কম্পাস	১০ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

## ক্ষমাহীন অপরাধ

সমস্ত ভারত আজ ““বাংলাদেশ”” বা পূর্ববঙ্গের পরিস্থিতি নিয়ে অভূতপূর্ব এক উদ্বেগের মধ্যে প্রকৃত সংবাদের জন্য উদগ্রীব। যে সয়তানী চক্রান্ত করে পূর্ববঙ্গের নেতাদের উপর ও জনসাধারণের উপর এত অতর্কিত পৈশাচিক আক্রমণ করা হয়েছিল, তার পরিণামে কত যে নিরস্ত্র নিরীহ জনসাধারণের প্রাণ গিয়েছে তার ইয়ত্তা নেই। রাজধানী ঢাকা যে একটি শাশানে পরিণত হয়েছে এ সংবাদ আজ চারিদিক থেকে বেরিয়ে আসছে। এত বড় ঐতিহাসিক হত্যাকাণ্ডকে চাপা দেওয়া সম্ভব হবে না। ঢাকা, চট্টগ্রাম, খুলনা, যশোর প্রভৃতি শহর গুলিতে এত মড়া এখনও রাস্তায় পড়ে আছে যা এখনও সরানো সম্ভব হয়নি, সরাবার লোকও নেই। ৫/৬ লক্ষ লোককে হয়তো হত্যা করা হয়েছে। কোন বড় আকারের যুদ্ধেও এত লোক মরে না- মাত্র এক সপ্তাহের মধ্যে এত বড় হত্যাকাণ্ডটি ঘটিয়েছে। পূর্ববঙ্গের নবজাগ্রত যুবশক্তির একটা বিরাট অংশকে ওরা হয়তো শেষ করে দিয়েছে।

এতদসত্ত্বেও জল্লাদ ইয়াহিয়া খান ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। এই পাষন্ড জেনারেলটি মনে করছিল যে ২/৩ দিনের এক প্রচণ্ড আঘাতেই পূর্ববঙ্গের মেরুদণ্ড একেবারে ভেঙ্গে ফেলা সম্ভব হবে, এবং সেই প্রচণ্ড অতর্কিত আক্রমণের প্ল্যান নিখুঁতভাবে তৈরী হয়েছিল, প্রতিটি আইন সভার সদস্যদের পিছনে সামরিক গুপ্তবাহিনীর চরদের ছায়ার মত অনুসরণ করার ব্যবস্থা করে। হয়তো এমনও হতে পারে নবনির্বাচিত সদস্যদের বেশীর ভাগকেই ঐ ২৫শের রাত্রিতেই ধরে ফেলে এবং হয়তো হত্যাও করে ফেলে। রাত্রির অন্ধকারেই ইউনিভার্সিটি আক্রমণ করে প্রতিটি হলের ঘুমন্ত ছেলেদের নির্বিচারে গুলী করে এবং অধ্যাপকেরাও রেহাই পান না- আর গোটা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে আগুণ ধরিয়ে দেয়। তারপরে কত কি পৈশাচিক কাণ্ড করে সমস্ত শহরের উপর, পর পর কয়েক দিন ও রাত্রি ধরে তার বীভৎস বিবরণ ক্রমশ প্রকাশ হবে।

এতদসত্ত্বেও ইয়াহিয়া খান ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। ২/৩ দিন তো দূরের কথা ২ সপ্তাহ পার হতে চললো, পূর্ব বাংলার নরনারীদের মেরুদণ্ড ভগ্ন করা সম্ভব হয়নি, তাদের প্রাণে আতঙ্ক ও ত্রাস সৃষ্টি করা সম্ভব হয়নি। শহরগুলির উপরও সর্বত্র তাদের জুলুমী রাজ পুনঃপ্রতিষ্ঠিত করা সম্ভব হয়নি, ক্যান্টনমেন্ট গুলিই তাদের হাতে- শহরগুলি হয় এখনও জনতার হাতে, নয়তো পরিত্যক্ত- উভয়পক্ষ থেকেই। দিনাজপুর, রাজশাহী, কুষ্টিয়া প্রভৃতি শহরগুলির উপর বোমারু বিমান থেকে বোমা ফেলাতে শত্রুপক্ষের শক্তির পরিচয় প্রকাশ পায় না, উক্ত শহরগুলি যে তাদের এখনও হাতছাড়া, এবং ধ্বংস করা ছাড়া তাদের প্রতিরোধ শক্তি নষ্ট করা সম্ভব নয়, এতে তারই প্রমাণ হয় মাত্র। জনসাধারণ যদি আর একটুও এই প্রতিরোধ বজায় রাখতে পারে, তবে এই যুদ্ধ শীঘ্রই একটা অচলাবস্থা বা Statemate- এ পরিণত হবে।

জনসাধারণের পক্ষেও কিছু ভুল ধারণা হয়তো ছিলো, তারাও হয়তো মনে করেছিলেন যে একমাত্র জনসমুদ্রের সাহায্যেই ইয়াহিয়া বাহিনীর ঘাঁটিগুলিকে ভাসিয়ে নিয়ে যেতে পারবেন- ২/১ সপ্তাহের মধ্যেই। তাঁরা লক্ষ লক্ষ প্রাণ দিতেও তাই কসুর করেননি। কিন্তু দেখা যাচ্ছে প্রবলভাবে সজ্জিত আধুনিক এক বেপরোয়া নির্মম শত্রু পক্ষকে একমাত্র human-wave বা জন সমুদ্রে ঢেউ দিয়েই ভাসিয়ে দেওয়া যায় না, প্রত্যক্ষভাবে শত্রুর উপর বাঁপিয়ে পড়ে এ সংগ্রামে জয় অর্জন করা সহজ নয়। জনসাধারণ তাই গ্রামদেশে ও নদীনালা জঙ্গল পর্বতের উপরই ক্রমশ নির্ভরশীল হতে বাধ্য হচ্ছে। ২/১ সপ্তাহের সংগ্রাম এ নয়, ২/১ বৎসরের সংগ্রামের জন্যই তাঁদের প্রস্তুত হতে হবে, এই জ্ঞান অভিজ্ঞতা থেকেই সঞ্চিত হচ্ছে। যদি এই সংগ্রামকে দীর্ঘায়ত করা যায়,



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হাজার হাজার গ্রামে মাঠে প্রান্তরে বনে জঙ্গলে নদীতে ছড়িয়ে টেনে বিস্তৃত করা যায়, তবেই শত্রুপক্ষের সাপ্লাই লাইনের নিরাপত্তা বিঘ্নিত হবে, তাকে জলে কাদাতে পাঁকে জঙ্গলে কবর দেওয়া সম্ভব হবে।

শত্রুপক্ষই চেয়েছিল একপক্ষের মধ্যে যুদ্ধ শেষ করতে। কিন্তু যতদিন যাচ্ছে ও যাবে শত্রুপক্ষের বিপদ তত বাড়তে থাকবে। বর্ষা এসে গেলে শত্রুপক্ষের ক্যান্টনমেন্ট-ঘাঁটি থেকে বের হওয়াও বিপজ্জনক হবে। ততদিনে জনসাধারণের শক্তির পূর্ণগঠন ও পুনর্বিন্যাসের কাজ অনেকটা গুছিয়ে আনা সম্ভব হবে, কেন্দ্রীয় কম্যান্ড পুনর্গঠিত হবে, ভারত ও পৃথিবীর সাহায্য পাওয়া সম্ভব হবে। তখন, এমনকি ক্যান্টনমেন্ট বা ঘাঁটিতে আবদ্ধ ও আশ্রিত শত্রুসৈন্যদের উপর গ্রাম দেশ থেকে-চারিদিক থেকে-প্রতিআক্রমণ সংগঠিত করাও সম্ভব হতে পারে। মর্টার জাতীয় আগ্নেয় অস্ত্রের সাহায্যে এই ঘাঁটিগুলিকে চূর্ণ করে দেওয়াও অসম্ভব হবে না। আমেরিকার মত একটা সুপার সাম্রাজ্যবাদী শক্তিকেই যদি ভিয়েতনামে এমন আবদ্ধ ও নাজেহাল হতে হয়, তবে এই ক্ষুদ্রে সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা-ইয়াহিয়া-ভুট্টো খানেরা-কতদিন সে শক্তির মোকাবিলা করতে পারবে?

ততদিনে পৃথিবীর জনমতও সোচ্চার হতে বাধ্য। এত বড় হত্যাকাণ্ড- যে পৃথিবীতে কোথাও ঘটেনি- তার বিশ্বব্যাপী প্রতিক্রিয়া না হয়েই পারে না। গণতান্ত্রিক পশ্চিমীরা, স্বাধীনতাকামী আফ্রো-এশীয় দেশবাসীরা, সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশগুলির রাষ্ট্রসমূহ আজও তেমন সোচ্চার নয় দেখে অবাক না হয়ে পারা যায় না। এইসব দেশের রাষ্ট্র নায়কেরাই তাদের নিজ নিজ ক্ষুদ্র স্বার্থ বুদ্ধির খাতিরে তাদের নিজেদের দায়িত্ব পালন করছে না, প্রকৃত সংবাদও তাদের নিজ নিজ দেশের লোকদের পরিবেশন করছে না। এইসব রাষ্ট্রের ভীর্ণতা ও সুবিধাবাদী নীরবতা তদ্দেশীয় জনসাধারণ খুব বেশীদিন সহ্য করবেন, এমন মনে করার কারণ নেই।

সুখের বিষয় বা আশার কথা এই যে ভারতের সব রাজ্যের সকল জনতা এত বড় হত্যাকাণ্ড ও বিশ্বাসঘাতক তাকে আজ বরদাস্ত করতে প্রস্তুত নয়। ভারতের প্রতি কোণে কোণে তীব্র প্রতিবাদ সোচ্চার হয়ে উঠছে। পূর্ব বঙ্গের লোকদের সাহায্য করার জন্য প্রাণ কেঁদে উঠছে। এদেশের সরকারের পক্ষেও তা অগ্রাহ্য করা সম্ভব নয়। প্রায় তিন হাজার মাইল যে সীমান্ত আছে তার এপারে সর্বত্র এদেশের জনসাধারণ পূর্ববঙ্গের লোকদের প্রাণে মারবার চক্রান্ত ব্যর্থ করবেই। যদি আমাদের কোন রাষ্ট্র বলে শক্তি থেকে থাকে, সে রাষ্ট্রের যদি সামরিক কিছু শক্তি থেকে থাকে- তা যদি এত বড় হত্যাকাণ্ডের প্রতিরোধে কোন কাজে না লাগে তবে সে রাষ্ট্রের ও সে সামরিক শক্তির কি প্রয়োজন, মানবতার উপর এমন বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা, গণতন্ত্রের উপরে এমন নির্মম আঘাত, আর এত বড় হত্যাকাণ্ড আমাদের হাতের সামনেই ঘটবে, আমাদের হাতখানাও তার প্রতিবাদে বাড়ানো হবে না-এই কি সভ্যতার দায়িত্ব ? কোন একটি দেশের অভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপারে হস্তক্ষেপ, বড় বড় শক্তিগুলির অনুমতির জন্য প্রতীক্ষা, রাষ্ট্রসঙ্ঘ নামক একটা অপদার্থ নপুংসক প্রতিষ্ঠানের ইচ্ছা অনিচ্ছা-ইত্যাদি কোন কিছুর দোহাই দিয়েই আমরা আমাদের মানবিক কর্তব্যকে এড়িয়ে যেতে পারি না। এ দায়িত্ব এড়ালে, রাষ্ট্রসঙ্ঘ যা-ই বলুক, বড় বড় শক্তিমান রাষ্ট্রগুলির ভয়ে যদি আমরা আমাদের কর্তব্য পালন না করি, তবে আমাদের নিজেদের স্বাধীনতারও কোন ঐতিহাসিক অধিকার থাকে না, থাকা উচিত নয়। আমাদের রাষ্ট্র যদি কিছু নাও করে ভারতের জনসাধারণ নিজেদের হাতে সে দায়িত্ব গ্রহণ করবে এবং করছে। সেদিন (গত রবিবার) পেট্রোলের সীমান্ত অতিক্রম করে লক্ষ লক্ষ (সত্যি লক্ষাধিক) নরনারী যশোহরের সংগ্রামী বাঙালী ভাইদের দেখতে যেভাবে অগ্রসর হয়েছিল, এপারের সীমান্তরক্ষীরা সে জনস্রোতকে বন্ধ করতে সাহস পায়নি। সেই লক্ষাধিক নরনারীরা হাতে কিছু না কিছু সাহায্য-খাদ্য বস্ত্র তেল ইত্যাদি ছিল। প্রত্যেকে নিজের হাতে সে সামান্য সামগ্রী ওপারের যোদ্ধাদের হাতে হাতে পৌঁছে দেবার সে অপূর্ব দৃশ্য যাঁরাই দেখেছেন তাঁরা অভিভূত হয়েছেন। এতে হয়তো সীমান্তের আইন লঙ্ঘন করা হয়েছিল, কিন্তু মানবিকতার চিরন্তন আইন তাতেই রক্ষিত হয়েছিল। আর কিসের আইন? আজকে পূর্ব বঙ্গে কোন রাষ্ট্র আছে, না তার কোন আইন আছে। একদল নরঘাতক দস্যু অকাতরে নিরস্ত্র জনতার প্রাণ হননে ব্যস্ত সেখানে। এ সভ্যতার উপরে আক্রমণ, এ কোন দেশের কথা নয়। পৃথিবীর সকল মানুষের এখানে দায়িত্ব ও অধিকার আসে।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

কিন্তু এখানেও আমরা সবাইকে সতর্ক করে দিতে চাই যে এই প্রাণ ঢালা উদ্দেশ্য সহানুভূতি দিয়েও ঐ নরঘাতক দস্যুদের ভাসিয়ে নেওয়া যাবে না। ভারতীয় জনসমুদ্রের উদ্দেশ্য এই সহানুভূতি ও ভ্রাতৃত্ববোধকেও সুসংগঠিতভাবে নিয়োজিত করতে হবে। বহুরকমের কাজ ও সংগঠনের মধ্য দিয়ে তাকে প্রবাহিত করতে হবে। এই তিন হাজার মাইল ব্যাপী বৃহৎ সীমান্তকে একটি সক্রিয় সুসংগঠিত শক্তি হিসেবে দাঁড় করাতে হবে। বৃহত্তর দায়িত্ব অদূর ভবিষ্যতে দেখা দেবে। পূর্ববঙ্গে দুর্ভিক্ষের অবস্থা সৃষ্টি হতে পারে-সে সময় নিজেরা না খেয়ে, আধ পেটা খেয়েও গুঁদের বাঁচিয়ে রাখতে হবে, গুঁদের সংগ্রামী শক্তিকে উত্তরোত্তর সক্রিয় করে তুলতে হবে, গুঁদের মনোবলকে আরও দৃঢ় করতে হবে, একটা দীর্ঘায়ত সংগ্রামের প্রয়োজনে যাবতীয় জিনিস জুটিয়ে দিতে হবে। প্রকৃত তথ্য পৃথিবীর জনসাধারণের কাছে উপস্থিত করে দিতে হবে। আমরা একাজ যদি করতে পারি, তবে ভারতও নিজের পায়ে দাঁড়াতে পারবে, ভারত একটা শক্তি হিসেবে আবার পৃথিবীতে গ্রাহ্য হবে। যে জাত যত বড় দায়িত্ব নিতে সাহস রাখে, সে জাতই তত বড় হয়। ভারতের আপামর জনসাধারণের প্রাণে আজ সে প্রেরণা উপস্থিত। একে গ্রাহ্য করা, একে সংগঠিত রূপ দেওয়াই আজ ভারতীয় নেতৃত্বের একমাত্র কাজ হওয়া উচিত।

সম্পাদকীয়, কম্পাসঃ ১০ ই এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬৩। বাংলাদেশের গণহত্যার ব্যাপক নিন্দা	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	১১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

**THE AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA, APRIL 11, 1971  
BANGLADESH GENOCIDE WIDELY CONDEMNED**

The purulia Bar Association at a meeting on April 3 expressed its concern over the massive attack by armed forces of Pakistan against the peaceful, unarmed and democratic people of Bangladesh. The devastation reported to have been caused by the Pakistan army, the indiscriminate killing of old, young, women and children, is revolting the conscience of people all over the world. The association condemned the action of the military government of Pakistan.

The Bar Association, Burdwan, at a meeting recently also viewed with grave concern the ruthless oppression and reign of terror let loose by the military' dictators of west Pakistan to throttle liberation movement of the 70 million people of Bangladesh and extended its whole-hearted sympathy and support to its people.

This meeting also urged the Government of India to immediately recognise Bangladesh.

The Bankura Sammilani College Teachers' Council expressed its concern over the developments on the other side of the border, and condemned in unequivocal terms the genocide committed by the military clique of Yahya Khan. It also strongly condemned the ruthless crime of the Pak-military on unarmed people of Bangladesh who are only trying to establish their fundamental democratic rights.

The Burdwan University Teachers Association at a recent meeting expressed its solidarity with the people of Bangladesh in their fight for democratic freedom. This meeting also condemns the acts of genocide and other serious violations of international law to the detriment of Fundamental Human Rights in Bangladesh.

The Krishnagar Bar Association unanimously recorded its deep sense of horror and condemnation on the unprovoked and wanton attack on the unarmed people of Bangladesh by the military junta of West Pakistan. The members unanimously condemned the continuing genocide by the military rulers of West Pakistan and urged the Government of India to accord recognition to the provisional government of Bangladesh.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬৪। রাজশাহী যুদ্ধের প্রত্যক্ষ বর্ণনা	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	১২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE HINDUSTAN STANDARD, APRIL 12, 1971*  
**EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF RAJSHAHI BATTLE**  
 By Robert Kaylor

Rajshahi. April. 11. From indications that reach the outside world, the struggle for survival going on here is a good example of the battles being waged else-where throughout East Pakistan.

In the city, once a busy trading centre of 100,000 persons about 190 miles north-west of Dacca are the "Liberation Forces" of Bangladesh. They are strong on determination to free their homeland, but weak on organization, weapons, communications and just about everything else that it takes to fight a war.

Held up in a military base on the northern edge of the city is the remaining part of the garrison of the armed forces of West Pakistan. They are part of an organized fighting machine with modern weapons and air support. Now, however, they are surrounded by a hostile population and cut off from supplies.

Fighting broke out here as it did almost everywhere else in East Pakistan on March 25 and 26 when the Army moved to seize control from the supporters of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League.

Since that time, no one knows for certain how many persons have died. Leaders of the Liberation Forces in Rajshahi believe that between 3,000 and 4,000 East Pakistanis have been killed. Most of the deaths have been in sumwning villages where troops from the garrison made raids and where air strikes have been flown.

On the other side, liberation leaders say that somewhere around 200 soldiers from West Pakistan have been killed, many of them overwhelmed by sheer numbers of villagers who had no weapons except clubs, bricks and stones.

"They were defenseless peoples but they were very much tortured and they jumped upon the soldiers without concern for their lives and killed them", said Tasaddaque Hossain, a local Awami League leader.

Liberation Forces took over Rajshahi last Wednesday, apparently when troops who remained in the city pulled out to consolidate their position with soldiers at the cantonment one mile north of the city.

It is a ghost city, with its shops shuttered and padlocked. Virtually all of the population has gone, most of them to outlying villages and about 10,000 to seek refuge across the nearby border with India.

Armed liberation patrols in jeeps are the only motor vehicles seen in the streets. Some bicycle powered rickshaws remain but their drivers gather listlessly at street corners for lack of riders.

As elsewhere, many stores and businesses were owned by West Pakistanis, all of whom have disappeared from sight. A liberation leader told me that West Pakistanis were being held in confinement, but one of the "freedom-fighters" in the streets put it differently.

"We have destroyed the "Salaamers" who supported the Army and supplied them," he said. It is not known how many West Pakistanis were in Rajshahi when the fighting started.

Liberation leaders believe there are about 300 troops holding positions in the centre of the two-mile square cantonment, an area of buildings surrounded with barbed wire. Freedom fighters are ranged in position around the camp.

### **Resistance**

They are wary of venturing inside two days before the city itself fell a mob of resistance fighters, ran forward with a group of soldiers emerged from the cantonment carrying a white flag. Some of them were carrying weapons, but the freedom fighters apparently did not expect that the Pakistanis would to use them.

When they got into the open machine guns opened up. Liberation leaders said they did not have the exact figure of casualties in the incident, but described the losses as heavy.

Liberation leaders say the troops have three-inch mortars and other heavy weapons in the cantonment. They have not been firing them, however, apparently to save their ammunition. The soldiers have been reported to be digging in bunkers. The Liberation forces have cut off utility and water lines leading into the camps.

There were no Pakistan Air Force planes in the sky above Rajshahi when I visited the area, but the evidence of their strikes could be seen in areas surrounding it.

On the highway leading into the city a truck lay across the shoulder of the road, tires shot out and riddled with holes from the 50 caliber cannon carried by US-built F86 sabre jets that the Air Force has based in Dacca. Villagers said the driver escaped but that an old woman on the road was killed in the attack.

In another nearby village a mud-walled mosque was hit by what appeared to be napalm. The walls were blackened but still standing and its wooden doors and everything inside including its copy of the Koran, were charred crisps. One person was killed and three wounded at the mosque.

### **Jet Attack**

Liberation leaders said the jets had strafed a market in one village and also along the banks of the Ganges where civilians congregate to cross into India. The riverbed is several miles across.

Resistance members said the planes come sometimes as often as twice a day in troops of two or four. Often they are preceded by a helicopter which appears to be spotting targets, they said.

The Sabre jets have not hit inside the city, but strike targets outside it, most of which are located in villages that would not seem to have any military significance.

Although there was no sign of planes on Saturday, the rifle-toting resistance member who drove me into the town in a green sedan displacing a black flag, took no chances.

A week's growth of beard covered his cheeks and his eyes were bloodshot. "I can't even keep track of what day it is any more", he said when I asked him about when an air strike had taken place. "There has been so much to do day and night both."-UPI

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬৫। মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের হাতে তিন হাজার সৈন্য নিহত	হিন্দুস্তান স্টান্ডার্ড	১২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*THE HINDUSTAN STANDARD, APRIL 12, 1971*

### **LIBERATORS KILL 3,000 ARMY MEN**

New Delhi, April 12. About 3,000 Pakistan Army personnel have been killed in East Pakistan since the Army mounted operations against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman followers, according to reliable estimates reaching officials sources here.

Such heavy casualties, representing about five per cent of the estimated 70,000 troops there are considered heavy for the two-week-old operations, these sources felt.

Besides those killed, a large number of Pakistan Army personnel have been taken prisoners by the liberation Forces or are missing, these source said. 109 Pakistan defense service personnel, including six officers have taken shelter in India, these sources added.

There appeared to be signs of trouble in the Pakistan camp at Comilla today, according to reliable reports received across the border.

Senior Pakistan Army officers have been seen moving in and out of Pakistan-held areas a number of times.

Liberation forces sources suspected that some officers and men of the Pakistan Army may have told their superiors that they had enough of the fighting.

The Liberation forces on Saturday captured a large Pakistani convey near Hajiganj between Chandpur and Comilla, consisting of 130 vehicle. A large amount of arms and ammunition was also seized from the retreating Pakistan troops.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

	শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬৬।	স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম বাংলাদেশ : নতুন রাষ্ট্রের অভ্যুদয়ঃ তাজউদ্দিন প্রধানমন্ত্রী	যুগান্তর	১৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

## স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম বাংলাদেশ মুজিবের নেতৃত্বে নতুন রাষ্ট্রের অভ্যুদয়ঃ তাজউদ্দিন প্রধানমন্ত্রী

আগরতলা ১২ই এপ্রিল (পি টি আই)- আজ সার্বভৌম গণতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশ সাধারণতন্ত্র গঠিত হয়েছে। মুক্ত বাংলাদেশের কোন এক স্থান থেকে এই রাষ্ট্র গঠনের কথা ঘোষণা করা হয়। এই সঙ্গে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের নবগঠিত মন্ত্রিসভার সদস্যদের নামও ঘোষিত হয়েছে। বর্তমানে এই মন্ত্রিসভাই সমরকালীন মন্ত্রিসভারূপে কাজ করবেন।

বাংলাদেশের কোন এক স্থান থেকে একজন বিশিষ্ট আওয়ামী নেতা এই খবর ঘোষণা করেন। এই নবগঠিত রাষ্ট্রের শেখ মুজিবর রহমান।

জানা গেছে, আওয়ামী লীগের সাধারণ সম্পাদক শ্রী তাজউদ্দিন আহমেদ প্রধানমন্ত্রী এবং শ্রী খোন্দকার মুস্তাক আহমেদ পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী নিযুক্ত হয়েছেন।

সীমান্তের ওপার থেকে অত্যন্ত নির্ভরযোগ্য সূত্রে এই স্মরণীয় সংবাদটি আজ এখানে পাওয়া গেছে।

মন্ত্রিসভার পূর্ণ তালিকা নিম্নরূপঃ-

১। শেখ মুজিবর রহমান-রাষ্ট্রপতি, ২। সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলাম-উপ-রাষ্ট্রপতি, ৩। তাজউদ্দিন আহমেদ-প্রধানমন্ত্রী, ৪। খোন্দকার মুস্তাক আহমেদ-পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী, ৫। ক্যাপ্টেন মনসুর আলি ও ৬। এ এইচ কামারুজ্জামান।

এর দ্বারা বর্তমানের অস্থায়ী সরকার বাতিল বলে গণ্য হলো।

জাতীয় সভায় এবং আওয়ামী লীগের সদস্যদের এক যৌথ সভায় এই সাধারণতন্ত্র ও সরকার গঠনের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সিদ্ধান্ত গৃহীত হয়। বাংলাদেশের কোন এক স্থানে এই সভা অনুষ্ঠিত হয়েছিল।

ঘোষণা করা হয়েছে, বর্তমান মন্ত্রিসভাই যুদ্ধকালীন মন্ত্রিসভারূপে কাজ করবেন এবং পাকিস্তানী আগ্রাসীদের বিরুদ্ধে মুক্তিযুদ্ধ পরিচালনা করবেন।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬৭। বাংলাদেশ মিশনের যাত্রা	হিন্দুস্তান টাইমস	১৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

HINDUSTAN TIMES, APRIL 13, 1971

### MISSION ON WAY TO DELHI, UN

Agartala, April 13 (UNI)- The Bangladesh, Government is giving final touches to a charter which will set forth the aims and objectives of the new Republic, sources close to the Government reported today.

The sources said a special mission on behalf of the Bangladesh Government was on its way to New Delhi from where it would go to other world capitals and to the United Nations. The mission left its headquarters this morning.

The Government, in a broadcast over the Swadhin Bangla Radio, appealed India, Ceylon and other democratic countries of the world to take note of the formation of the Government of Swadhin Bangladesh, recognize it and establish diplomatic relations with it.

The broadcast also contained an appeal to the democratic countries to extend necessary help to the 75 million people of Bangladesh in their fight to preserve freedom.

The Government of Bangladesh soon after its formal proclamation today issued a set of directives for the guidance of the people in the liberated areas.

The directives, broadcast over the Swadhin Bangla Radio are:

- (1) Take all injured persons to doctors and kavarajs who will attend to them.
- (2) Punish those who have betrayed the revolution.
- (3) Take directives from the local leaders of the Awami League.
- (4) All youths should report to the nearest liberation army command to receive training and orders.
- (5) All headmen should maintain close contact with the headmen of nearby villages, keeping them informed about everything.
- (6) All Government officers in the liberated areas should take order from the local Awami League headquarters.
- (7) Personnel of the river steam navigation services should not obey the directives broadcast over Radio Pakistan, Dacca, but should be guided by the directives of the Government of Bangladesh.
- (8) Follow civil defense measures under the direction of liberation force command of your area.
- (9) Beware of suspicious characters roaming in your area and report to the nearest liberation force station as soon as you learn about suspicious movements in your area.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬৮। চীনা প্রতিক্রিয়া ভারতের জন্য হুমকি	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	১৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA, APRIL 14, 1971*  
**CHINA'S THREATENING STANCE TO INDIA**

New Delhi, April 13. The Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En lai's message to President Yahya Khan offering China's all-out support to Pakistan's military action in East Bengal posed a threatening stance towards India, according to China watchers here.

Official sources here, however, would not confirm any Chinese troops movements or concentrations along the Indo-Chinese border.

Official sources declined comment on the message sent yesterday but China watchers thought that the anti-Indian overtone was perhaps intended to boost Islamabad's flagging moral. Chinese attitude is also seen more as a big power chauvinism in the affairs of the region as a whole as China is not directly involved in any way in any Indo-Pakistan differences over East Bengal developments.

These sources were surprised that China should have accused India of interference in Pakistan's internal affairs when Chinese leaders and the press made critical comments of the communist leadership in Poland during the recent political upheaval there which led to the overthrow of Mr. Gomulka.

Official sources here have categorically denied that India had any intention of interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs. India adhered to strict international norms which governed relations between two states, these sources added.

Observers here have also noted that the "peoples" Government of China has scant sympathy for a "peoples" movement in East Bengal against a minority military regime.

Meanwhile, Chinese Prime Minister's statement was welcomed today by a spokesman of Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's Pakistan People's party.

Radio Pakistan quoted Maulana Kausar Niazi, PPP information secretary, as saying in Lahore that Mr. Chou's statement-which he characterised as a warning to India not to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs-was "a guarantee for peace in the region".

He also claimed that with Mr. Chou's statement "the balance of power has been maintained."

### Neutral

European experts on Chinese affairs, however, believe that China has decided to remain neutral" in the war between West and East Pakistan, says AFP from Paris.

The opinion of these specialists is radically different from that of both the Indian and the Pakistani press, and even of official circles in the two countries, which for

diametrically opposite reasons tend to state that Peking has come out definitely on the side of Islamabad against the Bengali national movement.

But in fact, an analysis of the telegram sent to Pakistani President Yahya Khan by Chinese Premier Chou En Lai, parts of which were published in Rawalpindi yesterday show that the Chinese leader does not really come out for West Pakistan against the Bengalis but simply attacks India.

By slating that China will stand by Pakistan "should Indian expansionists dare to launch aggression against Pakistan", Mr. Chou resembles a doctor who tells a man suffering from a heart disease, "don't worry, I'll cure your liver".

While adopting a wait-and-see attitude toward the internal Pakistani crisis. China does not hide its aggressive attitude towards India.

This fact, in the opinion of experts is not due only to the traditional close relations between China and Pakistan. At a moment when a certain thaw has begun to appear in Sino-Indian relations Peking is believed to have, been annoyed by the fact that New Delhi, in the Pakistani crisis, consulted only Washington and Moscow, and not Peking. - (PTI).

United States officials tend to discount any danger of imminent Chinese intervention despite Premier Chou En lai's strong support to Islamabad and pledge to help against India.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬৯। কুমিল্লায় মুক্তিফৌজের ওপর প্রচণ্ড আক্রমণ	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	১৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA, APRIL 15, 1971*  
**MASSIVE ATTACK AGAINST MUKTI FOIJ IN COMILLA  
 BRAHMANBARIA STRAFED, KUSHTIA AIR-RAIDED  
 HEAVY PAK ATROCITIES IN NORTHERN SECTOR**

Agartala, April 14-In a desperate bid to break through the encirclement of the Comilla garrison by the Mukti Fouj and restore its supply lines before it is too late, Pakistani troops today mounted a massive attack across the Gomati river to recapture the strategic Akhaura-Brahmanbaria sub-sector in the eastern Bangladesh, reports UNI.

The offensive by the three Pakistani Companies was supported by four fighters of the Pakistan Air Force which bombed and strafed heavily the town of Brahmanbaria, and the adjoining areas including Kasba.

In the northern sector, the Liberation Forces stuck to their strongholds including the town of Dinajpur where they inflicted heavy casualties on the Pakistani troops in a pitched battle last night.

Aerial offensive, rather than overland engagement appeared to be the new pattern of fighting being followed by the Pakistani troops whose experience of warfare in marshy tropical country is little or nothing.

The Pakistani attack in the eastern sector was seen as a move to reach the vital Akhaura Railway junction linked by a metre gauge railway line to the port city of Chittagong. The junction is held by the Liberation Forces since the beginning of the current war.

The Pakistani strategy in the sector apparently was ultimately to join with the Dacca based troops and isolate the Mukti Fouz from their Sylhet- Mymensingh formation.

In what has been known as "Operation Dacca", the Liberation Forces came on heavily on a Pakistani army column at Savar, about 18 Km from Dacca this morning.

The district town of Kushtia, held by the Bangladesh forces, was also attacked by PAF planes and artillery, according to Voice of America.

The Pakistani troops were also dislodged from Bheramara, Kamar Khali and Shilaidah areas, while the Liberation Army maintained its hold in Goaland despite heavy bombing and strafing by P AF planes.

At Nagarbari, about 150 Pakistani troops were reported encircled by Liberation Forces.

Even as the Mukti Foj was consolidating its gains in the liberated areas the newly proclaimed Bangladesh Government went ahead with its plans to run the administrative machinery. Its resolve was contained in a seven-point programme announced today.

They are:

1. Endeavour to keep liberated areas free from any attack.
2. Run the civil administration in liberated areas in right manner by picking up development work, particularly the productive aspect both in industrial and agricultural fields.
3. Try to resume normal flow of life, run schools, offices and other commercial establishments such as banks.
4. Continue its fight with the enemy in the occupied areas with stepped up vigour.
5. In the economic field, the Government have decided to open foreign trade with some neighboring friendly countries immediately.
6. In the absence of gold standard they will run free trade in some sort of barter. Trade will be controlled by some Government agency so that people get things in right manner.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭০। তাজউদ্দিন কর্তৃক মুক্ত এলাকা গঠন ও কমান্ডার নিয়োগ	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	১৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA. APRIL 15, 1971  
**AHMED SPELLS OUT LIBERATED ZONES**

Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, on Wednesday spelt out the liberated zones in his country and nominated the respective local commanders who would be in charge of operations there.

In a broadcast from the Free Bangla Betar Kendra Mr. Ahmed said that Major Khalid Musharraf who had driven away the Pakistani Army to the cantonments of Sylhet and Comilla. would be in charge of the Sylhet-Comilla region. In Chittagong-Noakhali area. Major Ziaur Rahman of the EBR was in full command of the Liberation Forces which had contained the enemy in limited pockets of Chittagong.

Major Safiulla of the EBR was in charge of Mymensingh Tangail area, while Major M. A. Osman of the EPR has taken command of the South- Western region in the liberated areas of Khulna, Kushtia, Jessore, Faridpur, Barisal and Patuakhali, he said.

According to Mr. Ahmed the enemy was now confined to the Jessore cantonment and parts of Khulna town. In the north, a unified command of the EBR and EPR had laid a siege of Rangpur and Saidpur enemy positions, Mr. Ahmed said.

He said that a full-fledged operational base had been set up from which the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh would administer the country. An interim capital was located in the western zone, besides a regional unit in Sylhet-Comilla zone with full administrative authority for the eastern region, he added.

Mr. Ahmed congratulated the heroic people of Bangladesh for their glorious struggle which, he said, was unprecedented in the history of the world.

He said the people should equip themselves with whatever indigenous weapons they could lay their hands on and take an active part in combating the enemy paratroopers, commandoes and agents. They should cut roads, waterways and set up booby traps. Even the irregulars should operate as a disciplined fighting force, he said.

He, however, reminded the people that the need of the hour was supreme unity of the 75 million inhabitants of Bangladesh, irrespective of party affiliations, for the liberation war as well as for administrative and reconstruction purposes. There should be no place for the quislings in the country, he added.

Mr. Ahmed said keeping the war-time emergency in view, the people should exercise economic discipline by observing utmost austerity and avoiding hoarding and blackmarketing.

Voicing his confidence in the ultimate victory of the people, Mr. Ahmed referred to the "low morale of the panicky enemy whose line of supply has been virtually cut off".

He said, "already the world community has taken note of the present situation in Bangladesh. It is an international issue now and the emissaries of the Bangladesh Government will soon visit foreign countries to seek diplomatic recognition and attention".

"The Government of Bangladesh looks ahead to the task of reconstruction and rebuilding of the new nation on the ruins of Pakistan", he added-(PTI).

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭১। সাপ্তাহিক ফ্রন্টিয়ার পত্রিকার একটি সম্পাদকীয় নিবন্ধ	ফ্রন্টিয়ার	১৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

FRONTIER, CALCUTTA, APRIL 17, 1971

**Editorial****THE FAMILIAR PATTERN**

Things have been overlapping in March. There was the famous Indira wave in India. Something quite different. March 18 marked the centenary of a historic uprising, the Paris Commune. The rout of the U.S. backed invasion of Laos was a magnificent tribute to this historic event, but before the world at large was able to estimate the magnitude and significance of the American defeat, President Yahya Khan unleashed his hordes in his East Pakistan. The Awami League leaders were prepared for traditional forms of repression but not for the bloodbath. Engrossed as people were in the brave but unequal struggle in Bangladesh, the government of Ceylon led by Sirimavo Bandarnaike went into action against "terrorists". How many have been killed is not yet known. Once again it is clear how all these cynical government swearing by some sort of socialism and having the best of both imperialist and socialist worlds, reveal their sharp, ugly, yellow- fangs when the chips are down. Their tactics and strategy against forces of rebellion or revolution are in the famous American style-after all isn't this the American century They have learnt from the American experience in Indochina that a protracted struggle must be avoided. Strike-and strike hard with all your might-when the movement is young and raw. This is the doctrine of blitzkrieg which the Yahoos, the Yahya hordes in East Bengal, and the Ceylonese forces have adopted, while much of what has happened and is happening in India is shrouded in hypocrisy by a subservient press and raving social democrats.

Quick victory in essential for the rulers. Of course if an unarmed and inexperienced people, fighting back, were able to snatch victory within a few weeks, nothing could be more welcome. The carnage and the human suffering would be less. Who wants men. women and children to be made homeless or butchered day after day? But such a victory for the people would be a miracle. Miracles do not visit the masses. It would be long before a poet could again write the East Bengal is like the sound of rain on the leaves of trees late at night.

It is no that our leaders and our newspapers do not know what is what in Hast Bengal. The banner headlines reporting every day the capture or recapture to this or that town when the troops, after deterat-the thought that secession has failed and the threat to India's precious unity has receded. Such a threat in the Mizo Hills was contained five years ago with the help of stcn-guns and helicopters and a regrouping of villages into Vietnam-type strategic hamlets. In Kashmir, it was a much easier task containing the secessionists. One cannot expect New Delhi to be too enthusiastic about raising East Bengal in the United Nations in the way one would expect it to be raised.



## Rapport

New Delhi would be happy to see Mujib's supporters settle for greater autonomy and shelve the talk of an independent Bangladesh. But since things have gone beyond the point of return, all would wait for a decisive end. There is close co-ordination and rapport between New Delhi, Washington and Moscow. It would be of some interest to know that when a veteran Bengali revolutionary (he lives in West Bengal) met the Prime Minister, she told him that both Mr. Podgorny and Mr. Nixon were prevailing upon Gen. Yahya Khan to stop the genocide. This was a couple of days before the Podgorny letter. Everyone seemed to know it was coming.

How would New Delhi look at an independent Bangladesh? The present leadership, might be replaced in East Bengal by a younger, radical leadership. Few countries would like a leftist leadership bid for control of Bangladesh. If a right or centrist leadership takes over, it necessarily will have to look to one or both the super powers for massive economic aid to reconstruct the economy of the new nation. Instead of the two super powers operating in two nations in the sub-continent, they would have to operate in there. In terms of India's security two "Pakistan", in the place of one makes little difference. But if a powerful leftist movement grows in Bangladesh, neither India nor the super powers would countenance such a situation. Once East Bengal is independent the Chinese, who are keeping their options; would have no difficulty extending arms help to the left there. These are the "fears" openly expressed in informed quarters in New Delhi.

Outside this, there is little concern in New Delhi for Bangladesh or for Ceylon. It is a strange coincidence that the "left-of-centre" or "left-oriented" Ceylon government (which in some ways is a model for Mrs. Gandhi's!) has used more drastic measures against the "Che Guevarists" than the CPI-M-dominated United Front government in West Bengal did against the Naxalbari rebels. It might suit the Communists and Trotskyites of Ceylon (now in a strange united front) to denounce the Che Guevarists while Mrs. Bandaranaike does not feel called upon to substantiate her charge that the whole movement is backed by a foreign agency. A government that claims to be left cannot tolerate any challenge from the left. The right wing is alright anywhere. The two Establishment, communist parties in India should have no difficulty in denouncing the Che Guevarists of Ceylon just as they have no difficulty in demanding recognition of Bangladesh. Between Bangladesh and the insurgency that is being crushed in Ceylon, the two communist parties of India should find themselves bewildered. The Indian communists never grasped the national question in any case and left it to Moscow to do all the thinking. When the Cabinet Mission visited India, the CPI pleaded for 1C constituent assemblies for the country. Earlier, they had espoused the cause of a "Sikh homeland" in keeping with their support for the two-nation theory. When the Soviet thinking on the national question in India changed, the CPI leadership became the perfect bourgeois nationalists and took national chauvinistic positions on every issue.

Armed struggle in Bangladesh and the insurgency in Ceylon are, objectively, two unwelcome things to any communist party functioning within the parliamentary system. The First has to be supported for one set of reasons but certainly not because the communists parties love any armed struggle in the sub-continent. The second has to be denounced because insurgency anywhere in the sub-continent is disconcerting to those who believe in peaceful transition and parliamentary democracy

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭২। স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামী বাংলাদেশের পাশে পশ্চিম বাংলা	কালান্তর	১৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

## স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামী বাংলাদেশের পাশে পশ্চিম বাংলা

কমল সমাজদ্বার

বাংলাদেশের জনগণের উপর প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খাঁনের সৈন্য বাহিনীর নির্মম অত্যাচারের সংবাদে পশ্চিম বাংলার মানুষ স্তম্ভিত হয়ে গেছেন। কেবলমাত্র বাংলাদেশের পাশে পশ্চিমবাংলা অবস্থিত বলেই নয়- বা এই দেশের জনগণের আত্মীয়-পরিজন বাংলাদেশে আছেন বলেই নয়-এই দেশের জনগণ বিগত কয়েক বছর ধরে সানন্দ বিস্ময়ে পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের সর্বতোমুখীন জনগণের বিকাশ লক্ষ্য করছিলেন। সে দেশের মানুষ সে দেশের শিল্প সাহিত্য সংস্কৃতিতে ব্যাপক উজ্জীবন পশ্চিম বাংলার মানুষের নিবিড় কৌতুহলের বিষয় হয়ে উঠেছিল। তাই সে দেশের মানুষের উপর ফৌজী শাসনের মদমত্ত অত্যাচারের পশ্চিম বাংলার মানুষ স্থির থাকতে পারেনি।

পাঁচিশে মার্চের সেই কাল রাতের পর প্রায় এক পক্ষকাল অতিবাহিত হয়ে গেল। এই সময়ের মধ্যে অসংখ্য সভা শোভাযাত্রার মাধ্যমে পশ্চিম বাংলার মানুষ সহমর্মিতা প্রকাশ করেছেন বাংলাদেশের মানুষের সঙ্গে। কয়েকটি কমিটি গঠিত হয়েছে বাংলাদেশের এই ঐতিহাসিক সংগ্রামে সর্বতোমুখী সাহায্যের জন্য।

বাংলাদেশে ইয়াহিয়ার ফৌজবাহিনীর আক্রমণের সংবাদ প্রকাশিত হওয়ার পরই কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজ্য পরিষদের সম্পাদকমন্ডলীর পক্ষে শ্রী বিশ্বনাথ মুখার্জী এক বিবৃতি মারফত সভা সমাবেশ মিছিল করে বাংলা দেশের স্বাধিকার ও গণতন্ত্র রক্ষার সংগ্রামের প্রতি সৌভ্রাতৃত্ব জ্ঞাপনের উদ্দেশ্যে পশ্চিম বাংলার মানুষের প্রতি আহ্বান জানান।

বঙ্গীয় প্রাদেশিক ছাত্র ফেডারেশন, ডি এস ও, ছাত্র পরিষদ (নব কংগ্রেস) প্রভৃতি ছাত্র সংগঠনগুলির আহ্বানে গত ২৭ মার্চ বিভিন্ন শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানে এক সর্বাত্মক হরতাল হয়। এদিনই পশ্চিমবঙ্গ যুব সংঘ ও বঙ্গীয় প্রাদেশিক ছাত্র ফেডারেশন বাংলাদেশ-এর ঐতিহাসিক সংগ্রামের প্রতি আন্তরিক সংহতি জ্ঞাপনের উদ্দেশ্যে স্টুডেন্টস হলে এক যুব ছাত্র সমাবেশ আহ্বান করেন এবং সমাবেশের পরে এক যুব ছাত্র মিছিল কলকাতার বিভিন্ন রাজপথ প্রদক্ষিণ করে বাংলাদেশের ঐতিহাসিক সংগ্রামের প্রতি রক্তিম অভিবাদন জানান।

বি পি টি ইউ সি-র সম্পাদক শ্রী ভবানী রায় চৌধুরী ও টি এন সিদ্ধান্ত এক বিবৃতিতে বলেনঃ বাংলাদেশের মানুষের উপর বিনা প্ররোচনায় যে পাশব সামরিক হামলা শুরু হয়েছে বি পি টি ইউ সি তার বিরুদ্ধে তীব্র ক্রোধ প্রকাশ করেছে। এ বি টি এ কো-অর্ডিনেশন কমিটি এক বিবৃতিতে বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামী জনগণকে বিপ্লবী অভিনন্দন জানান। জীবনবীমা কর্মচারী সমিতি (পূর্বাঞ্চল) যুগ্ম সম্পাদক শ্রী সুকুমার মুখার্জী বাংলাদেশের গণতান্ত্রিক সংগ্রামের সমর্থনে এক বিবৃতি দেন।

গত ২৮ মার্চ শহীদ মিনার ময়দানে এক বহুদলীয় সমাবেশে বাংলাদেশের ঐতিহাসিক গণঅভ্যুত্থানের প্রতি পূর্ণ সংহতি জানিয়ে এই প্রত্যয় ঘোষণা করা হয় যে, সামরিক স্বৈরাচারের নৃশংস নিপীড়ন প্রতিহত করে অনতিবিলম্বেই পূর্ব বাংলার মৃত্যুঞ্জয়ী জনগণ সার্বিক স্বাধিকার অর্জন করবেন। রাজ্য বন কংগ্রেস সভাপতি শ্রী বিজয় সিং নাহার-এর সভাপতিত্বে অনুষ্ঠিত এই সভায় শ্রী অজয় মুখোপাধ্যায় প্রভৃতি বক্তৃতা দেন।

শ্রীতারাক্ষর বন্দোপাধ্যায় প্রমুখ সাহিত্যিকবৃন্দ এক বিবৃতিতে পৃথিবীর বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রের কাছে বাংলার জনগণের উপর মিলিটারী আক্রমণের তীব্র প্রতিবাদ ঘোষণা করেন ও এই ধরনের নৃশংসতার নিন্দা করে প্রতিরোধের বিষয়ে যথোচিত কর্তব্য পালনের জন্য দাবী জানান।

ভারতীয় মহিলা ফেডারেশনের পঃ বঃ কমিটি এক বিবৃতিতে বলেন, প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া কানের গণতান্ত্রিকতার নকল মুখোশ খুলে পড়েছে।

কলকাতা পৌরসভার গত ২৬ মার্চের সাপ্তাহিক অধিবেশনে বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামী মানুষদের সমর্থনে এক সর্বসম্মত প্রস্তাব গৃহীত হয়।

ইউনাইটেড ব্যাংক অফ ইন্ডিয়া কর্মচারী সমিতির পাক সার্কাস শাখা ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রীর কাছে এক তারবার্তা পাঠিয়ে বাংলাদেশের জনগণের আন্দোলনে সর্বপ্রকার সাহায্যের দাবি জানান।

পশ্চিমবঙ্গ শান্তি সংসদের সভাপতি শ্রীবিবেকানন্দ মুখোপাধ্যায় এক বিবৃতিতে পূর্ব বাংলার মানুষের সংগ্রামের প্রতি সংহতি জানান।

গত ২৭ মার্চ কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সেনেটের বাৎসরিক সভায় পূর্ব বাংলায় স্বৈরাচারী অত্যাচারের প্রতি ক্রুদ্ধ প্রতিবাদ ধ্বনিত হয়।

গত ৩১ মার্চ বাংলাদেশের ঐতিহাসিক গণমুক্তি সংগ্রামের প্রতি আন্তরিক সংহতি ও পাকিস্তানের সামরিক বর্বরতার বিরুদ্ধে ধিক্কার জানানোর জন্য পশ্চিমবঙ্গে অভূতপূর্ব বন্ধ পালিত হয়। পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সকল রাজনৈতিক দল ও ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন সংগঠনের ডাকে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের এই ২৪ ঘন্টাব্যাপী হরতালে রাজ্যের জনসাধারণ অভূতপূর্বভাবে সাড়া দেন।

আন্তর্জাতিক, পরিচয়, আফ্রো-এশীয় সংহতি ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গ শান্তি সংসদের উদ্যোগে গত ৩০ মার্চ স্টুডেন্টস হলে অনুষ্ঠিত এক মহতী সমাবেশে শ্রীনীরেন চক্রবর্তী সভাপতিত্ব করেন এবং এক সর্বসম্মত প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করে মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের যাবতীয় সাহায্যের জন্য চাপ সৃষ্টি ও সরকার কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতির কথা বলা হয়।

ইউনিভার্সিটি ইনস্টিটিউট হলে গত ২৯ মার্চ শিল্পী সাহিত্যিক বুদ্ধিজীবীদের এক বিরাট সমাবেশে অন্নদাশঙ্কর রায়, বিবেকানন্দ মুখার্জী, অম্লান দত্ত, মৈত্রেয়ী দেবী, ইলা মিত্র প্রমুখ ভাষণ দেন।

স্কটিশ চার্চ কলেজে ও সেন্ট পলস কলেজের ছাত্র ছাত্রী ও অধ্যাপকদের সভায় বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি যোদ্ধাদের সমর্থনে প্রস্তাব গৃহীত হয়।

দক্ষিণ কলকাতার পাঠভবন, সাউথ পয়েন্ট, সত্যভামা, জগবন্ধু প্রভৃতি স্কুলের ছাত্ররা গত ৩১ মার্চ ধর্মঘটের পর পাক হাই কমিশনের অফিসে মিছিল করে যান ও সেখানে এক স্মারকলিপি পেশ করেন।

কোম্পগর পৌরসভার গত ১৭ মার্চ অনুষ্ঠিত এক সভায় বাংলাদেশের মানুষের বীরত্বপূর্ণ সংগ্রামের প্রতি অভিনন্দন জানান।

বঙ্গীয় স্বর্ণশিল্পী সমিতির অন্যতম সম্পাদক শ্রী নির্মল দত্ত ও মেটাল বক্স ওয়াকার্স তাদের বিবৃতি মারফৎ বাংলাদেশের জনগণের সংগ্রামকে অভিনন্দন জানান।

ভারতীয় গণসংস্কৃতি সংঘের সভাপতি শ্রী দিগিন বন্দোপাধ্যায় ও সম্পাদক শ্রী অন্নদাশঙ্কর ভট্টাচার্য এক বিবৃতিতে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সমস্ত শিল্পী, সাহিত্যিক ও সাংস্কৃতিক কর্মীদের সমবেতভাবে বাংলাদেশের জঙ্গীশাহীর অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ জানাতে আহবান করা হয়।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

৩১ মার্চ বারাসতে বাংলাদেশে সংগ্রামের শেঠপুকুর ময়দানে এক বিরাট জনসভায় সর্বশ্রী সুনীল বসু (সি পি আই), অরবিন্দ দাশগুপ্ত (শাসক কংগ্রেস) ভাষণ দেন।

ভারতীয় মহিলা ফেডারেশনের পশ্চিমবঙ্গ কমিটির আহবানে ১ এপ্রিল ভারত সভা হলে অনুষ্ঠিত এক মহিলা সভায় পূর্ববাংলার ভাই-বোনেরা আত্মত্যাগের জ্বলন্ত নিদর্শনের প্রতি গভীর শ্রদ্ধা জ্ঞাপন করা হয়। সভায় সভানেত্রী ছিলেন ডঃ রমা চৌধুরী ও ভাষণ দেন শ্রীমতি গীতা মুখার্জী, অপর্ণা ব্যানার্জী, ইলা মিত্র, অরুণা মুন্সী, কমলা মুখার্জী, মায়াদাস এবং শ্রীমতী মীরা দত্তগুপ্ত। বাংলাদেশের একজন মুক্তি সংগ্রামীও সভায় ভাষণ দেন।

পশ্চিমবঙ্গ সাব-অর্ডিনেট কোঅপারেটিভ এমপ্লয়িজ এসোসিয়েশন ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গ মৎস্যজীবী সমিতি বাংলাদেশের নিরস্ত্র মানুষের উপর ইয়াহিয়ার অমানুষিক অত্যাচারের তীব্র নিন্দা করেন।

ইন্ডিয়ান মেডিক্যাল এসোসিয়েশনের সদস্যরা বাংলাদেশে জনগণের উপর পাকিস্তানের জঙ্গীশাহীর অত্যাচারে প্রতিবাদে কলকাতার পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনের সামনে বিক্ষোভ দেখান। এছাড়া আই এম এ হলে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিফৌজের সাহায্যার্থে এক রক্ত দান কেন্দ্র খোলা হয় ও গত ২ এপ্রিল এম এ সভারা প্রথম কিস্তিতে রক্তদান করেন।

পশ্চিমবঙ্গ যুব সংঘ ও ছাত্র ফেডারেশনের উদ্যোগে যুব সংঘ কার্যালয়ে রক্ত সংগ্রহ অভিযান শুরু হয়েছে।

ট্রাম শ্রমিকদের যুক্ত কমিটি, পঃ বঙ্গ সরকারী কর্মচারী সমিতিসমূহের অস্থায়ী যুক্ত কমিটি, পেট্রোলিয়াম ওয়ার্কर्स ইউনিয়ন, এন্ড্রু, ইউল কোং কর্মচারী সমিতি, ইউ বি আই এমপ্লয়িজ এসোসিয়েশন, বেঙ্গল মোশান পিকচার্স এমপ্লয়িজ ইউনিয়ন বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামে অংশগ্রহণকারী জনগণকে অভিনন্দন জানান।

খড়গপুর থানায় গত ৩১ মার্চ কৃষক সমাবেশে বিভিন্ন বক্তা বক্তৃতা প্রসঙ্গে বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দানের আহবান জানান।

দমদমে ও পানিহাটীতে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামের সমর্থনে গত ৩১ মার্চ বিরাট মিছিল বের হয়।

যাদবপুরে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামের সমর্থনে সর্বদলীয় জনসভা ও কুলটীতে এক সর্বদলীয় যুক্ত মিছিল বের হয়।

যুবক লেখক সংস্থার উদ্যোগে স্টুডেন্টস হলের জনসভা থেকে ইয়াহিয়ার বর্বরতাকে তীব্র খিক্কার জানানো হয়।

সাউথ সুবার্বন পৌরসভা ও সি টি কলেজের ছাত্র শিক্ষক কর্মচারীদের যুক্ত সভা তাদের নিজ নিজ প্রস্তাব মারফৎ মুক্তিকামী বাংলাদেশের মানুষদের অভিনন্দন জানান।

পথিকৃৎ ও ডি ওয়াই ও-র উদ্যোগে গত ৩ এপ্রিল এক বিক্ষোভ মিছিল পাক হাইকমিশনার দপ্তরে যায়।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭৩। বাংলাদেশ মিশন স্বীকৃতির জন্য প্রচেষ্টা চালাবে	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	২০ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, APRIL 20, 1971*

## **BANGLADESH MISSION TO WORK FOR RECOGNITION**

By A Staff Reporter

Mr. M. Hossain Ali, now head of the Bangladesh Mission in Calcutta, is most likely to be named within a day or two as the High Commissioner for Bangladesh to India.

There was a new life in the Bangladesh Mission office in Calcutta on Monday and new files were opened, the subject matter being "recognition" to the independent, sovereign and democratic Republic of Bangladesh and its newly formed Government.

According to a reliable source, letters written to the heads of the State of several important countries of the world are now awaiting for the signature of the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh. An emissary from this Mission is likely to meet the Foreign Minister in Bangladesh today (Tuesday).

Meanwhile, the Pak High Commissioner in India is understood to have sent a telex message to the National Grindlays Bank, Calcutta, asking it not to allow Mr. Hossain Ali to draw any money from the bank. Similar advice was also reported to have been communicated to the National Bank of Pakistan in London which used to operate as the clearing house for the Pakistan sterling accounts.

In another telex message the Pak High Commissioner is understood to have told Mr. Hossain Ali not to use the Circus Avenue Building as the Bangladesh Mission office.

The officials here are understood to have decided to ignore all such threats. After all they do not need any remittance from the Government of Pakistan, a source stated.

Mr. Hossain Ali said that he was "reorganizing and re-orienting the function of the Mission so as to bring it in tune with 'the needs and aspirations of Bangladesh'".

He said some representatives of Bangladesh visited the Mission on Monday mainly to congratulate him on his decision to switch his allegiance to Bangladesh.

### **Ready For Hardship**

He said all 60 Bengali staff worked "enthusiastically" and were ready to accept any cuts in their remunerations. "We have to observe austerity. We cannot live in luxury", he added.

Mr. Ali said the 30 West Pakistani employees did not report for duty and he could not say if they had sought repatriation. The mission would continue to function from the same building.

He would shortly contact leaders of the Bangladesh Government to seek their guidance.

People were pouring into the mission this evening with garlands and bouquets to felicitate Mr. Ali and his staff. Among the distinguished visitors to the mission was Chief Justice P.B. Mukherji of Calcutta High Court.

A large crowd stood outside the mission singing patriotic songs including Bangladesh national anthem "Oh Golden Bengal. I love thee dearly".

Mr. Ali also said that his first task would be "to secure recognition of the Bangladesh Government from other nations".

He told UNI that only after recognition could the question of arms aid from these nations be taken up.

Sophisticated weapons were very essential to accelerate the liberation movement in Bangladesh.

Mr. Ali emphasized that the newly formed Government was the only representative Government of Bangladesh.

### **Whither Mujib**

In reply to a question, he said his information was that Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was free till March 28. After that he had no definite intimation about the whereabouts on the Sheikh.

Mr. Ali warmly thanked the people of West Bengal for their support.

Radio Pakistan had till late Monday night blacked out the story that Mr. Ali transferred his allegiance to the new Government of Bangladesh.

The radio did not either take note of the hoisting by him of Bangladesh 'flag atop the Pakistani mission replacing the Pakistani flag.

Our Special Representative writes from New Delhi: Enquiries made at various levels here show that there was no move either from the Pakistani High Commissioner in New- Delhi or any other Pakistan authority regarding situation obtaining at Calcutta. So far as the Government of India were concerned the status quo remains unless it is revoked or changed by either side.

A dig into international history shows that such things are not new. In Congo there are two Cambodian missions at work. In the Latin American countries such things reportedly happen almost once every week.

If a concrete request to do this or that comes from any side in regard to the happening at the Calcutta's former Pak Deputy High Commissioner's office the Government of India it is believed, would act as the situation calls for action' at that time considering the exact situation obtaining there at the time.

It is also likely that the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India will continue to consider that all the previous employees who enjoyed diplomatic immunity would continue to enjoy the same rights unless some information challenging or changing that comes to the Indian Government.

### **Fictitious Reports**

Meanwhile, official sources in New Delhi described on Monday as "entirely fictitious" reports that the Cabinet of the newly formed Republic of Bangladesh was operating from Calcutta or its headquarters was in India, adds PTI.

These reports were without any foundation, the sources said.

Official sources were commenting on foreign news reports alleging their presence in Indian territory.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭৪। পাকিস্তানের ভরাডুবি (সম্পাদকীয়)	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	২১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

## পাকিস্তানের ভরাডুবি

দুর্ভিক্ষের বশে বাংলাদেশের উপর হিংস্র আক্রমণ চালাইয়া ইয়াহিয়া বাঙালীদের গোর দেওয়ার জন্য যে কবর খুঁড়িয়াছিলেন তাহাতে শেষ পর্যন্ত পাকিস্তানকেই না মাটি দিতে হয়। তাহার অঙ্গচ্ছেদ তো ইতিমধ্যেই হইয়া গিয়াছে। জঙ্গীশাহী হাজার চেষ্টা করিলেও সে কাটা শরীর আর জোড়া লাগাইতে পারিবে না। কিন্তু যে অংশটুকু তাহার একান্ত নিজস্ব সেটুকুও যে ফৌজী দাওয়াই প্রয়োগ করিয়া বাঁচাইয়া রাখিতে পারিব, এমন ভরসাও কম। রক্ত শুধু পূর্বেই ঝরে নাই, ঝরিয়াছে পশ্চিমেও। আসলে অবশ্য সে রক্ত পূর্বেরই, নিজের দেহে তাহা সঞ্চরিত করিয়াই পশ্চিম শক্তি সঞ্চয় করিয়াছে। নিয়তির এমনই পরিহাস, পূর্ববঙ্গের বুক চিরিয়া যে রক্ত পান করিয়া পশ্চিম-পাকিস্তানের এত তেজ সেই আর্থিক রক্তই তাহাকে ঢালিতে হইতেছে বাংলাদেশকে শায়েস্তা করিবার জন্য। অপরিণাম রক্তক্ষয় এখন তাহাকে বিপর্যয়ের মুখে ঠেলিয়া দিতেছে।

পাকিস্তানের সমৃদ্ধির শুধু নয়, প্রাণের উৎসও পূর্বে। পূর্ববঙ্গের পাট ও চা বেচিয়া যে বৈদেশিক মুদ্রা সে উপার্জন করিয়াছে, সেটা ভোগে লাগিয়াছে পশ্চিমের। পূর্বাঞ্চলকে দেখাইয়া বৈষয়িক সাহায্য আদায় করিয়া কাজে লাগাইয়াছে পশ্চিম এলাকার। বাংলাদেশে নরমেঘযজ্ঞের উপচার সংগ্রহ করিতে বাঙালীদেরই রক্ত-জল-করা পাট-চা বেচার টাকা লাগানো হইতেছে। লক্ষ লক্ষ প্রাণ সে যজ্ঞে আহুতি দেওয়া হইয়াছে বটে, কিন্তু খোদ পাকিস্তানই তো মরিতে বসিয়াছে। ইয়াহিয়া খাঁর তহবিলে এত অর্থ নাই যে তিনি প্রত্যহ এক কোটি টাকা খরচ করিয়া তাঁহার নিষ্ঠুর খেয়াল চরিতার্থ করেন। এক তো তাঁহাকে সঞ্চিত অর্থে হাত দিতে হইতেছে, তাহার উপর ক্ষয়ক্ষতি পূরণের উপায়ও তো তাঁহার নাই। যে রাজহাঁস সোনার ডিম পাড়িত তাহাকেই তো প্রায় শেষ করিয়া আনিয়াছেন। আর পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের পক্ষে সে হাঁস তো মরারই শামিল-বাঁচিয়া থাকিতে সোনার ডিম তো আর সে পশ্চিম-পাকিস্তানের হাতে তুলিয়া দিবে না।

ইয়াহিয়া খাঁ যখন চোরের মতো রাতের অন্ধকারে গা ঢাকা দিয়া ঢাকা ছাড়িয়া পলাইয়া যান তখন পাকিস্তানের তহবিলে মজুত বিদেশী মুদ্রা ছিল মাত্র ৮ কোটি ২০ লক্ষ ডলার। এই কয় দিনেই তাহার মধ্যে দুই কোটি ডলারের উপর পদ্মার জল ঢালিয়াছে জঙ্গীশাহী। তবুও সে হালে পানি পাইতেছে না। সেন্টের বন্ধুরা কিঞ্চিৎ অস্ত্রশস্ত্র অবশ্য যোগাইয়াছে, কিন্তু তাহাতে কতদিন চলিবে? বসিয়া খাইলে কুবেরের ভান্ডারও শূন্য হইয়া যায়-পাকিস্তানের পুঁজি তো সামান্য। নগদ টাকার অভাবে ধার যে করিবে পাকিস্তানের সে গুড়েও বালি। দেউলিয়াকে আর কে ধার দিতে যাইবে, কেনই বা দিবে? যাহারা এতকাল পাকিস্তানকে আদরযত্ন করিয়া এমন বাড়াইয়াছে ইচ্ছা থাকিলে তাহাদেরও তো পাকিস্তানের আবদার মেটানো কঠিন। বৃহৎ শক্তির মধেই যে পাকিস্তানের বায়না মানিয়া লইতে চাহিবে তাহারই দেশে প্রবল আপত্তি উঠিবে। সাধ করিয়া ঝামেলাকে ডাকিয়া আনিবে?

যাহার শূন্য তহবিল তাহার পক্ষে নগদ কড়ি দিয়া সামরিক সরঞ্জাম কেনা যেমন অসম্ভব, তেমনই অসম্ভব বিদেশ হইতে প্রয়োজনীয় যন্ত্রপাতি, কাঁচামাল কিংবা অন্যান্য উৎপাদনের আনুষঙ্গিক বস্তু কেনা। পূর্ব বঙ্গের সঙ্গে সহমরণে যাইতে চলিয়াছে পশ্চিম-পাকিস্তানের শিল্পও। বিদেশ হইতে কোনও কিছুই আমদানী করা যাইতেছে না, একে একে মিত্রের দলও হাত গুটাইতেছে। আরও দিন কতক এমনভাবে চলিলে পাকিস্তানের দুর্দশার চরম হইবে। বেকারি এমনিতাই তো ভয়াবহ। কলকারখানা কাঁচামাল ও যন্ত্রাংশের অভাবে যদি বন্ধ হইয়া যায় তাহা হইলে পশ্চিম-পাকিস্তানে তো হাহাকার পড়িয়া যাইবে। বিদেশ হইতে পাকিস্তানে যে বৈষয়িক সাহায্য আসে-এক

চীন হইতে যেটুকু পাওয়া যায় সেটুকু হয়তো মিলিবে, কিন্তু অন্যেরা আপাতত সাহায্যদান স্থগিত রাখিয়াছে। আমেরিকা, ব্রিটেন, জাপান সকলেই বাংলাদেশের রণাঙ্গনের দিকে তাকাইয়া আছে-সেখানে একটা ফয়সালা না হইলে দান খয়রাত আবার শুরু করিবে না, এমন একটা ভাবও তাহারা দেখাইতেছে। এমন কি আর্ত দ্রাণের জন্য যে টাকা জাপান বরাদ্দ করিয়াছিল তাহাও দিতে সে দেশ নারাজ। বিশ্ব ব্যাংকও বিশেষ প্রসন্ন নয়- পাকিস্তানকে বৈষয়িক সাহায্য যে সব দেশ দেয় তাহাদের বৈঠক প্যারিসে হইবে বটে, কিন্তু পাকিস্তানের সেখানে প্রবেশের অধিকার থাকিবে না। দেখা যাইতেছে ইয়াহিয়া নিজেও মজিয়াছেন, দেশকেও মজাইয়াছেন।

সম্পাদকীয়ঃ আনন্দ বাজার পত্রিকা, ২১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭৫। পূর্ব-বাংলার ঘটনাবলীর গতি-প্রকৃতি	ফ্রন্টিয়ার	২৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

FRONTIER. APRIL 24. 1971  
Across The Border  
TRENDS IN EAST BENGAL  
*By Sumanta Banerjee*

In the welter of romantic reports about Bangladesh in our Bengali newspapers, the political significance of the happenings in East Bengal is lost.

The heroic resistance against the Pakistan army is spearheaded by young members of the East Pakistan Rifles. East Bengal Regiment, Mujahids. Ansars and students. The leaders of the Awami League, elected by the people to the National and Provincial Assemblies are nowhere to be seen near the battlefronts. They are in Calcutta, Delhi. Agartala or Bongaon-busy setting up committees or forming a government.

Although All India Radio and Government statements are determined to describe the liberation forces as Mujib's army, the fighters whom I saw in Jessore, Khulna and other areas could not care less about who was their leader. For them it was a battle of resistance to one of the most ruthless forces in the modern world. With Second World War 303 rifles and a few light machine-guns, they are fighting against tanks heavy mortars and often air raids.

A couple of EPR boys whom I met in a deserted village near Jessore town regretted that the leaders had failed to arm the villagers who otherwise might have stayed on in the villages and helped the liberation forces.

When I came back from the front to the headquarters of the Awami League at a safer place near the Indian border and asked the local leader why the peasants were not armed, he said they could not be as otherwise they would indulge looting and fighting among themselves.

The middle-class distrust of the peasantry has kept the majority of the rural poor at a distance. They seemed to be uninvolved in the war evident from their immediate decision to evacuate villages whenever the Pakistan forces were sighted nearby.

A liberation war cannot be fought only by a few EPR boys and student volunteer, however heroic they might be. The bulk of the people the peasantry-will have to be drawn into it.

While the Awami League leaders still believe in keeping the masses at a distance, and winning the war in the conventional way by defeating the army on the battlefield, those who are fighting the war-the EPR and the volunteers, are fast realizing the need for guerilla warfare. This explains the sharp differences in the behavior of the leaders' and the fighters.

Almost every Awami League leader with whom I talked expected help from India in the shape of heavy artillery, tanks and other modern weapons to match the strength of the Pakistan army. They are approaching the Government for such help. Standing in sharp contrast with this behavior was the attitude of young a mechanic-hardly 25-who had crossed over from Dinajpur to spend a day in India and collect explosive necessary to blow up a bridge. More practical and Pragmatic than the leaders, he described how the fighters are learning from their past mistakes and shifting to guerilla tactics, like laying booby traps to ambush tanks.

### Politics

Apart from the differences over fighting tactics. Political differences are developing. Resentment against the Awami League MPAs and MNAs, particularly among the rural poor, is growing. They feel that they have been deserted. Among the fighting forces also there is a feeling of being let down. They think that they were not asked well in advance to be prepared for a war. The way the senior officers of the EPR and ERR were allowed to be eliminated by the Pakistan army, even when the negotiations were on between Mujibur Rahman and Yahya Khan, indicates that the Awami League leaders were not seriously thinking in terms of a military war.

From all indications it appears that the Awami League leadership has exhausted its capabilities. It reached its zenith with the success of the non-violent non-cooperation movement. In mobilising the masses behind the call for non-cooperation, it demonstrated its mettle and proved to be superior even to Gandhi. In our non-cooperation movement during the anti imperialist struggle, there was hardly any case of defiance like the instance of judges refusing to swear in a Governor imposed by an alien power. The sense of nationalism was complete.

The Awami leaders succeeded in mobilising the masses behind the slogan of non-violent non-cooperation, but were not expected to rally them for armed resistance. Their middle class temperament stood in the way of arming the people. They depended instead on the remnants of the ready-made machinery of the State-the EPR and the ERR. Trained in conventional warfare and direct confrontation, but deprived of the necessary command and equipment, the EPR and ERR could hardly resist the superior Pakistan army.

Thus with the end of the non-cooperation movement and the invasion of the Pakistan army, a new phase started in East Bengal politics-the phase of armed resistance-which the Awami League leaders failed to lead properly.

In spite of our Government's wishful thinking and publicity for Sheikh Mujib's Government-in-exile, the leadership of the new stage of movement in Bangladesh is fast changing. Sincere elements in the Awami League are getting disillusioned about the leaders. A prominent leader of the Jessore area, whom I met in Calcutta a week ago, told me how he had waited for days for the top leaders- to come to a decision and for the West Bengal Government to help his boys fighting in Jessore, in vain, and had finally decided to contact "other sources" in Calcutta before leaving for Jessore.

What are the other political forces in Bangladesh? Despite the subtle propaganda in our newspapers that Maulana Bhasani's National Awami Party is not participating in the

war, NAP is very much on the scene. I met a prominent leader of the party and ordinary members who are fighting in Dinajpur.

It should be remembered that long before Mujibur. Bhasani had giving the call for Independent Bangladesh. NAP claims that although the electorate voted for Mujibur Rahman, they were taken a step ahead from the demand for autonomy to the demand for full independence by NAP. The rallies they held during the negotiations exerted pressure on Mujibur and prevented a compromise, NAP leaders claim.

But NAP admits that it was also caught unawares by the Pakistan army. It should share with the Awami League the blame for keeping the masses unprepared for a war.

### **Co-ordination**

NAP has decided to set up a co-ordination committee of other left forces and keep in touch with Mujib's Government-in-exile and prepare for a long-drawn war. It describes the present struggle as a national liberation war and seeks to draw all the classes into it. Instead of depending on conventional warfare like the Awami League, NAP is preparing for guerilla war. The NAP leader whom I met was tin: only political leader from East Bengal to tell me pointblank: "We do not expect any help from you. It is our war and we will fight it. For heaven's sake, ask your political parties to keep away from our politics."

NAP. it appears, has succeeded in getting cooperation from three Noxalite groups of East Bengal. The Toaha group, which heads the official Communist Party of East Pakistan(Marxist-Leninist) is still out of the co-ordination committee.

The CP (ML) in East Bengal is thinking on different lines, although it is participating in the liberation war. It describes the war as a "false nationalistic war in collaboration with imperialists." The definition is probably directed against the Awami League leadership. The party emphasizes class struggle-annihilation of landlords and shardening of the conflict between the jotdars and the rural poor. It seeks to expose Mujibur Rahman and the Awami League leadership.

In this connexion. NAP differs from the CP (ML). While NAP feels that the main contradiction is between the Bengalis as a nation and the invading Pakistan army, the CP- (ML) stresses the contradiction between the feudal structure in the villages and the toiling masses. They feel that with the desertion of the rural poor by the Awami leaders, it would be easier for them to expose the Awami League and politically educate the peasantry.

According to the CP (ML), the fight against the Pakistan army and the local feudal landlords would continue simultaneously. They hope that the peasants who are fleeing villages today will return tomorrow and take up arms, snatch them if necessary, to defend themselves. Political power will be set up in these centers of armed struggle.

It is difficult to predict at this stage what exactly would be the course of future events in Bangladesh, or which party would be in the leadership. But it is clear that parties of the petit bourgeoisies will gradually lose their hold and give way to other forces, depending on the initiative of the more militant groups. With the onset of the monsoons, there might be some lull on the battlefronts. During this period, NAP and other forces might try to coordinate their activities and set up resistance groups and prepare for guerilla warfare. In

course of such resistance, the class conflicts being visualized by the CP ( ML) will sharpen.

Meanwhile, our newspapers would be deprived of the chance of dishing up sensational stories. There will be no more spectacular victories. The fight will go on beyond the sight of visiting newsmen. The freedom fighters will be spared the dangers thrust upon them by irresponsible reporting by our journalists, and the local population will be cured of the euphoria created by false news of victories in our newspapers.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭৬। বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে জাতিসংঘের প্রতারণা	নিউ এজ	২৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*NEW AGE, APRIL 25, 1971*

### **US ENVOY'S BLUFF ON BANGLADESH EXPOSED**

The US Ambassador's bluff has been called. Kenneth Keating struck the headlines in the obliging monopoly Press here a few days ago by declaring that his government did not regard the regent gory happenings in East Bengal as an internal affair of Pakistan. It was a clear attempt to play to the gallery without any basis for it in US official policy.

The phrase internal affair is overworked, he said. "This certainly is not a case of internal affair". Keating announced with great aplomb in Bombay on April 15.

Hardly four days could pass before this inflated balloon was pricked. The official word came from the State Department putting Keating in his place and reiterating the well known US position. The Department's spokesman in Washington, Robert McCloskey, stated bluntly, in reply to pressmen's questions asking for comment, on Keating's Bombay statement that on April 2 he (McCloskey) had stated that "it was our view that what is going on in Pakistan is an internal matter". And there the matter stood as far as the US Government was concerned, he said.

### **American Tanks in Action**

The American lobby in India has been trying hard to soften the blow dealt to the people of East Bengal by the US attitude, saying that "in action" the US is not hostile to the freedom fighters. Facts Completely refute this make believe nonsense. The same State Department spokesman, Robert McCloskey, had told pressmen a few days earlier that since 1966-61, US sales of military items to Pakistan-both on commercial and on credit terms-had in fact been running at "just under" ten million dollars annually. Of these 25 per cent, that is about 2.5 million dollars worth of material had been in the form of ammunition. (International Herald Tribune, April 15, 1971)

This exposes the earlier lies kept afloat by the US that since its resumption of military supplies to Pakistan in 1966.67 the US had been giving only non-lethal weapons to the military dictatorship in Islamabad. The US had claimed then that supplies consisted predominantly of military personnel carriers and communications equipment. It has now had to acknowledge that the bullets and bombs which have killed lakhs of innocent East Bengalis and continue to kill over more of them, originated mostly in the US.

And (his supply is still being maintained, despite all protests and demands from sections of American opinion and from the governments and peoples of Bangladesh and India.

Earlier a despatch in the New York Times from its Washington bureau dated April 11 had acknowledged that the US was continuing to ship to Pakistan ammunition and spare parts for weapons under a programme begun in 1967.

"There is growing evidence", said this despatch, "that the Pakistani army has been using American tanks, jet aircraft and other equipment in its attempt to crush the movement for autonomy by the predominantly Bengali citizens in the eastern half of the country.

"That equipment was shipped from 1954 to 1965 at which time the US embargoed further arms shipments to Pakistan. The embargo was eased in 1967 to permit Pakistan to buy spare and ammunition for (he weapons." (International Herald Tribune, April 12, 1971)

While the US continues to sanction the use of its arms and ammunition in the West Pakistani military junta's hands for the mass butchery in East Bengal no embargo has been placed on continuation of the supplies resumed in 1966-67. and none seems likely at all. The word has come from their brothers at the other end of the Atlantic now advising the Bangladesh freedom to abandon their resistance and submit to butchery like lambs. A report in the Indian Express, fighters April 21, datelined London says:

"A discreet move is afoot in Britain to persuade East Bengal political circles here to abandon plans for armed resistance to West Pakistan's military..."

Between the two of them the US and British imperialists arc out to see the freedom fighters of East Bengal crushed, so that Yahya and his minions can rule undisturbed for years and decades to come. While Keating pours out honeyed words on Indian soil his superiors across the seas continue to stab the Bangladesh fighters in the back every moment.

A growing volume of democratic opinion in both UL and Britain demands the staying of the hands of the butchers and acceptance of Bangladesh demands.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭৭। কলকাতা ও ঢাকায় ডেপুটি হাই কমিশন অফিস বন্ধ হচ্ছে	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	২৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

## কলকাতা ও ঢাকায় ডেপুটি হাই কমিশন অফিস বন্ধ হচ্ছে

বিশেষ সংবাদদাতা

নয়াদিল্লী, ২৪ এপ্রিল-পাকিস্তান এবং ভারত আগামী সোমবারের মধ্যে ভারতের ডেপুটি হাইকমিশন অফিস বন্ধ করে দিচ্ছেন। গতকাল ইসলামাবাদে ভারতের অস্থায়ী হাইকমিশনারের কাছে এবং আজ পাকিস্তানী হাইকমিশনার কর্তৃক পররাষ্ট্র দফতরের সচিব শ্রী এস কে ব্যানার্জির কাছে প্রদত্ত নোটে পাকিস্তান কলকাতায় ডেপুটি হাইকমিশন অফিস বন্ধ করে দেওয়ার সিদ্ধান্ত ঘোষণা করেন।

এই নোটে ভারতকেও ঢাকায় তার ডেপুটি হাইকমিশন অফিস বন্ধ করতে বলা হয়। ভারত তাতে রাজে, তবে পাকিস্তানের এই সিদ্ধান্তে দুঃখিত। পাকিস্তানী নোট অনুসারে সোমবারের মধ্যেই এই দুই অফিস বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে এবং উভয় অফিসের কর্মী এবং তাদের পরিবারবর্গ স্থান ত্যাগ করবেন।

ভারত পাকিস্তানের এই সিদ্ধান্তকে কূটনৈতিক মারপ্যাঁচ বলে উল্লেখ করেছে। ভারতের বৈদেশিক দফতরের একজন মুখপাত্র আজ এখানে বলেন, কলকাতায় পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনার শ্রীমেহেন্দী মাসুদকে সম্ভাব্য সব রকম সুবিধাই আমরা দিয়েছিলাম। বাংলাদেশের নাগরিকদের উপর অমানুষিক অত্যাচারের ফলে জনসাধারণের মধ্যে চরম বিক্ষোভ থাকা সত্ত্বেও নিরাপত্তা রক্ষী এবং পুলিশ অফিসাররা শ্রীমাসুদের ব্যক্তিগত নিরাপত্তা রক্ষার প্রশংসনীয় কাজ করেছেন।

একটি নিরাপদ জায়গায় ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনারকে যথাযোগ্য স্থান করে দেওয়ার জন্য পশ্চিমবঙ্গ সরকার প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করছিলেন। এই সুবিধার সুযোগ উপেক্ষা করে কলকাতায় অফিস বন্ধ করার সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়ে এবং ঢাকায় আমাদের ডেপুটি হাইকমিশন অফিস বন্ধ করতে বলে পাকিস্তান যা করল তা দুঃখবহ। পাকিস্তানের পক্ষে এই পূর্ব পরিকল্পিত এবং ইচ্ছাকৃত কূটনৈতিক চাল নিন্দনীয়।

পাকিস্তানী নোটে কর্মী এবং তাঁদের পরিবারবর্গের স্বদেশযাত্রার ব্যাপারে যে পদ্ধতির কথা বলা হয়, ভারত তাতে সম্মতি জানিয়েছেঃ

ক। পাকিস্তান ইন্টারন্যাশনাল এয়ারওয়েজ ভারতীয় কর্মী এবং তাঁদের পরিবারবর্গকে করাচি থেকে ঢাকায় আনবেন।

খ। কলকাতায় পাকিস্তান কর্মী এবং পরিবারবর্গকে আন্তর্জাতিক পরিবহনে করাচি যেতে ভারতীয় কর্তৃপক্ষ সুযোগ দেবেন।

গ। ইসলামাবাদের ভারতীয় হাইকমিশনের ব্যবস্থায় ভারতীয়রা করাচি থেকে দিল্লি যেতে পারবেন।

পাকিস্তান অবশ্য ভারতকে এই অনুরোধও করেছে যে, পাক হাইকমিশনারকে যেন কলকাতার ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনের বাড়ি, সরকারী সম্পত্তি, তহবিল ও নথিপত্রের অধিকার দেওয়া হয়।

ভারতীয় বৈদেশিক অফিসের অফিসাররা কিছুটা স্বস্তির নিশ্বাসও ফেলেছেন। কারণ এতে কূটনৈতিক যে বাধা সৃষ্টি হয়েছিল তার দূর হওয়ার লক্ষণ রয়েছে। এখন ভারতীয় কর্মী এবং তাঁদের পরিবারবর্গ যাতে ভারতে

আসতে পারেন তা দেখার বর্তাল এখন পাকিস্তানের উপর। অবশ্য ভারতকেও অনুরূপ দায়িত্ব নিতে হবে।

বাধা রইল শুধু অস্ত্রাবর সম্পত্তি যেমন, মোটরগাড়ি, রেফ্রিজারেটর প্রভৃতি জিনিস সম্পর্কে যা নাকি এখনই বিমানে পাঠানো যাবে না। তবে তা উভয়ের পক্ষেই প্রযোজ্য। স্থানত্যাগে পরিবহনের ব্যাপারে দুই দেশের সুবিধা অনুযায়ী সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়া হবে বলে পাকিস্তান জানিয়েছে। ভারত বলেছে, আন্তর্জাতিক রীতিনীতি অনুযায়ী তা স্থির হবে।

পাকিস্তানের বক্তব্য যথেষ্ট পরস্পরবিরোধী। কর্মী এবং পরিবারবর্গের স্থানত্যাগের সঙ্গে গাড়ি ইত্যাদি কথা না থাকায় আশংকা হচ্ছে এ নিয়ে কিঞ্চিৎ গোলমাল দেখা দেবে।

পাকিস্তান বলেছে, বাংলাদেশে সবই স্বাভাবিক। স্বাভাবিক অবস্থায় ঢাকায় ভারতীয় কর্মীরা ভারতীয় পথেই আসতে পারেন। অথচ মনে হচ্ছে, স্বাধীনতা-সংগ্রামীদের জন্য এই পথে আসা সম্ভব নয় বলে পাকিস্তানকে এ ব্যাপারে আগেই সবকিছু জানিয়েছে।

নতুন এই পরিস্থিতিতে বাংলাদেশকে ভারতের স্বীকৃতিদানের পথ আরও পরিষ্কার হল। যদিও তার মানে এই নয়, অদূর ভবিষ্যতে ভারত তাই করতে যাচ্ছে। তবে এটা ঠিক, এর ফলে ভারতের কাছে পাকিস্তান বলতে রইল শুধু খণ্ডিত পাকিস্তান যার নাম পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান।

আনন্দ বাজার পত্রিকা, ২৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭৮। ঢাকায় ভারতীয় দূতবাসের কমচারীরা অন্তরীণ	স্টেটসম্যান	২৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

*STATESMAN, APRIL 28, 1971*

**INDIAN STAFF AT DACCA INTERNED  
FRESH DELHI MOVE TO EVACUATE DIPLOMATS**

New Delhi. April 27 -In its latest move to further worsen India-Pakistan relations, the military junta in Islamabad has practically interned the personnel of the Indian Deputy High Commission in Dacca, including the Head of the mission, Mr. K. C. Sen Gupta, after the mission's closure yesterday, report UNI and PTI.

The Government of India has taken up the matter strongly with the administration in Islamabad. It is understood to have pointed out to the Islamabad regime that the internment is contrary to the assurance given to it earlier and is in violation of the Vienna Convention.

A strong protest Note was personally delivered to the Pakistani High Commissioner here Mr. Sajjad Haider, by Mr. A. K. Ray, joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs in charge of Pakistan desk, at the letter's office.

At tonight's meeting, Mr. Ray put up to the Pakistan High Commissioners some new and concrete proposals for the prompt evacuation of Indian personnel from Dacca. The new proposals were made as they were considered easier to implement, official sources said.

Mr. Ray asked Mr. Haider to obtain a reply to these proposals from his Government to early as possible. Officials here hoped to get a reply from Pakistan within 36 hours.

Observer here feel that the Government of India will be forced to impose similar restrictions on the personnel of the Pakistani Deputy High Commission in Calcutta if the internment of the Indians in Dacca is not lifted immediately.

The internment is probably in retaliation to New Delhi's action in barring the exit of Pakistani personnel in India without prior permission from the Government. The steps followed Pakistan's refusal to allow Mrs. Sen Gupta and a diplomatic courier of Indian High Commission to leave Karachi for New Delhi.

An External Affairs Ministry spokesman here said the Government had learnt with regret and concern that immediately after the closure of its mission in Dacca well before the stipulated time yesterday, the Deputy High Commissioner, his officers and staff were practically interned in their residence.

Meanwhile a Foreign Office spokesman in Islamabad today described as "totally false" India's charge that Mrs. Sen Gupta, was maltreated.

Radio Pakistan quoted the spokesman as saying that Mrs. Sen Gupta could not leave Karachi for New Delhi on April 21 because of "mistaken identity" at Karachi airport. But. the matter was sorted out within a half hour, the spokesman said.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭৯। যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে বাঙালী কূটনীতিকদেরকে বদলী করা হচ্ছে	স্টেটসম্যান	২৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

STATESMAN, APRIL 28, 1971  
**BENGALI DIPLOMATS IN USA BEING REPLACED**

U. N. H. Q. April 27- The Pakistani Government was replacing its Bengali diplomatic personnel in key positions in the USA, informed sources said yesterday: reports PTI.

They said Pakistan's Consul-General in New York Mr. M. N. I Chaudhuri, the Minister in Washington, Mr. Enayat Karim, and his deputy were all either being replaced or their work transferred to West Pakistani officials.

None of this action came even as the Bengali Vice-Consul. Mr. A. H. Mahmood Ali, repudiated all connexions with Islamabad and, pledging his loyalty to the Bangladesh Government, sought asylum in the USA for himself and his wife.

The Pakistani Embassy in Washington claimed that Mr. Ali had been transferred to Ghana and had taken an advance for travel, implying thereby that Mr. Ali was not really being victimized. Mr. Ali, however, said while he had been originally asked to go to Accra, these orders were cancelled on April 21 and he had been asked to report to the Foreign Office in Islamabad immediately. Mr. Ali showed newsmen the latest orders issued to him.

The Pakistani Embassy itself would not confirm the change of duties or transfers of their leading Bengali diplomats. It was, however, learnt that the Consul-General's duties in New York had been taken over by a West Pakistani diplomat. Mr. Hayat Mehdi, And that the Minister, Mr. Karim, who is doing political work in Washington, was being replaced by Mr. Zaki, councilor in Pakistan's High Commission in Ottawa.

American sources believed that whether he is granted asylum officially or not Mr. Mahmood Ali and his wife would probably be allowed to stay on and no action would be taken to compel them to leave the USA.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮০। সীমান্তের ওপারের জনগণ সক্রিয়	ফ্রন্টিয়ার	১ মে, ১৯৭১

*FRONTIER, MAY 1, 1971*  
**Across The Border**  
**THE MASSES ARE ACTIVE**  
 By Kalyan Chaudhuri

Some political circles do not believe what is being described as people's participation in the Bangladesh movement. True, the main fighting elements are the East Pakistan Rifles and East Bengal Regiment personnel. But they are not isolated units or groups far away from the masses. The masses are active and lending all-out support to them. It is not a matter of purely passive patronage on the emotional level.

It is somewhat contradictory to believe in the potential fighting capacity of the people in general and then deny its existence in the moment of struggle. My limited experience of the struggle (I have been in Bangladesh for one and half weeks, covering two districts, the peasant-based Dinajpur and Rajshahi) is that the movement was inevitable and that it matters little whether or not the Awami League leadership was guard up for it. What really matters is that a large section of the League having indisputable authority over the community had finally foreseen what was bobbing up round the corner. The same awareness was visible in the Maulana Bhasani-led National Awami Party and the NAP of Wali Khan.

The EPR and the East Bengal Regiment did not also err in speculating about the coming revolt against the authority. The authority was equally sensitive to the possibility of an armed insurrection. That is why General Yahya Khan had been working for the past six months on a systematic plan of disarming the Bengalis in the EPR and the East Bengal Regiment, partly by outright official order and partly by ugly diplomacy. The disarming programme made a shrewd start when the Bengali personnel of the EPR were summoned back to towns and cantonments from their usual positions along the border with India. In army jargon this is a policy of "bottling up".

That the seeds of an armed uprising were ripe is evident from reports in the East Pakistan press before March 25. Ittefaq, in its March 8 issue, published a photograph of members of the Chhatra League (CL), the students' front of the Awami League, parading in Pabna in "military style". Its significance is clear when one remembers the context of the essentially non-violent civil disobedience programme of the Awami League. It was a pointer that the powerful students' wing of the Awami League was not always docile enough to toe the line of the party. Further, in the March 22 issue of Dainik Pakistan and the March 23 issue of Pakistan Observer we find reports of the CL rejecting the usefulness of the Yahya-Bhutto-Mujib negotiations. They even took out rallies in Dacca and Chittagong demanding an open confrontation with the West Pakistan clique. Mujib was asked to quit the "talking table" and provide leadership to the struggle.

Outside the Awami League, Maulana Bhasani's National Awami Party had long been clamouring for the same line of action. The NAP General Secretary, Mr. Masiur Rahman, told me early in April that his party was insisting on complete independence. At a Dacca rally in the third week of March he did not roll out any "six-point or hundred-point demands" nor even "autonomy". He was emphatic on independence and nothing sort of it so that the people would have a valid brief to call the West Pakistan troops aggressors on Bangladesh soil.

Finally, Mujibur Rahman too sensed the inevitable. At his last Dacca public meeting of the Ramna Race Course he gave a call for complete independence even at the cost of blood and tears. But the very idea of struggle was never rehearsed by the Awami League machinery. And for all practical purposes, a party which has never worked out a plan for an armed movement cannot expect to retain its leadership over a people fighting a trained army as their enemy.

Nevertheless, it is Mujib and none else but Mujib who has released the "flush" in Bangladesh. Different as he is in political beliefs and actions, the NAP leader. Mr. Masiur Rahman said Mujib might have skipped his set programme, but the struggle which finally flared up was unlikely to assume such massive proportions if he had not leapt into it. It was, as Mr. Masiur Rahman explained, a sort of "negative contribution" to the liberation struggle.

Mr. Masiur Rahman was very emphatic in the use of the term liberation. The present upsurge has a clear-cut objective of throwing away once for all the shackles of western dictatorship. A few setbacks or even heavy loss of lives, he said, could not stifle the uprising of the Bangladesh people.

Those who think that the struggle in Bangladesh has failed to inspire mass participation and refer to the refugee influx in support of their view, should note that the number of evacuees, however large, is very small in ratio to a population of 75 million. Besides, the evacuees are mostly children, women and old men while the youths are staying on in their land to take part in the movement for liberation.

About mass participation one incident is worth describing. On April 2 an army column came out of the Rajshahi cantonment to attack Nababganj from the border outposts, facing attacks on the way. The situation was hopeless. But what happened was unique. As the news spread that the army was advancing with a tank, about 5,000 civilians grouped together for resistance with whatever they had—sticks, bows and arrows, spears and guns. It was not just a show of courage. They pounced upon the firing tank and captured it, though at a heavy price. Whatever the wisdom of the tactic it showed that the people acted on their own without any directive from the Awami League or NAP leaders to give vent to pent-up anger. Once the moment came the question of parasitic dependence on leadership just vanished.

### **Resistance Groups**

During my short tour I found no village where there was no resistance group. Armed with crude weapons like sticks and bows they were a perfect picture of resolve and

ambition. Emotionally tense, they will! however, have to learn the brass-tacks of a fight against superior power. They have already become wary of frontal engagements with the enemy and been turning to guerilla actions.

To drive further home my point that the people have taken part in the movement, I would like to refer to some "representative individuals" One is a boatman of Rohanpur of Rajshahi district. The poor man did not grudge cruising his boat every night to carry food given by the local villagers to the liberation forces fighting afar. Or think of the young boy who cycled 40 miles at a stretch to come over to Maida on our side for fuel for their petrol-operated transmission sets. These "representative individuals" are countless, cutting across party lines. With the obliteration of party labels one thing stands out-the "pointed demands" of the Awami League have expanded into a national liberation movement against the coterie rule of the west.

Liberation-that is the word. Even the Swadhin Bangladesh Government will not be able to sit again with the western oligarchy for a so-called peaceful settlement. It is also a fact that the big powers can no longer push the Bangladesh people towards a conference table until liberation from the tyrannical rule of West Pakistan, a direct agent of world imperialism) is accepted as the major premise. Even if the new Government is content with big-power recognition under conditions that may annul the concept of liberation, the Bangladesh people will not accept it.

To convey the general sentiment of the Bangladesh people I would like to refer to a young girl of Dacca University whom I met in Calcutta. She is the grand-daughter of an 85-year-old political leader and ex-Minister of Pakistan who was killed in front of his Comilla residence. The incident took place before her eyes. The Army raided their house on the night of March 27 and dragged out Mr. D.N. Datta and his son who was also reported to have been killed as the Army made a bayonet charge. The girl who managed to escape told me that she did not like to stay in India as a refugee. "I must go back to Bangladesh: I cannot forget for a single moment even in any sleep the ugly face of the brute who killed my old grandfather and the innocent uncle. I must find him out and kill him the same way he killed them."

The liberation forces are very much aware of the price they will have to pay for foreign intervention. They do not want India or any other nation to be directly involved in the conflict. Leaders as well as common people I met did not seem willing to receive from foreign powers any assistance beyond material help such as arms and ammunition. They were obsessed with the idea that the goal of liberation would be realized easier by fighting alone.

There can be no denying the fact that the present movement, is not' the outcome of any class conflict. But rigid class consciousness is giving way. The Dinajpur SP. once a student of Dacca University, left his wife in a village camp with certain so-called low class people while he was engaged in operations on the front. He said it was a grand chance to get declassified.

The question is whether the ground for a liberation movement was fertile in East Pakistan. An analysis of certain socio-economic aspects would show that it was. In

Pakistan's budget last year about Rs 350 crores was earmarked for defense expenditure out of a total of about Rs 750 crores. About Rs 150 crores was set apart for annual loan repayment while maintenance of administration was allotted about Rs 100 crores. The rest-Rs 150 crores-was mainly spent on the development of West Pakistan where most of the private and public sector units are located. Strangely, the Rs 350 crores meant for defense expenditure was lifted fully from East Pakistan. East Pakistan used to raise about 65 per cent of the budget expenditure by selling her jute, tea and tobacco and most of this revenue was spent on the army. Since 1965 West Pakistan has received Rs c from the United States also as defence aid. All things considered, there was a glaring economic imbalance between West Pakistan and East Pakistan. The latter was treated not a shade better than a colony.

Another disturbing factor was the heavy land rewards to the retired Pakistan Army officers who are hardly recruited from the East. Once the army officers of the west are out of active service, they get land ranging between 50 and 300 bighas. In other words this privileged class of West Pakistani army officers is turned into feudal overlords and become a powerful tool of the machinery of exploitation. These are some of the long- standing grievances of East Pakistan against the western wing or late what hurt East Pakistan was the refusal of the army men to come to their help at the time of the devastating cyclone. American troops had to be invited to clear the huge masses of corpses from storm-ravaged localities. The army apart, no political leader from the west also cared to visit the cyclone-hit areas in East Pakistan.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮০। রেলওয়ে শ্রমিক ইউনিয়নের বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতিদানের আবেদন	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	৫ মে, ১৯৭১

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, MAY 5, 1971  
**NF RY WORKERS URGE RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH**  
*From Our Correspondent*

Pandu, May 4. The Central Council of the NF Railway Mazdoor Union in its 4-day meeting at Lnumding from April 30 demanded immediate recognition of Bangladesh.

The Council "expressed its deep sense of horror at the massacre there by West Pakistan army of innocent and freedom-loving people.

The conference which was attended to by about 200 delegates and visitors representing all the 19 branches of the union in another resolution regretted that while the people of Bangladeshi were fighting for democracy and economic political and cultural emancipation against the military rule of Pakistan no other power in the world except India had expressed moral support to them.

The resolution added that those had escaped the military brutality there and crossed over had become the problem of India alone. India alone had to find its resources to provide them with food, clothes and shelters etc. The U.N. with its Security Council, Red Cross organisation rehabilitation organisation, refugee organisation was controlled by a few big powers that were "yet on-lookers of the grim struggle in Bangladesh", it said.

The meeting, which was Presided over by its President Mr. Basanta Chandra Ghose, a senior lawyer of Patna, in another resolution discarded the American type of trade unionism in the form of categorical council "which brings isolation in the integrity and solidarity of the healthy trade unionism".

It also decided to organise demonstration in front of the General Manager's office on August 9 next on various demands of the report of the Third Pay Commission.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮১। ইয়াহিয়ার বায়না-বাংলাদেশ মিশনের সঙ্গে গোপন বৈঠক চাই	যুগান্তর	৬ মে, ১৯৭১

## ইয়াহিয়ার বায়না-বাংলাদেশ মিশনের সঙ্গে গোপন বৈঠক চাইঃ

### কূটনৈতিক বিনিময় কালও হয়নি

(বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি)

নয়াদিল্লী, ৫ই মে-পাকিস্তানের একগুঁয়েমির ফলে আজও ভারতীয় এবং পাকিস্তান ডেপুটি হাইকমিশন অফিসের কর্মচারীদের নিয়ে আসা, নিয়ে যাওয়া হয়নি। পাকিস্তান হাইকমিশনের দাবী, ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনার মিঃ মেহেদী মাসুদকে কলকাতা মিশনের সমস্ত কর্মচারীর সঙ্গে গোপনে এবং ব্যক্তিগতভাবে দেখা করতে দিতে হবে। ভারত সরকারের অভিমত, ব্যাপারটি পাকিস্তানের আভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপার। তাঁরা কলকাতা মিশনের কাউকে এ ব্যাপারে বাধ্য করতে পারেন না। কাজেই পাকিস্তানের দাবী অবৈধ, অযৌক্তিক এবং উদ্দেশ্য প্রণোদিত। এ শুধু কর্মচারী বিনিময় দেরি করার মতলব।

পাক হাইকমিশনের প্রেস কাউন্সিলার মিঃ এম আই বাট আজ এখানে এক সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে বলেছেন, ভারত সরকারের কাছে তাঁরা উপরোক্ত প্রতিশ্রুতি চেয়েছেন।

২৯শে এপ্রিলের নোটেও তাঁরা এই প্রতিশ্রুতি চেয়েছিলেন। পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তরের কাছে নোটটি পেশ করা হয়েছিল।

নোটের সারাংশ পাঠ করে শোনানোর কালে একজন সংবাদদাতা প্রশ্ন করেন, ব্যক্তিগতভাবে দেখা করার কথা তো এই নোটে নেই। মিঃ বাট কথটা এড়িয়ে যান। নোটে শুধু বলা হয়েছিল ভারত সরকার যেন মিঃ মাসুদ ও শ্রীহোসেন আলিসহ (বাংলাদেশ মিশনের প্রধান) কয়েকজনের সঙ্গে দেখা করার সুযোগ দেন।

মিঃ বাট বলেন, কলকাতা মিশনের যে সব কর্মচারী পাকিস্তানে যেতে চান না-তাঁরা যে নিজেরাই স্বাধীনভাবে এই সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছেন, এ বিষয়ে পাকিস্তান নিশ্চিত হতে চায়। সকলের সঙ্গে একযোগে দেখা করলে এই বিষয়টা স্পষ্ট হবে না। গতকাল মিঃ মাসুদের সঙ্গে শ্রী হোসেন আলি ও অপর কয়েকজনের দেখা হয়েছে বলে যে খবর পাওয়া গেছে, সে ব্যাপারে মিঃ বাট কিছুই জানেন না। তিনি বলেন, মিঃ মাসুদ হাইকমিশনকে কিছু জানাননি।

পাকিস্তান এই সব শর্ত আরোপ করে ঢাকাস্থ ভারতীয় ডেপুটি হাই-কমিশন অফিসের কর্মচারীদের নিয়ে আসার ব্যাপারে টালবাহানা করছেন,- এই অভিযোগ করা হলে মিঃ বাট তা অস্বীকার করেন।

প্রশ্ন করা হয়, ভারত সরকার কিভাবে কলকাতাস্থ বাংলাদেশ মিশনের কর্মচারীদের দেখা করতে বাধ্য করতে পারেন?

মিঃ বাট বলেন, তাঁরা একটা আপোষমূলক মনোভাবও দেখাতে পারেন। তিনি অভিযোগ করেন, গতকাল মিঃ মাসুদ ওদের সঙ্গে দেখা করার চেষ্টা করেছিলেন। কিন্তু ভারত সরকার কোন সুযোগ-সুবিধা দেননি।



বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

### সোভিয়েট বিমান তৈরি রাখবেন

মস্কো- ৫ই মে (পি টি আই) গত রাত্রে মুহূর্তে সোভিয়েট বিমান তাসখন্দ থেকে ঢাকাস্থিত ভারতীয় ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনের কর্মচারীদের আনতে যায়নি।

তা সত্ত্বেও আজ তাঁরা ভারত সরকারকে জানিয়েছেন, বিমান তৈরি থাকবে। ভারত ও পাকিস্তান একমত হলেই বিমান যাত্রা করবে।

দুটি ইলুইশিন-১৮ বিমান ঢাকা যাবার জন্য তৈরি ছিল। শেষ মুহূর্তে রাওয়ালপিন্ডি অনুমতি প্রত্যাহার করে নেয়।

সোভিয়েট মনে করেন, পাকিস্তান যে শর্তের কথা তুলেছেন, তাতে আজও কর্মচারী বিনিময় হবে না। অসুবিধা দূরীভূত না হওয়া পর্যন্ত দিল্লীতে বিমান তৈরি রাখবেন বলে জানিয়েছেন।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮২। এখনই ভারতের স্বীকৃতি বাংলাদেশের স্বার্থের অনুকূল হবে না	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	৮ মে, ১৯৭১

এখনই ভারতের স্বীকৃতি বাংলাদেশের স্বার্থের অনুকূল হবে না

তবে মুক্তি আন্দোলনকে পূর্ণ সমর্থন দেওয়া হবে-

শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী

বিশেষ সংবাদদাতা

নয়াদিল্লী, ৭ মে- আজ সকালে বিরোধী নেতাদের সঙ্গে বাংলাদেশ নিয়ে আলোচনার জন্য প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী বৈঠকে বসেছিলেন। প্রায় সকলেই বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে অবিলম্বে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়ার দাবি জানান। (ব্যতিক্রমঃ বিকানীরের মহারাজা ডঃ করণি সিং এবং মুসলিম লীগ নেতা মহম্মদ ইসমাইল। দুজনের বক্তব্যে অবশ্য কিছু পার্থক্য ছিল।) সকলের কথা শোনার পর প্রধানমন্ত্রী যা বলেন তা মর্ম এইরকমঃ বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি আন্দোলনের প্রতিভারত পূর্ণ সমর্থন জানাবে, কিন্তু বাংলাদেশকে এখনই কূটনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি দেওয়া এই দেশেরই স্বার্থের পরিপন্থী হবে। সারা বিশ্বে বাংলাদেশের জনগণের প্রতি প্রচুর সহানুভূতি থাকলেও স্বীকৃতির ব্যাপারে ভাবনা-চিন্তা চলছে। তবে তাজউদ্দিন সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়া হবে না এমন কথা তিনি বলেননি বা সরকার এ ব্যাপারে ঠিক কী করবেন তার কোন আভাস দেননি। শুধু স্পষ্টভাবে তিনি বলেন যে, কোন অবস্থাতেই ভারত ভীত নয়।

ইন্দিরাজী বলেন যে, পাকিস্তান ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে নানা উস্কানিমূলক কাজ করছে। ভারতকে নানাভাবে বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে জড়াতে চাইছে। যা-ই হোক, ভারত যা ঠিক মনে করবে তা করতে ভীত নয়।

দুই ব্যতিক্রমঃ অবিলম্বে বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দানের দাবির বিরোধিতা করেন বিকানীরের মহারাজা ডঃ করণি সিং। তিনি লোকসভায় কয়েকটি ছোট গোষ্ঠী ও কয়েকজন নির্দল সদস্যের নেতা। সেই গোষ্ঠী ও ব্যক্তিরা অবশ্য আগেই বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়ার দাবি জানিয়েছেন।

ডঃ করণি সিং-এর বক্তব্যঃ বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি আন্দোলন আসলে ‘বাঙালীদের বিদ্রোহ’। ভারতে এ ধরনের ব্যাপার ঘটলে সরকার কী করতেন? কাশ্মীরের কথাও ভাবা দরকার।

ইন্দিরাজী তাঁকে বলেনঃ কাশ্মীরে যারা হাঙ্গামা বাধতে চায় তারা জনসাধারণ থেকে বিছিন্ন। পক্ষান্তরে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামীদের পিছনে বিপুল গরিষ্ঠ সমর্থন রয়েছে। বাংলাদেশে গরিষ্ঠ অভিমত পাকিস্তান দাবিয়ে রাখতে চাইছে।

মুসলিম লীগ নেতা মহম্মদ ইসমাইল যা বলেন তার মর্মঃ এমন কিছু করা ঠিক হবে না যাতে ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের মধ্যে উত্তেজনা বাড়ে বা কোন সঙ্কট সৃষ্টি হয়। বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিলে ওই ধরনের সঙ্কট দেখা দিতে পারে। তবে সরকার এ ব্যাপারে যে কোন ব্যবস্থাই নিন না কেন তার প্রতি তাঁদের দলের সমর্থন থাকবে।

ইন্দিরাজী বলেন যে বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারকে কেন্দ্র করে কিছু লোক সাম্প্রদায়িক উত্তেজনা সৃষ্টি করতে চাইছে। সকলকে এ বিষয় সতর্ক থাকতে হবে।

### স্বীকৃতির স্বপক্ষে জোর দাবি

অধিকাংশ বিরোধী নেতা বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দানের জন্য জোর দাবি জানান। পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে ইন্দিরাজীর বিশ্লেষণে তাঁরা মেনে নেননি। তাঁরা বলেন যে, বাংলাদেশ এখন একটি বাস্তব সত্য। স্বীকৃতি দিয়ে সরকার শুধু সেই সত্যটিকেই মেনে নেবেন আর তাতে সেখানকার আন্দোলন জোরদার হবে। ভারত এ বিষয়ে দেরী করলে ভারতেরই ক্ষতি হতে পারে।

এই দাবি জানান- সি পি এম, সি পি আই, ডি এম কে, জনসঙ্ঘ, আদি কংগ্রেস, পি এস পি, সে এস পি, ফঃ-বঃ, আর এস পি। শ্রী ইন্দ্ৰজিৎ গুপ্ত (সি পি আই) তাঁর দলের পশ্চিমবঙ্গে কমিটির পক্ষ থেকে প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে একটি স্মারকলিপি দেন। শ্রী এ কে গোপালন (সি পি এম) বলেন যে, পাকিস্তানকে ভয় না করে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের সব রকমের সাহায্য দেওয়া হোক। শ্রী কে মনোহরণ (ডি এম কে) শ্রী অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ী (জঃ সঃ), শ্রী চিত্তবসু (ফঃ বঃ), শ্রী ত্রিদিব চৌধুরী (আর এস পি), শ্রী এন জি গোরে (পি এস, পি) ও শ্রী এস এন মিশ্র (আদি কং) একই তাবি তোলেন।

### দ্রাণকার্য সম্পর্কে একটি আলাদা বৈঠক বসবে

প্রধানমন্ত্রী বলেন যে, পাকিস্তানী ফৌজের অত্যাচার থেকে বাঁচার জন্য এ পর্যন্ত প্রায় পনেরো লক্ষ লোক ভারতে এসেছেন। আরও আসবেন। এজন্য দ্রাণকার্য সম্পর্কে কী করা যায় সে বিষয়ে আলোচনার জন্য তিনি (প্রধানমন্ত্রী) বিরোধী নেতাদের সঙ্গে পৃথক একটি বৈঠকে বসবেন। (অর্থমন্ত্রী শ্রী চরণ নাকি ইঙ্গিত দিয়েছেন যে এজন্য ষাট কোটি টাকার দরকার।) তবে ওই বৈঠক কবে বসবে আজ তা ঠিক হয়নি। ভারত চায় যে, এই দ্রাণকার্য আন্তর্জাতিক রূপ নিক।

ইন্দিরাজী আরও বলেন যে, বাংলাদেশে আগে দুই ডিভিশন পাক ফৌজ ছিল। এখন আছে চার ডিভিশন। শহরগুলি অধিকাংশ পাক ফৌজের দখলে আছে। গ্রামাঞ্চলের বহু এলাকাই এখনও মুক্তিফৌজের নিয়ন্ত্রণে। গেরিলা তৎপরতা চালিয়ে তাঁরা পাক ফৌজের তৎপরতা সাফল্যের সঙ্গে মোকাবিলা করছেন।

### কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রিসভার বৈঠক

নয়াদিল্লী, ৭মে-প্রকাশ, বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে আলোচনার জন্য কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রিসভা আজ এক বৈঠকে মিলিত হন। এই বৈঠক পূর্ব নির্ধারিত ছিল না।

বিরোধী দলনেতাদের সঙ্গে আলোচনার পরেও প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি গান্ধী স্বল্প সময়ের নোটিশে তাঁর সহকর্মীদের ঐ বৈঠকে আহ্বান করেন।

এক ঘন্টাব্যাপী বৈঠকে শ্রীমতি গান্ধী বিরোধী নেতাদের সঙ্গে তাঁর আলোচনার বিষয়ে সহকর্মীদের অবহিত করেন।

-পি টি আই

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮তম 'পূর্ব বাংলার' ঘটনা প্রবাহের ওপর ফ্রন্টিয়ার পত্রিকার একটি সমীক্ষা	ফ্রন্টিয়ার	৮ মে, ১৯৭১

FRONTIER, CALCUTTA, MAY 8, 1971

East Bengal

### THE NEXT STAGE

*By K. Sen*

The war in Bangladesh is over a month old now. President Yahya who had reportedly boasted that he would be able to crush the movement in 48 hours must be wondering at the continuance of a struggle, in which militarily the odds are definitely against the other side. Financially the Pakistan Government is feeling the pinch as is evident from its agreeing to devalue the currency. On the other hand thousands of refugees continue to cross into Indian territory and even if a fraction of what they say is true, then it is not a Sonar Bangla they have left behind. The towns are almost empty and the vast countryside, for the most part, lies ravaged.

Yet the fighting goes on. There is yet no evidence of the Mukti Foj deciding to call it a day. And with the choice generally being between dying fighting and simply dying it is going to be a protracted war, the first phase of which seem to be drawing to a close. As a Dacca journalist, who has crossed over, observe red recently, soon there will be a period of lull which will be the period of regrouping. And that according to all accounts, will be an interesting period to watch.

For there cannot be a protracted war without political leadership. The Mukti Foj, as constituted at present, is an odd assortment of paramilitary forces and other elements. So far its main task has been to resist as best as possible the onslaught in which it has not been as successful as is made out in euphoric Press reports. Which, in the context of a general lack of preparedness is understandable. But now that the Army has been able to find a footing in Bangladesh the job will be to get it out. And with a negotiated settlement seemingly out of the way the search for the political leadership which can take the protracted struggle to successful end, has already begun in Bangladesh.

The December elections brought the Awami League into the foreground and the Pakistani authorities' disregard for democratic principles further added to its prestige in the subsequent days. Mujib thundering away at Paltan Maidan and elsewhere was the man to be looked forward, to. Bengali nationalism had reached a new height. Than the Army struck. And today, with a number of Awami League leaders sojourning on this d side of the border, .a fact which has disappointed many on the other' side and the Joy *Bangla spirit* not as fresh as before, the time has come to question whether the AL still has a dominant role to play in Bangladesh.

The Awami League, as is well known, is at best a bourgeois democratic party and has always sought to do what in the ultimate analysis can be termed replacement of the non

Bengali ruling class with the Bengali. His only, aim being to gain greater economic rights for the Bengali bourgeoisie, Mujib had till the last refrained from demanding an independent Bangladesh; when he did so it was more at the pressure of some younger elements within the party than anything else. But all the time he was hoping to have an agreement with Yahya. As the talks dragged on it was a sad Mujib who remarked in desperation that if the Army continued to be intransigent than ultimately the Communists would take over the leadership of the movement. His anti-communism is well known. A practical politician, he knew that his party was neither organizationally nor ideologically prepared for a long-drawn struggle. Perhaps he was also able to realize that a national liberation struggle could not succeed without active participation by the Communists. And today, accounts from Bangladesh suggest, his fears are about to come true.

Mujib's fears are also shared by the Indian Government which explains its hesitation in supplying the much sought for arms to the Mukti Fauz Delhi must have known by now that the Awami League on its own will not be able to deliver the goods in Bangladesh. And Mrs. Gandhi and her supporters are in no hurry to see arms falling into the hands of "undesirable elements" and maybe later finding their way back on this side of the border. The Government is in no position to take any action in Bangladesh without considering the possible impact in West Bengal. On the other hand Delhi, because of its relations with Islamabad cannot hope to mediate for a peaceful settlement and see the Awami League in power in Bangladesh. It is also doubtful whether Delhi is entirely comfortable in a situation where an anti-centre slogan has been raised with such force. Like Mujib, Indira also seems to be in a fix.

Meanwhile the Communists in Bangladesh are active. The underground. Purba Bangla Communist Party, led by Abdul Motin, Alauddin Ahmad, Tipu Biswas and others, which is somewhat akin to the CPI (M) in West Bengal, is conducting guerrilla war in Bogra, Rajshahi Chittagong, Mymensingh, Comilla and Pabna. It had considerable influence among the working class and the peasantry; proof of this is the magnificent resistance to the Pakistani forces by about 40,000 dock workers in Chittagong. The PBCP has a close ally the Co-ordination Committee of Zaffar Menon and others who are very active among the militant students. The National Awami Party led by Maulana Bhasani is also working on similar lines in Mymensingh, Rangpur, Sylhet, Rajshahi and elsewhere. A disadvantage at present felt by the Communists is the campaign against them which the Awami League had carried on for many years now; the EPR, the East Bengal Police and the East Bengal Regiment people also have little love lost for them. However, in a protracted struggle it is the people who ultimately count and there is little chance of the Communists losing their support.

The Purba Pakistan Communist Party (ML), led by Mohammed Toaha, the former general secretary of the pro-Bhasani NAP and now a Maoist, enjoys a strong base in Jessore and Khulna; even conservative estimates put the party's committed supporters at 10,000. The Maoists are, however, lying low at the moment. For one thing they are not prepared to expose their trained fighters at this stage of the movement. But the possibility of their joining hands with the PBCP in forming a National Liberation Front is not entirely ruled out by competent political observers in Bangladesh. A redeeming feature is

That the difference between the PBCP and the PPCP (ML) is essentially on the ideological plane and has not degenerated into personal hatred. And this difference certainly cannot stand in the way of united action against a common enemy.

This being the situation it is clear which direction the political leadership of the movement will take in future. This is not to say that the Awami League will be done away for good. There are militant elements in the party, particularly among the lower cadres, whose continued participation in the future struggle seems certain. As for the gentlemen in Calcutta and Mujibnagar, for an practical purposes they seem to have done their bit.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮৪। চট্টগ্রামে পাক বর্বরতা	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	১২ মে, ১৯৭১

*AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA, MAY 12 1971*  
**CHITTAGONG SEEN WITH HER STAINS AND SCARS**

Chittagong, May 11. Newsmen were yesterday shown massive shell and fire damage and evidence of a sweeping massacre of civilians by the Pak Army in this crippled key port of East Bengal, reports A. P.

The Army is well in control here but troops occupied the important town of Cox's Bazar, 110 km to the south only five days ago and patrols are still encountering the Mukti Fauj elsewhere in southern areas, officers said.

Chittagong's port remains largely undamaged but is severely choked with cargo for lack of labor force and the means to tranship inland.

Chittagong industrialists say it will take many months, possibly years to restore the economy and activity here. At the Ispahani Jute Mills only 20 of 7,500 workers returned to their posts and the Manager said "it will take six weeks just to see where everything is".

At Chittagong port a skeleton crew of dockers loaded jute bailed in December. Shippers estimate that 400,000 tons of cargo was backed up in the port which normally can handle only 300,000 tons per month. The river is the only means to move goods in and out of the interior, though it normally handles only 25 per cent of traffic.

No plans have yet been formulated to augment inland shipping capacity, shippers added.

Evidence of a brutal war is everywhere in this pleasant garden city built around picturesque hills.

Chittagong was the last stop on a four-day tour by six foreign newsmen, the first allowed in since newsmen were expelled on March 26. It fitted the general pattern of dozens of cities and towns in East Bengal. Newsmen also saw Comilla where damage was far less but the atmosphere was still tense.

Comilla, like most population centers along the Indian border was heavily patrolled by soldiers with automatic weapons.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮৫। দূতাবাস কর্মচারী বিনিময়ে সুইস মধ্যস্থতায় পাক-ভারত সম্মতি	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	১২ মে, ১৯৭১

*AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA, MAY 12, 1971*  
**MISSION STAFF EXCHANGE**  
**INDIA, PAKISTAN ACCEPT SWISS MEDIATION**  
 From Our Special Representative

New Delhi, May 11.- The week-old diplomatic deadlock between India and Pakistan over the question of repatriation of the personnel of their respective closed missions in Dacca and Calcutta is being sought to be resolved through Swiss good offices.

It transpires, according to the spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry, after unsuccessful attempts by Russia and Iran to offer third party assistance, Pakistan made an approach to the Swiss Government to take a hand in resolving the problem of repatriation of the Deputy High Commissions of India and Pakistan in Dacca and Calcutta. The Swiss agreed to consult India and lend their good offices.

The Swiss Ambassador in New Delhi, Dr. Fritz Real met Mr. S. K. Banerjee, Secretary, External Affairs, this afternoon and discussed the proposal, which was accepted by India.

Shortly after that the Pakistan High Commissioner Mr. Sajjad Hyder, met Mr. S. K. Banerjee in the External Affairs Ministry, who conveyed India's acceptance of the good offices of Switzerland.

#### **Main hitch**

The main hitch in the evacuation of the Dacca Mission staff arose over Pakistan's insistence that their Deputy High Commissioner, Mr. Mahdi Masud should be afforded all facilities by the Government of India to meet individually all members of their Calcutta mission who had declared their allegiance to Bangladesh and defected from Pakistan.

Since Mr. Hosain Ali and other members of the Calcutta mission did not agree to meet Mr. Masud individually except in a group, Pakistan created a stalemate and stalled the repatriation of our Dacca mission staff.

The stand of India was that it was a matter between Mr. Masud and members of the Pakistan Deputy High Commission to settle and India did not come into the picture, nor could India force any member of the Pakistan mission to meet Mr. Masud. Yet the External Affairs Ministry had requested Mr. Hosain Ali to meet Mr. Masud, but when Mr. Hosain Ali went to meet Mr. Masud with other members of the Calcutta mission, who had declared their allegiance to Bangladesh, Mr. Masud insisted that they should see him individually. Thereupon, Mr. Hosain Ali and other members of the group walked away.



### Modalities

It is not known what would be the modalities of the Swiss good offices in resolving the hitch. So far as India is concerned, the External Affairs Ministry seems to have taken the line that it is now for the Swiss and Pakistan to resolve the issue. India has made it clear to Pakistan earlier that the repatriation of the Dacca and Calcutta missions would be on a reciprocal basis, but reciprocity in this matter is not connected with numerical criterion. The entire staff of our Dacca mission, who are all desirous of coming back to India should be allowed facilities to be repatriated. India would offer facilities to all those members of the Calcutta mission, who are so willing to be repatriated to Pakistan, but could not force anyone to go to Pakistan.

It would seem the Swiss will for the present be making their efforts in Calcutta in trying to ascertain the will of the staff of the Pakistan Mission. The Swiss has no mission in Dacca. Whether the Swiss would themselves meet the Calcutta mission staff individually or collectively, or they would try to arrange individual or collective meeting between the Calcutta mission staff and Mr. Masud, these are matters left to the Swiss good offices.

India is primarily concerned about the repatriation of their entire staff from Dacca, and would not interfere in the repatriation of the Pakistan mission staff who may be so willing.

The Swiss efforts at resolving the repatriation problem and the main hurdle holding it up will be awaited with keen interest. The Dacca and Calcutta missions were closed on April 16 last following Pakistan's unilateral decision to close down their Deputy High Commission and asking India to close the Dacca mission.

Since then the repatriation of the personnel of respective mission has been held up because of the hurdle created by Pakistan trying to implicate India in what is purely an internal mission affair of Pakistan.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮৬।	শরনার্থী শিবিরে শ্রীমতি গান্ধী	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা
		১৪ মে, ১৯৭১

### শরনার্থী শিবিরে শ্রীমতি গান্ধী

পূর্বাঞ্চলের শরনার্থী শিবিরগুলো ঘুরে ঘুরে দেখবেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী। রবিবার আসবেন তিনি বনগাঁয়। এই শিবিরগুলোতে ইতিমধ্যেই তিরিশ লক্ষ আতঙ্কিত মানুষ জড়ো হয়েছেন। আরও আসছেন হাজারে হাজারে। জলের মত টাকা খরচ হচ্ছে। বাইরের সাহায্য বড় একটা পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না। এপারে এসে দুর্ভাগাদের সোয়াস্তি নেই। মাঝে মাঝে তাদের উপর পড়ছে পাক-কামানের গোলা। এই পর্বত প্রমাণ বোঝা বহনের জন্য প্রস্তুত ছিলেন না কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার। অথচ এর সম্ভাবনা দেখা দিয়েছিল অনেক আগেই। প্রশাসকদের অদূরদর্শিতা জটিল করে তুলেছে গোটা পরিস্থিতি। শরনার্থীর ভারে নুইয়ে পড়ছে পশ্চিম বাংলা। নয়াদিল্লী ধীরে ধীরে বুঝতে পারছেন বাস্তব অবস্থা। পাল্টাচ্ছে তাদের ত্রাণ পরিকল্পনা। আত্মবঞ্চনা করে লাভ নেই। ইয়াহিয়ার চালের হারে হেরে গেছে ভারত। গণহত্যা এবং মানুষ-খেদার অভিযান সম্পূর্ণ হলে বহাল তবিয়ে ঘর গুছাবেন ইয়াহিয়া খান। আর তার দুষ্কার্যের ভারবাহী হয়ে থাকবে ভারত। মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা লড়বেন। তাঁদের সর্বাঙ্গিক বিজয় কবে সম্ভব হবে তা জানবেন না কেউ। অন্তত এইটুকু সত্য আজ স্পষ্ট হয়ে উঠেছে যে, অনির্দিষ্ট সময়ের জন্য শরনার্থীরা থাকবেন ভারতে। অনেকে হয়ত আর ফিরে যেতেই চাইবেন না। ইসলামাবাদের ফাঁদে পা দিয়েছেন নয়াদিল্লী। এ ফাঁদ থেকে বেরিয়ে আসার পথ একে একে বন্ধ হয়ে যাচ্ছে।

শরনার্থী শিবিরগুলোতে দেশী-বিদেশী অনেক মহামান্যের পদধূলি পড়েছে। তাতে হতভাগ্যদের ভাগ্যের কোন পরিবর্তন ঘটেনি। বাংলাদেশের পাক-অত্যাচার বন্ধ হয়নি। শ্রীমতি গান্ধীর আগমনে লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষের দীর্ঘশ্বাসের গরম হাওয়া ঠান্ডা হবার নয়। ওরা ভারতে আশ্রয় নিয়েছেন। স্বদেশে অনুকূল পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি হলেই অধিকাংশই হয়ত ফিরে যাবেন। এই পরিবেশ সৃষ্টিতে যত দেবী হবে অনেকের ফিরে যাবার পথও তত কষ্টকিত হয়ে উঠবে। শেষ পর্যন্ত ক'লক্ষ নরনারীর হয়ত ফিরে যাওয়াই হবে না। স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ সরকার ছাড়া আর কেউ শরনার্থীমুক্ত করতে পারবেন না ভারতকে। তার জন্য দরকার মুক্তি যোদ্ধাদের সামরিক অগ্রগতি এবং মুক্ত অঞ্চলের পরিধির বিস্তার। স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ সরকার পাননি কারও কূটনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি। তাদের ভাগ্যে জুটছে না প্রয়োজনীয় অস্ত্রশস্ত্র। ইয়াহিয়ার সুসজ্জিত বাহিনীর সঙ্গে তাঁরা লড়াই করবেন কিসের জোরে? বাংলাদেশে সাহায্য পাঠাবার অনুমতির জন্য ইসলামাবাদের কাছে আর্তি জানাচ্ছেন রাষ্ট্রসঙ্ঘ। আমেরিকা পিছন থেকে ঠেকা দিচ্ছে ভারতকে। ইয়াহিয়া শুধু বলছেন- এখনও সময় আসেনি। বাংলাদেশকে একেবারে পর্যুদস্ত না করা পর্যন্ত ইসলামাবাদের বাঞ্চিত সময় আসবে না। দুর্ভিক্ষের কবলে পড়বেন বাঙ্গালী জনতা। এপারে শরনার্থীদের ঘিরে দানা বাঁধবে বিভিন্ন ধরনের সমস্যা। কৃতজ্ঞতার বদলে দেখা দেবে ভারতের প্রতি বিতৃষ্ণা। ঠিক এই মুহূর্তেই আসবে ইয়াহিয়ার অনুকূল সময়। রাষ্ট্রসঙ্ঘের সাহায্য তিনি নিতে চাইবেন নিজের হাতে। তাতে হয়ত আপত্তি করবেন না বিশ্বসভার মানবদরদীরা। পাক-ঘাতকেরা নামবে আর্ত-ত্রাণে। লাভের ব্যবসা ফাঁদবেন ইসলামাবাদ। বৈদেশিক সাহায্যের ছিটেফোঁটা যাবে বাংলাদেশে। পরের ধনে দল ভারী করবে কুচক্রী দল। ক্ষুধার অন্ন যে তুলে দেবে আর্তের মুখে জনতা তাদেরই জানাবেন সেলাম। ভুলে যাবেন অতীতের নারকীয় ঘটনা। দুনিয়ার এই সাধারণ নিয়মের ব্যতিক্রম ঘটবে না বাংলাদেশে। মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা সহজে ছাড়বেন না। ভারত সীমান্ত থেকে গুঁরা চালাবেন গেরিলা তৎপরতা। অসহায় নয়াদিল্লী চেয়ে চেয়ে দেখবেন। পাক-বেতার শুরু করবে উল্টো প্রচার। পূর্ববাংলা শান্ত। তাকে অশান্ত করছে ভারতশ্রিত গেরিলারা। আর্ত ত্রাণে ব্যাঘাত ঘটছে পদে পদে। আন্তর্জাতিক বিজ্ঞের দল তখন বলবেন-কথাটি ফেল না নয়।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শরণার্থী শিবিরগুলো দেখতে এসে শ্রীমতি গান্ধী ভালই করবেন। তিনি বুঝতে পারবেন ‘দেখি কি হয় নীতির পরিণাম’। সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের একটা বিরাট অঞ্চলকে ছারখার করছে প্রায় দেড় হাজার মাইল দূরের একটা হানাদার বাহিনী। বিশ্ববিবেকের মাথায় দিনের পর দিন লাখি মারছেন ইয়াহিয়া খান। বৃহৎ রাষ্ট্রগুলো অত্যাচারিতের সেবার জন্য লোক দেখানো কলরব তুলছে। ঘাতকের বিরুদ্ধে যারা লড়াই করছেন তাঁদের জন্য কারও মাথাব্যথা নেই। ওঁদের সরকার পাচ্ছেন না কূটনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি। মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের হাতে আসছে না অস্ত্রশস্ত্র। এই রাষ্ট্রগুলোর মুখ চেয়ে বসে আছেন নয়াদিল্লী। ঘরের পাশে একটা পশু শক্তির বিরুদ্ধে সক্রিয় ব্যবস্থা নিতে পারল না ভারত। তার এই দুর্বলতার জের চলবে দীর্ঘদিন। বাইরের ক্ষুদ্র রাষ্ট্রগুলোর কোন আস্থা থাকবে না নয়াদিল্লীর উপর। তাদের শক্তির আড়ম্বর দাগ কাটবে না কারও মনে। আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে ভারতের মর্যাদাহানির পরিপূরণ করতে পারবে না নিষ্ক্রিয় নৈতিক বাক্যবিন্যাসে। শ্রীমতি গান্ধীর জন্য অপেক্ষা করছে শরণার্থীদের বুক ফাটা কান্না। চোখের সামনে যারা নিহত হতে দেখেছেন প্রিয়জনদের, কি দিয়ে তিনি তাঁদের দেবেন সান্ত্বনা। প্রতিশোধের জন্য বাংলাদেশের সাক্ষা তরুণ-তরুণী পাগল। তাদের সামনে কি দৃষ্টান্ত রেখেছেন নয়াদিল্লী ? ভারতীয় অঞ্চলে পড়ছে পাক-কামানের গোলা। মরছেন ভারতীয় নাগরিক। সীমান্ত রক্ষীদের অপহরণ করছে পাক-হানাদাররা। শুধুমাত্র কড়া নোটে পাঠিয়েই কর্তব্য বোধ করছেন কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার। শক্তিমানের শক্তির আশ্বিনের বাস্তব প্রয়োগ নেই যেখানে, সেখানে সে হতে পারে না অন্যের শক্তির প্রেরণা। এই বাস্তব অভিজ্ঞতা সঞ্চয়ের প্রয়োজন ছিল শ্রীমতি গান্ধীর। হয়ত তিনি পারবেন তা শরণার্থী শিবিরগুলিতে।

নয়াদিল্লীর হাতে আছে বৃহৎ রাষ্ট্রগুলোর সার্টিফিকেট। অমানুষিক সংযমের পরিচয় দিয়েছেন তাঁরা। শত শত জনপদ নিশ্চিহ্ন হয়ে গেছে বাংলাদেশে। দশ লক্ষ নরনারীর রক্তে ভেসে গেছে পথঘাট। এবং কুকুরের দল গলিত শব নিয়ে করছে টানাটানি। কোটি কোটি টাকা এবং রাশি রাশি সোনা রূপা পাচার হয়েছে পাকিস্তানে। হাজার হাজার নারী ধর্ষিতা। তিরিশ লক্ষ শরণার্থী বোঝা নিয়ে ধুকছে পূর্বাঞ্চলের রাজ্যগুলো। ভারতের আকাশসীমা এবং সীমান্তরেখা লঙ্ঘিত হচ্ছে বার বার। ঢাকায় রয়েছেন ভারতীয় কূটনৈতিক কর্মীরা আটক। তা সত্ত্বেও ধৈর্যের বাঁধ ভাঙেনি নয়াদিল্লীর। ধরিত্রীর মত এই সর্বসহা আচরণের অসংখ্য সাধুবাদ দিয়েছে বৃটেন, সোভিয়েট রাশিয়া এবং আমেরিকা। নিজেদের ঘাড়ে যখন এসে পড়ে নিরাপত্তার সমস্যা তখন তাদের মধ্যে দেখা যায় না বহু প্রশংসিত এই সংযম। তার প্রমাণ, কিউবায় মার্কিন অবরোধ, হাঙ্গেরী এবং চেকোশ্লোভাকিয়ায় সোভিয়েট প্রতিরোধ এবং ১৯৫৬ সালে বৃটেনের সুয়েজ অভিযান। বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলীর সঙ্গে এগুলোর তুলনা চলে না। এ অঞ্চলের সংগ্রাম গণতন্ত্রের সংগ্রাম এবং সংখ্যালঘু ফ্যাসিস্ট শক্তির বিরুদ্ধে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠদের লড়াই। ভারতের উপর চলছে তার প্রত্যক্ষ জের। প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি গান্ধী ভেবে দেখুন- তিনি বৃহৎ শক্তিগুলোর দেওয়া সার্টিফিকেট সোনার ফ্রেমে বাধিয়ে রাখবেন, না তা ছুড়ে ফেলে দিয়ে আত্মশক্তিতে বাস্তব অবস্থার মোকাবিলা করবেন ?

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮৭। দূতাবাস কর্মচারী বিনিময়ে সুইস প্রস্তাব প্রত্যাখ্যাত	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৫ মে, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, MAY 15, 1971*  
**PINDI SHIFTS STAND AGAIN**  
**SWISS MEDIATION OFFER REJECTED**  
*From Our Special Representative*

New Delhi, May 14. -The rejection by Pakistan of the Swiss offer of good offices to help resolve the dispute with India over the repatriation of diplomatic personnel from Dacca and Calcutta has taken Government sources here by surprise. Islamabad's move of rejection came late last night.

Coming within a day of the acceptance by the Pakistan Government of the proposal that Mr. Mahdi Masud, the former Deputy High Commissioner at Calcutta, meet Mr. Hossain Ali and the East Bengali staff in the presence of a Swiss representative, the latest turnabout is seen as further evidence of the off-again on-again diplomacy being pursued by that country.

The contradiction between the two statements made by the Pakistan Government spokesman, one accepting the principle of meetings between Mr. Masud and his Bengali staff in a Swiss representative's presence and the other rejecting the proposition in to is too obvious to need any elucidation, it is pointed out.

What is, however, causing surprise is that Pakistan, which initially sought Swiss intervention should have gone back on its word so soon. The obvious intention appears to keep the diplomatic tussle alive so that international attention is diverted from the reign of terror let loose by the Pakistani Army in Bangladesh as also from the vast multitude of East Bengalis seeking refuge in India.

Official sources here seemed extremely reluctant to get embroiled in the latest Pakistani manoeuvre. Having got the Swiss involved in the matter, it was for them and the Swiss to sort their affairs out. India, for her part, would be prepared to cooperate with any constructive moves made by the Swiss in consultation with the Pakistanis.

This was also borne out by India's readiness to continue to talk to Mr. Fritz Real, the Swiss Ambassador, when he called at the Foreign Office today for talks with Mr. S. K Banerjee, Secretary' (East). The meeting took place after the Pakistani rejection of Swiss good offices had been announced.

### Delicate Issue

What is causing concern, however, is that Pakistan should "play ducks and drakes" with such a delicate and potentially explosive issue. To begin with. Pakistan had shown

Interest in the Russian offer to evacuate the diplomats of the two countries from Dacca and Calcutta. Then the Iranians were brought into the picture with the Government of India agreeing to provide facilities to an Iranian plane to land at Calcutta. Finally, Pakistan had on its own approached the Swiss to intervene. Now that the Swiss Ambassador here and other Swiss Government sources elsewhere have moved in the matter, Pakistan has subverted the whole thing by going back on its word.

The Pakistani rejection of the Swiss offer to mediate between Mr. Masud and Mr. Hossain Ali, who declared his allegiance to the Bangladesh Government, was announced by a Foreign Office spokesman at Islamabad.

In a statement, the spokesman charged India with attempting to shift its responsibilities on the dispute over the Calcutta Mission to the Swiss.

The spokesman said India was committed to arranging a meeting between Mr. Masud and the ex High Commissioner, Mr. Hossain Ali, to ascertain the wishes of Mr. Ali's staff regarding repatriation.

Oddly, the spokesman, ignoring his previous statement on the matter, added that "there is no need for mediation by Switzerland or any third party to bring about this meeting.

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	শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮৮।	ইয়াহিয়া'র সীমাহীন বর্বরতার বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিরোধের আবেদন	কালান্তর	১৫ মে, ১৯৭১

## ইয়াহিয়া'র সীমাহীন বর্বরতার বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিরোধের আবেদন পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের জনগণের উদ্দেশ্যে ডাঃ গণির বেতার ভাষণ

সম্প্রতি কমিউনিস্ট নেতা ডাঃ এ, এম, ও, গণি উর্দু ভাষাভাষি জনগণের কাছে বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলী বিশ্লেষণ করে বর্তমানে পাকিস্তান সরকারের “সীমাহীন বর্বরতার”-র চিত্র তুলে ধরে উর্দু ভাষায় একটি বেতার ভাষণ দিয়েছেন এবং সেটি “আকাশবাণী” থেকে প্রচারিত হয়েছে। এই ভাষণে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের জনগণকে এই বর্বরতার অবিলম্বে বন্ধ করার জন্য সচেষ্ট হওয়ার আন্তরিক আবেদন জানানো হয়েছে।

ডাঃ গণি বলেছেন, “ওদেশে যে ঘটনা ঘটছে তা যে-কোন জাতি এবং যে কোন দেশের লজ্জার বিষয়। রটনার সামান্যতম অংশকে সত্য বলে মেনে নিলেও দেখা যায় পাকিস্তানের বর্তমান নীতি মানবতাবিরোধী। এমন প্রশ্ন থেকে যায় এতে পাকিস্তান সরকারের লাভ কি? অফুরন্ত প্রাণসম্পদ হানির পর এবং পরস্পরের প্রতি ঘৃণা ও বিদ্বেষের পাহাড়ের পর বসেও কি পাকিস্তানের অখণ্ডতা বজায় থাকবে? আমরা জানি, কোন জাতি বা দেশকে সামরিক শাসনের দাপটে দাবিয়ে রাখার দিন আজ বিগত। যদি তাই-ই সম্ভব হত, তাহলে কেন শক্তির আমেরিকা গত দশ বছর ধরে ভিয়েতনামকে দাবিয়ে রাখতে পারছে না অথচ এ সব সত্ত্বেও পাকিস্তান তার ক্ষুদ্র শক্তির ভিত্তিতে এই হত্যালীলা চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে।

“একথা প্রায়ই শোনা যায়- যা ঘটছে তা নাকি পাকিস্তানের আভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপার এবং এর উপর অপরের হস্তক্ষেপের অধিকার নেই- এই ভিত্তিতেই ভারতকে হুমকি দেওয়া হয়েছে। জার্মানীতে ইহুদীদের উপর হিটলারের অত্যাচারও তো আভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপার তবু কেন সারা বিশ্ব এর বিরুদ্ধে সোচ্চার হয়ে উঠেছিল। পাকিস্তানের ক্ষেত্রে ঘটনাবলী আরও সুস্পষ্টরূপে প্রতীয়মান, এখানে হত্যা ও ধ্বংসলীলা খোলাখুলিভাবে ঘটছে। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান, একটি সম্পূর্ণ পৃথক জাতি অপর এক ভিন্ন জাতি বাংলাদেশের জনগণের উপর শোষণ ও অত্যাচার চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে এবং পাইকারী হারে নরহত্যা করছে। অর্থনীতিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতে দেখা যায়, ঐ দুই খন্ডের মধ্যে কোন সামঞ্জস্য নেই। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের দিকে তাকালে চোখে পড়ে প্রাচুর্য ও ঐশ্বর্য এবং বাংলাদেশের জনগণ যদি এই অমানুষিকতাকে “ঔপনিবেশিক” আখ্যা দিয়ে তা থেকে মুক্ত হতে চায় তবে দোষ কোথায়।

“ওখানে সকলে একমত হয়ে বাংলাদেশ গড়ে তুলতে চাইছেন। ওঁদের বাইরে থেকে বাধা দিয়ে ওঁদের অধিকার না মানাকে নিছক আভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপার বলে গ্রহণ করা যায়? অস্ত্রবলে কোন একটা জাতিকে নিজের অধীনস্থ করা এবং অস্ত্রের অপপ্রয়োগ করে নরনারী ও শিশু হত্যাকে কি সমর্থন করা যায়? বিশ্ব-বিবেক কি আজ সুপ্ত। এই নিপীড়ন থেকে নির্লিপ্তভাবে দূরে থাকা এবং অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ না করা কোন দেশের ন্যায় বিচার।

“যে কোন রাষ্ট্র কর্তৃক অপর এক রাষ্ট্রকে স্বীকৃতিদানের অধিকার আন্তর্জাতিক নিয়মের আওতায় পড়ে। চীন তো বিগত বাইশ বছর হল একটি স্বাধীন সরকার গঠন করেছে কিন্তু বহু দেশের স্বীকৃতি না পাওয়ার দরুন কি চীনের অস্তিত্ব বিলুপ্ত হয়েছে? যারা স্বীকৃতি দেয়নি তাদের স্পর্ধা ও অন্ধকার মূর্ত প্রমাণস্বরূপ আজও চীন বিরাজমান। বাংলাদেশের আমাদের স্বীকৃতি দিতে হবে কারণ এটাই আপামর জনসাধারণের অভিমত এবং বারবার একথা প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। কোন সত্যানুসন্ধানী ব্যক্তি এটা অস্বীকার করতে পারেন না। এই স্বীকৃতি দানে

যতই বিলম্ব ততই লক্ষ লক্ষ লোকের প্রাণ বিনষ্ট হবে, তাই বিশ্ববাসীকে এ ব্যাপারে অগ্রণী হতে হবে যাতে, ঐ পরিণতি রোধ করা যায়।

“আজ বাংলাদেশের দিকে তাকালে দেখবেন ইসলাম ধর্ম ও মানবতাবোধ রক্তাক্তভাবে নিষ্পেষিত। তা’ না হলে কেন ওখানে লক্ষ লক্ষ দরিদ্র, নির্দোষ, নিরস্ত্র মুসলমানের উপর অপর মুসলমানেরা নির্মম হত্যালীলা চালাচ্ছে?”

ডাঃ গণি বাংলাদেশের দুর্দশাগ্রস্ত জনসাধারণের সহায়তায় প্রেরিত আন্তর্জাতিক রেডক্রস সোসাইটি’র বিমানটিকে পাক সরকার যেভাবে করাচী থেকে ফেরৎ পাঠিয়েছেন তার প্রতি তীব্র খিঙ্কার জানিয়ে বলেছেন “ব্যাপারটি সন্দেহজনক এবং নিশ্চয়ই এমন কিছু আছে যার ফলে বিদেশী সাংবাদিকদের তাড়াছড়ো করে প্রথম দিনেই বিতাড়িত করা হল। পাক সরকার জানেন না, যে রক্ত ঝরেছে সেই রক্তই একদিন তার স্বরে চীৎকার করে উঠবে। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের জনগণের নিকট আমার আন্তরিক আবেদন পাক সরকারের সীমাহীন বর্বরতা বন্ধ করুন যা আপনাদের বিশ্বের নিকট নিন্দনীয় করে তুলছে।””

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮৯। স্বীকৃতির সময় এখনো আসেনি- প্রধানমন্ত্রী	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৭ মে, ১৯৭১

*WE STATESMAN, MAY 17, 1971*

**NO RECOGNITION AT WRONG TIME: MP  
STRESS ON REFUGEE RELIEF PROBLEM**

By Our Special Representative

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, made it clear at a brief meeting with reporters at Dum Dum airport on Sunday that the much talked about issue of giving recognition to the Bangladesh Government was not as much an immediate problem with the Union Government as one might think.

She said the main consideration was whether such recognition by the Union Government would help the Bangladesh people. "I think it will not help them much and recognition should not be given at the wrong time", she added.

The Prime Minister was apparently annoyed when a reporter asked her if she was waiting for some other countries to recognize the Bangladesh Government. She said such questions had been put to her several times before. She had always maintained that India had an independent policy and did not depend on others in formulating her stand on various issues.

"We happen to be an independent country with an independent policy, with very strong views on many subjects under the sun and we are not dependent on what others say or do" she added.

Immediately on her arrival at that airport by an Air Force helicopter after her visit to two refugee camps and a hospital at Bongaon, the Prime Minister held a closed-door meeting with the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Ajoy Mukherji and Mr. Bijay Singh Nahar. Mr. Siddhartha Sankar Ray, the Union Education Minister who travelled with the Prime Minister, was also present at the meeting, which lasted more than half an hour.

Mrs. Gandhi flew from Assam to Haldibari in the morning and then to Dum Dum airport where she touched down at about 2:15 p.m. Her party included Mr. Ray and Miss padmaja Naidu. who is the head of the Bangladesh Sahayak Samiti. From Dum Dum the Prime Minister and her party West to Bongaon by a helicopter. Another helicopter carried the West Bengal Ministers. They came back to Dum Dum a little after 5-30 p.m.

The prime Minister wore a blue sari and a full-sleeve blouse and she looked tired. As she came on the first floor of the new airport lounge, she asked her attendants to arrange a ground floor room for an immediate conference with Mr. Ajoy Mukherji and Mr. Nahar. Press reporters were asked to wait on the first floor lounge. After some time. Miss



Padmaja Naidu was called in at the conference when it discussed relief problems.

At her meeting with Mr. Ajoy Mukherji and Mr. Nahar, where Mr. Siddhartha Ray was also present, problems relating to West Bengal came up for discussion. Contacted later. Mr. Nahar said some serious problems were discussed but he refused to disclose what transpired at the meeting.

### **Huge Problem**

About her impression regarding the refugee problem, she told reporters: "It is a huge problem and we are finding it difficult to deal with it. We have a shortage of commodities and in the circumstances the Government has done good work"

She was aware that many were still without shelter and "it takes time for articles to come" when asked if any help was expected from abroad, she said that one might hope for it, "But nothing much has come so far from other countries" she added. She felt that if outside assistance in relief material came, India would know what was coming and from which agencies.

In reply to a question, the Prime Minister said evacuees would have to leave as soon as possible, but "how soon that will be possible, I do not know". She thought that international bodies might create conditions for the evacuees to go back to their homeland.

Commenting on Pakistans claim that normality had returned in Bangladesh as far as the Pakistan Government was concerned, Mrs. Gandhi said that it is a very convenient way of achieving normality by removing the people and this to my mind is not normality.

The Union Government was considering proposals for dispersal of evacuees from the border areas. Such dispersal, the Prime Minister said, would pose a great problem for Tripura. which was a very small State. She said arrangements for given shelter to the evacuees in other parts of the country were being considered. She was not however, sure if that would be possible.

Asked to comment on the demands by different sections of the people as well as by many political party for arms aid to freedom fighters in Bangladesh. Mrs. Gandhi said that she had "no comment, no reaction."

Regarding repatriation of the Indian diplomats from Dacca, she agreed with the suggestion that the issue was deadlocked because of the refusal by the Pakistan Government to accept any proposal.

Mrs. Gandhi said newspapers required to be very cautious in publishing news and views. It was possible that enemy agents were around. Care should be taken so that the evacuee problem, which should be treated as a national concern, might not be turned into a communal issue.

She said there had been cases of the Pakistan Army resorting to firing across the border into India. In such cases some steps were taken. "It might not always be possible however to take action", the Prime Minister added.

### At Bongaon

Our staff Correspondent adds: Earlier, addressing the Bangladesh refugees at Bongaon this afternoon the Prime Minister said it was a pity that certain elements in East Bengal were now trying to give a communal color to the liberation war in Bangladesh. Such attempts would only weaken the cause of this country, she added.

In the afternoon, Mrs. Gandhi visited two refugee relief centers at Petrapole and Itkhola. She also visited the sub divisional hospital at Bongaon and talked to the evacuee patients from Bangladesh who had been shot at by Pakistani troops.

She told the refugees that the liberation war in East Bengal was a "war against all kinds of repression and wrongs. Remember your fight is our fight"

While fighting against injustice and repression, the people of Bangladesh had been forced to take shelter in India. "We know that despite all our good wishes, you might have to face difficulties here because we are not a rich country" she said.

Mrs. Gandhi expressed the hope that the refugees would not have to suffer long and they would be able to return home soon. She said India was a democratic country. Here there was no ill feeling among the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and other communities. She hoped that the people of East Bengal would also maintain communal harmony and jointly fight their war of liberation.

At the Petrapole camp, where more than 8,000 refugees were living Mrs. Gandhi gave food to a small girl. She was reported to have lost many of her relatives. A 10-year-old boy who had been carrying his small sister on his shoulder burst into tears while narrating his story. She also talked to a woman whose husband had been shot dead by Pakistani troops.

According to a spokesman of the Bharat Sevasram, Muslims constituted about 40 percent of the population at the Petrapole camp. Boys and girls below the age of eight numbered 2,200.

Demanding immediate recognition of Bangladesh a demonstration was organized by the supporters of the Democratic Students' Organization and the Democratic Youth Organization when Mrs. Gandhi landed at Calcutta airport. The demonstrators protested against the Union Government's attitude towards Bangladesh.

Mr. J.C. De; chairman of the West Bengal branch of the Indian Red Cross Society, explained to the Prime Minister, and the chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society, Miss Padmaja Naidu, what the State unit of the Society was doing in Petrapole and many other centers.

### At Haldibari

Our Staff Correspondent at Haldibari adds: Referring to repeated Pakistani intrusions into Indian territory, the Prime Minister said people living near the border "will have in face some risks". She said those living close to the border in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir had to face similar situations even during peace-time.

Mrs. Gandhi addressing two meeting at the evacuee camps in the Haldibari Girls schools and Dewanganj. She said Pakistan was deliberately reducing the population of East Bengal by expelling the people who had voted for Mr. Mujibur Rahman in the last election.

The local units of the SUC and Forward Bloc and another organization submitted memoranda to Mrs. Gandhi demanding immediate recognition for Bangladesh.

SUC supporters also staged demonstrations near the helipad and the PWD Bungalow, where she met the party representatives.

UNI adds: Mrs. Gandhi invited two West Bengal Ministers to New Delhi to discuss relief measures. She Sounded the State Health Minister Mr. Jainal Abedin, and the PWD Minister. Mr. Santosh Roy, about such a discussion. They are expected to leave for New Delhi 011 Thursday.

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	শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯০।	শরণার্থীদের ৬ মাস সাহায্য দিতে লাগবে ২০০ কোটি টাকা	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	১৮ মে, ১৯৭১

## শরণার্থীদের ৬ মাস সাহায্য দিতে লাগবে ২০০ কোটি টাকা রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ দল সমীপে ভারত

বিশেষ সংবাদদাতা

নয়াদিল্লী, ১৭ মে-শ্রী চারলস মেস এর নেতৃত্বে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ দলটি পূর্বাঞ্চলে “ব্যাপক সফর” করে বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত শরণার্থী সমস্যা সম্পর্কে প্রত্যক্ষ অভিজ্ঞতা অর্জন করে এসেছেন। আগামীকাল তাঁরা ভারত সরকারের সঙ্গে আলোচনায় বসবেন। বুধবার তাঁরা জেনিভার উদ্দেশ্যে যাত্রা করবেন এবং সেখানে পৌঁছে যত তাড়াতাড়ি সম্ভব যথাস্থানে তাঁদের রিপোর্ট পেশ করবেন।

আজ সাংবাদিকদের সঙ্গে কথা প্রসঙ্গে শ্রী মেস জানান যে, ভারত সরকার জানিয়েছেন, বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত শরণার্থীদের (সংখ্যা আপাত তিরিশ লক্ষ ধরে নিয়ে) ছয় মাস ধরে সাহায্য দিতে খরচ পড়বে দু’শ কোটি টাকা। ভারত সরকার মনে করেন যে, এই সমস্যা “অস্থায়ী”। ছয় মাসের মধ্যে বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতি স্বাভাবিক হবে এবং এই শরণার্থীরা সকলেই স্বস্থানে প্রত্যাবর্তন করতে পারবেন।

শ্রী মেস বলেন, “শরণার্থীরা নিজের নিজের বাড়িতে ফিরে যাবেন-ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রীর এই আশার আমরাও অংশীদার।”

দলের অন্যতম সদস্য শ্রী টমাস জামিসন বলেন যে, ভারত সরকার ঠিক ছ’মাসের জন্য সাহায্য চেয়েছেন। ওই মেয়াদের বাইরে কোন আলোচনায় যেতেই ভারত অনাগ্রহী। ভারত সরকার বিশ্বাস করেন যে, ছ’মাসের মধ্যে এমন পরিস্থিতি সৃষ্টি হবে যাতে শরণার্থীরা নিজেদের দেশে ফিরে যেতে চাইবেন। ‘আমরা এই আশাবাদ সমর্থন করি।’

দলের সদস্যরা “বাংলাদেশ” বা “পূর্ব পাকিস্তান” দুটি শব্দই এড়িয়ে চলেন বেশ সতর্কতার সঙ্গেই। শরণার্থীদের প্রসঙ্গে তাঁরা “বাড়ি”, “দেশ”, “নিজেদের জায়গা” প্রভৃতি শব্দ ব্যবহার করেন। ফিরে গিয়ে কি সুপারিশ তাঁরা করবেন তার কোন আভাস দলটি দেননি। তবে শ্রী মেস বলেন যে, সমস্যাটি “বিরাত” এবং ভারত সরকার “মানবিক কারণেই” শরণার্থীদের সাহায্য করছেন এবং এটা প্রশংসনীয়।

কেন্দ্রীয় শ্রমমন্ত্রী শ্রী আর কে খাদিলকর এই বৈঠকে উপস্থিত ছিলেন। তিনি বলেন যে, সরকার ছ’মাসের জন্য সাহায্য চেয়েছেন। তবে কেন ছ’মাসের ভিত্তিতে সমস্যাটি মোকাবিলার কথা ভাবা হচ্ছে তা তিনি ব্যাখ্যা করেননি।

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	শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯১।	সীমান্ত দেখতে প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী, উদ্বাস্তমন্ত্রী আসছেন	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	২০ মে, ১৯৭১

## সীমান্ত দেখতে প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী, উদ্বাস্তমন্ত্রী আসছেন স্টাফ রিপোর্টার

বাংলাদেশে দখলদার পাক ফৌজ ইদানীং পশ্চিমবঙ্গ ও পূর্বাঞ্চলের অপর কয়েকটি রাজ্যের সীমান্ত লঙ্ঘন করে গুলিগোলা চালানোয় ভারত সরকার বিশেষ উদ্বেগ হয়ে পড়েছেন। কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের মনোভাব এ ব্যাপারে কঠোরতর হচ্ছে। ওই সীমান্ত এলাকার প্রকৃত অবস্থা পরিদর্শনের জন্য ভারতের প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী শ্রী জগজীবন রাম তাই নিজে আগামী শনিবার দুই দিনের জন্য পশ্চিমবঙ্গে আসছেন। তিনি আসামের কয়েকটি সীমান্ত অঞ্চলও পরিদর্শন করতে চান।

শ্রী রাম ছাড়া কেন্দ্রীয় পুনর্বাসনমন্ত্রী শ্রী আর কে খাদিলকরও শনিবার রাতে কলকাতায় আসছেন। কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রীসভা সংক্রান্ত অতিরিক্ত সচিব শ্রী আর এন চোপড়া বুধবার কলকাতায় এসেছেন।

প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর আসাম ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গ পরিদর্শনের এক সপ্তাহের মধ্যেই কেন্দ্রীয় প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী ও উদ্বাস্ত পুনর্বাসনমন্ত্রী সীমান্ত সফর বিশেষ তৎপর্যপূর্ণ বলে রাজনৈতিক মহল মনে করছেন। হানাদার ফৌজের বারবার ভারত সীমান্তে হানা প্রতিরোধ ভারত সরকার কতদূর অগ্রসর হবেন এবং শরণার্থীদের সম্পর্কেই বা কী ধরনের ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করবেন শ্রী রাম ও শ্রীখাদিলকরের সফরের পর তা চূড়ান্ত নির্ধারিত হতে পারে বলেও তথ্যাভিজ্ঞমহলে মনে করা হচ্ছে।

এই সম্পর্কে আলোচনাকালে একজন সরকারী মুখপাত্র বুধবারও পাকফৌজ কর্তৃক পেটরাপোল সীমান্তে এবং সুন্দরবন এলাকার খোজডাঙ্গায় গোলাগুলি বর্ষণের উল্লেখ করেন। সঙ্গে সঙ্গে প্রধানমন্ত্রী ও প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী এর আগে পাক ফৌজের সীমান্ত লঙ্ঘন ভারত সরকার বরদাস্ত করবেন না বলে যে মন্তব্য করছেন তিনি তারও উল্লেখ করেন।

বুধবার কলকাতায় রাজ্য সরকারের সূত্রে এই দু’জন কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রীর আসার খবর পাওয়া যায়।

জানা গিয়াছে, শনিবার সকালে প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী শ্রী রাম সরাসরি বাগডোগরায় আসছেন। সেখান থেকে তিনি কোচবিহারের হলদিবাড়ি ও সুরতি এলাকায় যাবেন। এরপর আসাম সীমান্ত ঘুরে সন্ধ্যায় কলকাতায় আসবেন ও রাতে এখানে থাকবেন। পরদিন রবিবার সকালে তিনি চাকুলিয়া ও বনগাঁয় যাবেন। কয়েকটি শরণার্থী শিবির পরিদর্শন করবেন। অপরাহ্নে দমদম বিমান ঘাঁটিতে ফিরে এসে দিল্লী প্রত্যাবর্তন করবেন।

কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রী শ্রী খাদিলকর শনিবার রাতে এখানে আসবেন এবং রবিবার বনগাঁ সীমান্ত এলাকা ও শিবির পরিদর্শন করবেন।

রাজ্যমন্ত্রীদের দিল্লি যাত্রা

এদিকে বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের ত্রাণ ব্যবস্থা নিয়ে আলোচনার জন্য বুধবার সন্ধ্যায় তিনজন মন্ত্রী শ্রী সন্তোষ রায়, ডাঃ জয়নাল আবেদিন এবং শ্রী তরুণকান্তি ঘোষ দিল্লি গিয়েছেন। উপ-মুখ্যমন্ত্রী শ্রী বিজয় সিংহে নাহার এদিন সকালেই দিল্লি রওনা হন।

শরণার্থীদের ত্রাণ বাবদ ২৪০ কোটি একটি কর্মসূচী এদিন রাজ্য মন্ত্রীসভার অনুমোদন করা হয়। এই কর্মসূচী অনুযায়ীই ওই চারজন মন্ত্রী কেন্দ্রের কাছে ২৪০ কোটি টাকা চাইবেন। রাজ্য মন্ত্রীবৃন্দ প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী, স্বাস্থ্যমন্ত্রী এবং পুনর্বাসন মন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে আলোচনা করবেন।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯২। ক্ষমতার ভারসাম্য	স্টেটসম্যান	২২ মে, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, MAY 22, 1971*

### Editorial

### THE BALANCE OF POWER

India's diplomatic drive to make the world realize the world political implications of the events in East Bengal cannot be said to have had much success as yet. The massive movement of refugees should have made it clear that even in a narrow technical sense the East Bengal upheaval could not be regarded as a purely internal matter for Pakistan. Yet, until a few days ago, it was only the humanitarian aspect of the refugee problem that draw international attention India has lately been emphasizing the political implications, some directly affecting India's security. But other Powers seem still to think that the problem is no more than one of human suffering and its alleviation: and the notion persists that the problem can be solved only in cooperation with the Pakistan Government. Islamabad's envoys in Washington London have been talking of a political solution; and there is no reason to believe that the Pakistani diplomatic offensive has been wholly unproductive. Indeed, both Washington and London have given at least some consideration to Islamabad's plea for assistance, as a means of not merely rehabilitating Pakistan's economy but also providing immediate relief for the suffering millions in East Bengal.

Different countries may have different reasons for treating the Pakistan case with greater sympathy than it deserves, but New Delhi should have been more energetic from the beginning in emphasizing the dangerous political implications which it has now started talking about. Although the restraint that marked New Delhi's initial reaction to the East Bengal crisis was widely appreciated, there is now reason to suspect that the cautious response was at least partly due to the absence of any clear thinking. Perhaps there was some wishful thinking that the people of East Bengal would win a quick victory, or, if the worst came to the worst, the military administration would quickly restore order; either way, there would be no long-term problem directly affecting India's own interests. The consequences of protracted struggle, whatever its spread or effectiveness, do not seem to have been anticipated until they became a terrifying reality. Even after the refugee influx began, the Indian authorities were initially concerned almost exclusively with the problem of temporary relief: it is only during the past days that the long-term consequences have started attracting serious attention. But it is still not clear whether a policy has been formulated.

This is not to suggest that it is easy to decide upon a course of action. Any effective action to safeguard India's specific interests in the eastern region could spark off a major conflict, possibly involving other Powers, at least in an indirect manner. But a difficult decision could be avoided only if the bigger Powers forced Islamabad to let the people of

East Bengal decide their own future; the fact had better be faced that no political compromise can work after what has happened in East Bengal during the past two months. Yet the big Powers seem still to think that some kind of accommodation is possible, perhaps because they are not prepared to accept the alternative to a political settlement. Apparently, they fear the prospect of West Pakistan moving closer to China, as if Western and Russian help to Islamabad has done anything so far to discourage such movement.

Apparently it is also being argued that disintegration of Pakistan would upset the balance of power on the subcontinent and promote instability in the eastern region. Much mischief has been done in the name of maintaining an artificial balance of power; the tragic events in East Bengal are a direct consequence of the support which West Pakistan has received over the years for maintaining this balance. And the argument that a free, and presumably weak, West Bengal would encourage subversive activity over a wide region is superficial. The scope for such activity would be much greater if the East Bengal freedom movement turned into an underground guerilla struggle for an indefinite period. Even if the West Pakistani military administration is able to re-establish full authority in East Bengal, pockets of guerrilla resistance will remain; the greater will be the chance of both their leadership and their objectives undergoing a radical change. Should such a situation develop, the Chinese might not remain so anxious to see Pakistan's territorial integrity preserved as they seem now; whatever its recent statements may seem to imply. Peking has not really closed its long term options.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯৩। করিমগঞ্জ সীমান্তে পাকিস্তানী সৈন্য সমাবেশ	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	২২ মে, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, MAY 22, 1971*  
PAK BUILD-UP ALONG KARIMGANJ BORDER

Shillong, May 21.-The Assam Chief Minister Mr. Mahendra Mohan Choudhury is likely to discuss with the Union Defense Minister Mr. Jagjivan Ram at Karimganj tomorrow the question of overall security of the Assam-East Bengal border in the light of Pakistani build-up in the Karimganj sector reports PTI.

The Chief Minister told the State Legislative Assembly today that Pakistani troops had come close to the Assam border in this sector.

Replying to a discussion raised on the subject the Chief Minister told the House that this Government was aware of the Pakistani buildup opposite Karimganj where they had built bunkers behind an embankment on the East Bengal side of the Kasuria river.

The Chief Minister said that he would apprise the Defense Minister of the feelings of member of the House regarding Pakistani preparations across the Karimganj border.

Earlier members belonging to both sides of the House expressed concern over reports of Pakistani troops concentration at Jakiganj in East Bengal across the Karimganj border town of Assam.

UNI adds: More than 7,000 refugees from Chittagong Hill Tract of Bangladesh crossed over to Assem's Mizo Hills district on Wednesday through Parva official reports said today. This is the first report of large-scale influx into Mizo Hills since war began in Bangladesh on March 25. The evacuees are being shifted and sheltered in a camps at Pachang.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯৪। জঙ্গীশাহীর হাতে অন্ততঃ দশ লাখ নিহত	আনন্দজার পত্রিকা	২৩ মে, ১৯৭১

## জঙ্গীশাহীর হাতে অন্ততঃ দশ লাখ নিহত

### বাংলাদেশের ভ্রাম্যমাণ দূতের বিবৃতি

বিশেষ সংবাদাতা

নয়াদিল্লী, ২২মে- বাংলাদেশের ভ্রাম্যমাণ রাষ্ট্রদূত ডঃ মোখলেসুর রহমান কাল রাতে দিল্লীতে এক বিবৃতিতে বলেন যে, জেনারেল ইয়াহিয়া খানের আদেশে গত ২৫ মার্চ বাংলাদেশ জঙ্গী আক্রমণ শুরুর পর নারী ও শিশুসমেত অন্ততঃ দশ লাখ নিরস্ত্র ও অসহায় বাঙালী নিহত হয়েছে।

তিনি বলেন, জেনারেল ইয়াহিয়া খানের অনুগত সঙ্গী প্রশাসক লেঃ জেঃ টিক্কা খান এখনও বাংলাদেশের সর্বত্র ব্যাপক হারে নরহত্যা চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে। আমেরিকা, রাশিয়া ও চীনের আধুনিক অস্ত্রশস্ত্রে সুসজ্জিত পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা বাংলাদেশের সমস্ত অসহায় মানুষের বিরুদ্ধে পুরোদস্তুর যুদ্ধে বাঁপিয়ে পড়েছে। অগ্নিবর্ষী ট্যাংক, কামান, মর্টার ও মেশিনগানের গোলায় তাদের নির্বিচারে হত্যা করা হচ্ছে। গ্রাম ও শহরগুলির ওপর ব্যাপকভাবে বোমা ফেলা হচ্ছে।

কেমব্রিজের ইতিহাসের পি এইচ ডি, ডঃ রহমান গত ২ মে বাংলাদেশ ত্যাগ করেন। প্রত্যক্ষদর্শীর করুণ বিবরণ দিয়ে তিনি বলেন, রাজশাহীর কয়েকজন গ্রামবাসী আমাকে একটি গ্রামে নিয়ে যান। সেই গ্রামের ১২০০ থেকে ১৪০০ লোককে নৃশংসভাবে খুন করা হয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশে যে উৎপীড়নের কথা প্রচারিত হয়েছে, তা অতিরঞ্জিত-এই মিথ্যা প্রচারের জন্য ইয়াহিয়া খান সরকার বিশ্বের বিভিন্ন দেশে দূত পাঠিয়েছেন। শ্রী রহমান জিজ্ঞাসা করেন, তাই যদি হয় তাহলে কেন বিদেশী সাংবাদিকদের সেখানে যা ঘটছে, তা দেখতে দেওয়া হচ্ছে না?

শ্রী রহমান বলেন যে, মানবতার নামে বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের পক্ষে আমরা দাবি করছে যে, বাংলাদেশে এই ব্যাপক হত্যাকাণ্ডের জন্য আন্তর্জাতিক বিচারালয়ের উচিত অবিলম্বে জেনারেল ইয়াহিয়া খান ও টিক্কা খানের বিচারে উদ্যোগী হওয়া।

তিনি বিদেশী বন্ধুদের এই কথা মনে রাখতে বলেন যে, জঙ্গীশাহীকে কোন রকম অর্থনৈতিক সাহায্য দেওয়া হলে তা বাংলাদেশের মানুষের বিরুদ্ধেই কাজে লাগানো হবে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯৫। একটি নির্ভীক কণ্ঠ	কালান্তর	২৪ মে, ১৯৭১

### একটি নির্ভীক কণ্ঠ

এবার একটি নির্ভীক কণ্ঠ সোচ্চার। শেখ মুজিবরই পাকিস্তানের অখণ্ডতার শত্রু ইয়াহিয়া খান ও তাঁর জঙ্গী চক্রের এই অপপ্রচার ধূলিসাৎ করে দিয়েছেন স্পষ্টবক্তা বাদশা খান। তিনি বলেছেন, মুজিব সাহেব পাকিস্তান ধ্বংস করতে চান নি, পাকিস্তান যদি ধ্বংস হয়ে থাকে তবে তার জন্য দায়ী পাকিস্তানের পিপলস পার্টির নেতা ভুট্টো ও মুসলিম লীগ নেতা কাইয়ুম। বাঙালীরা খাঁটি মুসলমান নয়- এমন প্রচার করতেও শয়তানরা ছাড়ে নি। তার জবাবে বাদশা খান বলছেন, বাঙালীরা খাঁটি মুসলমান এবং পাকিস্তানের প্রতি আনুগত্য অন্য যে কারো চাইতে তাদের বেশী। দেশ ভাগের আগে একমাত্র বাংলাদেশেই মুসলিম লীগ সরকারের অস্তিত্ব ছিল-বেলুচিস্তান, সীমান্ত প্রদেশ, সিন্ধু বা পাঞ্জাবে তা ছিল না। বাঙালীদের চেপ্টায়ই পাকিস্তানের জন্ম হয়েছে। অতএব পাকিস্তানের প্রতি বাঙালীদের আনুগত্য ছিল না, একথা অবিশ্বাস্য।

বাদশা খানও সেই একই প্রশ্ন তুলেছেন, সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশ সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশ থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন হতে চাইবে কেন? বাঙালীরা পাকিস্তানের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশ। সেই সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশকে দাবিয়ে রাখার জন্যই সামরিক আইন জারি করে বাংলাদেশে ট্যাক্স, মেশিনগান ও বোমা চালিয়ে সন্ত্রাসের রাজত্ব সৃষ্টি করা হয়েছে। এটা পাকিস্তানের অখণ্ডতা রক্ষার পথ নয়। আসলে পাঞ্জাবের পুঁজিপাতি গোষ্ঠী ও সামরিক প্রভুদের ক্ষমতা কয়েক রাখার জন্যই সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশের উপর এই বলপ্রয়োগ। বাদশা খান তাঁর স্বভাবসিদ্ধ ভাষায় বলেছেন, হতভাগ্য বাঙালীদের একমাত্র অপরাধ যে, তাঁরা নির্বাচনের মাধ্যমে গোটা পাকিস্তানের নিরক্ষর সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠতা অর্জন করেছে। আওয়ামী লীগের ছয় দফা দাবিকেই যদি ইয়াহিয়া খান পাকিস্তানের সর্বনাশের কারণ বলে মনে করেন তবে সেই ছয় দফা দাবির বিরোধিতা গোড়া থেকেই তিনি করলেন না কেন? প্রায় এক বছর ধরে এই ছয় দফা দাবিতে আওয়ামী লীগ প্রচার এবং সেই দাবির ভিত্তিতেই সে নির্বাচনে জয়ী হয়। বাদশা খান প্রশ্ন করেন, তখন তা বন্ধ করে দেবার কথা সামরিক রাষ্ট্রপতির মাথায় ঢোকেনি কেন? বাংলাদেশে গিয়ে তিনি কেনই বা বললেন যে, শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানই পাকিস্তানের ভারী প্রধানমন্ত্রী? মুসলিম লীগ নেতা কাইয়ুম সাহেবও তো বলছিলেন, ছয় দফা দাবি পূর্ণ পাকিস্তানের পক্ষে প্রযোজ্য। ভুট্টো সাহেবও তো আওয়ামী লীগের ছয় দফার মধ্যে পাঁচ দফা দাবি মেনে নিয়েছিলেন।

তথাপি সব কেঁচে গন্ডুষ হয়ে গেল কেন? বাদশা খান নিজের অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে এর উত্তর দিয়েছেন। জিয়ার আমলে উত্তর-পশ্চিম সীমান্ত প্রদেশে অনুরূপ জুলুম হয়েছিল। পাকিস্তানের সবে জন্ম হয়েছে। সীমান্ত প্রদেশের বিধানসভায় তখন ছিল বাদশা খানের দলের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠতা। পঞ্চাশ জন সদস্যের মধ্যে তেত্রিশ জনই ছিলেন তাঁর দলের। জিন্না সাহেব জোর করে সেই দলের মন্ত্রিসভা ভেঙে দিয়ে সংখ্যালঘু দলকে মন্ত্রিসভা গঠন করতে ডাকলেন। কেবল তাই নয়, বাবু যাবার পথে বাদশা খানকে গ্রেপ্তার করা হল। তাঁর বিরুদ্ধে অভিযোগ, তিনি ইপির ফকিরকে দেবার জন্য পাঁচ লক্ষ টাকা সঙ্গে নিয়ে যাচ্ছিলেন। আরো রটিয়ে দেওয়া হল, পাকিস্তানকে তিনি বালির টিপি এবং এক লাথিতে তিনি তা উড়িয়ে দেবেন। প্রচার চলল, বাদশা খান বিশ্বাসঘাতক ও হিন্দুদের দালাল। সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বহু লোককে গ্রেপ্তার করা হল। এই গ্রেপ্তারের প্রতিবাদ করতে ও নামাজ পড়তে জুম্মাবারে যারা বারবারায় এসে জমায়েত হল তাদের উপর চলল বোমা ও মেশিনগান। শত শত নরনারী ও শিশু প্রাণ হারাল। তারপর সারা প্রদেশে চলল লুণ্ঠন, মারপিট ও নানাবিধ লাঞ্ছনা। হাজার হাজার খোদাই খিদমৎগারকে (বাদশা খানের অনুগামী) ধরে জেলে বন্দী করা হল। জিন্নার পুতুল সরকার খোদাই খিদমৎগার আন্দোলন ও তার মুখপত্র “পুশতুন” নিষিদ্ধ করে দিল।

বাদশা খান বলেছেন, সেদিন সংখ্যাগুরুদের উপর সংখ্যালঘু কর্তৃক চাপিয়ে দেবার জন্য পাকিস্তানের জনক খোদ জিন্না সাহেব যে পন্থা অবলম্বন করেছিলেন আজ সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ আওয়ামী লীগকে দাবিয়ে ভুটোর সংখ্যালঘিষ্ঠ পিপলস পার্টিকে পাকিস্তানের ক্ষমতায় বসাবার জন্য সেই একই বলপ্রয়োগের নীতি গ্রহণ করেছেন সামরিক রাষ্ট্রপতি জেনারেল ইয়াহিয়া খান। বাদশা খান চোখে আঙ্গুল দিয়ে দেখিয়ে দিয়েছেন যে গুরু যে পথ নিয়েছিলেন শিস্যও সেই পথ ধরেই চলেছেন।

তিনি স্পষ্টতই বলেছেন, বলপ্রয়োগের দ্বারা পাকিস্তানের জনসাধারণকে আর ভুলিয়ে রাখা সম্ভব নয়। যদি একসঙ্গে থাকতে হয় তবে ভাই ভাই হয়ে থাকতে হবে-সমমর্যাদা ও সমান অধিকার স্বীকার না হয় তবে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের অঙ্গ রাজ্যগুলোর সংখ্যালঘুরা সামরিক শাসকের কাছে কী-ই বা প্রত্যাশা করতে পারে? পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের অঙ্গ রাজ্যগুলোকে মিলিয়ে আবার যদি একটি প্রদেশে পরিণত করা হয় তা শাসন ক্ষমতায় যদি ভুটোর দল এসে বসে, তবে পাখতুনরা তা কিছুতেই বরদাস্ত করবে না বলে বাদশা খান ইশিয়ারি দিয়েছেন। কারণ তাঁ মতে তা হবে দাসত্ব ও শোষণকে বরণ করে নেওয়া।

বাদশা খান পাকিস্তানের কল্যাণকামী বলেই একটি প্রস্তাব দিয়েছেন। বর্তমান পাক সরকার যদি প্রয়োজন বোধ করেন তাঁকে মধ্যস্থ মানতে পারেন। সম্মতি পেলে তিনি সিন্ধু, বেলুচিস্তান, সীমান্ত প্রদেশ ও পাঞ্জাব থেকে কয়েকজন প্রতিনিধি নিয়ে বাংলাদেশে যাবেন। তার আগে পাক সরকারকে কথা দিতে হবে যে, তাঁরা শান্তি চান। মুজিব ও তাঁর সমর্থকরা বাদশা খানের প্রস্তাবে সম্মত হবেন কি-না সেটা বড় কথা নয়, শান্তিপূর্ণ পথে সমাধান সম্ভব কি-না তার চেষ্টা করে দেখবেন তিনি। তাঁর প্রস্তাবে পাক সরকারের কোন সাড়া পাওয়া যায়নি এখনো পর্যন্ত। সাড়া পাওয়া যাবে বলেও মনে হয় না। সদিচ্ছা থাকলে আওয়ামী লীগের গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকারকে এভাবে পিষ্ট করে ইয়াহিয়া খান বাংলাদেশে রক্তগঙ্গা বইয়ে দিতেন না।

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## বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯৬। ১১ জুন দেশের শ্রমিক শ্রেণী ‘বাংলাদেশ’ দিবস পালন করবে	কালান্তর	২৫ মে, ১৯৭১

## ১১ জুন দেশের শ্রমিক শ্রেণী ‘বাংলাদেশ’ দিবস পালন করবে

নয়াদিল্লী, ২৩মে (ইউএনআই)- আগামী ১৯ জুন ভারতের শ্রমিক শ্রেণী সারা দেশব্যাপী ‘বাংলাদেশ’ দিবস প্রতিপালন করবে।

বাংলাদেশের সঙ্গে সংহতি রক্ষার জন্য গঠিত ভারতের জাতীয় ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন কমিটি উপরোক্ত সিদান্ত গ্রহণ করেছে।

সম্প্রতি এআইটিইউসি, আইএনটিইউসি, সিটু, এইচএমএস, এইচএমপি এবং ইউটিইউসি (উভয় গ্রুপ)-র প্রতিনিধিদের নিয়ে এই মিলিত জাতীয় ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন কমিটি গঠিত হয়েছে।

কমিটির প্রেসিডেন্ট ড. মৈত্রেয়ী বসু আজ এখানে সাংবাদিকদের জানান, যে শেখ মুজিবের বিনা শর্তে মুক্তির এবং ভারত ‘বাংলাদেশ’ স্বীকৃতির দাবিকে জয়যুক্ত করাই হবে এই কমিটির মূল লক্ষ্য।

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯৭। নির্যাতনের চিত্র	ন্যাশনাল হেরাল্ড	২৬ মে, ১৯৭১

*NATIONAL HERALD, MAY 26, 1971*

### **PICTURE OF ATROCITIES**

Karimganj, May 25 - A large number of young girls now lodged in several concentration camps in Sylhet District of Bangladesh serving as "call girls of Yahya's dogs", two professors from East Bengal told newsmen yesterday.

Giving a picture of the "grisly atrocities" being perpetrated by the Pakistan army on the inmates of these camps, they said "these young women are kept in scanty clothes without any saris and are subjected to the cartal desire of the army men whenever these brutes want an outlet of their passion".

The two educationists who preferred to remain anonymous said, that the "occupation army in its frenzy of violence and oppression, had recently adopted a new device to slander the Bangladesh people and the freedom movement itself. The army men. They said, had been asking their hirelings to loot house and bazars and taking photographs. These photographs were now being sent to foreign countries for television shows with the misleading caption of "looting of non-Bengali houses by Bengalis" or "Hindus looting houses of Muslims."

They also condemned the "heinous and motivated propaganda" of Radio Pakistan aimed at driving a cleavage in communal harmony. "The world will not be fooled" by this crude device, they said. PTI.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯৮। মেঘালয় সীমান্তে গোলাবর্ষণ	হিন্দুস্থান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	২৬ মে, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, MAY 26, 1971*

**MEGHALAYA BORDER SHELLED  
NINE BSF MEN KILLED**

Shillong, May 25 - While 22 persons including nine Indian Border Security Force men were killed today in heavy shelling by Pakistani troops in Dalu Sector in Meghalaya's Garo Hills district, according to official reports, the Assam Chief Minister. Mr. Mahendramohan Choudhury, told the Assembly this evening that the BSF had 'successfully repulsed' Pakistani aggression in three different sectors of the Assam - Bangladesh border, agencies report.

The Chief Minister who was making a statement in the Assembly on Pakistani attacks on Indian territory in Assam said, the Assam Government had asked the prime Minister and Defense Minister "to take immediate action to clear the Pakistani Army from our areas and to safeguard the sanctity of our territory."

Mr. Choudhury said the civilian population in four bordering villages had evacuated to safer places because of Pakistani intrusion deep into Indian territory in Garo Hills and Karimganj sectors.

The villages were Dalu in Garo Hills of Meghalaya, and Sutarkandi, Jerapatta and Gobindpur in Karimganj sector, he said.

In the shelling in Dalu sector, besides the 22 killed, 11 civilians received injuries when Pakistani shells and machine-gun bullets, aimed at the Indian border outpost (Dalu) fell deep into jungled interior, the official reports said.

According to the reports one BSF Junior Commissioned Officer was kidnapped by Pak-troops.

The reports quoted civilian rescuers as fearing the casualties on the Indian side might rise as they were still scanning the woods in search of bodies.

About 200 Pakistani troops were also reported patrolling in Killapara area inside the Indian territory in this sector. But the area was under complete control of India in the evening.

Our Tura Correspondent says: The gang of Pakistani troops, armed with rifles, machine guns and mortars, which intruded into Dalubazar on Garo Hills border of Meghalaya at about 7 a.m. today numbered about 100 and resorted to indiscriminate firing for about an hour.

According to an unconfirmed non-official report the dead includes a woman and a four-year-old child. Some of the seriously wounded have been brought here for treatment in civil hospital. The casualty list includes Garos, non-Garo local residents and Bangladesh evacuees camped at Dalubazar and around.

Replying to an adjournment motion, moved by Mr. Phani Bora leader of troops the Communist group, Mr. Choudhury said that the attacking Pakistani troops made some initial gains, but the ultimate victory has been with the Indian border Security Force, agencies continue. Mr. Choudhury shared the concern of members of both side of the House about Pakistan's aggressive activities along the Assam-East Bengal border and said: "It is too early to say how the situation will take a turn".

The Chief Minister, however assured the House that the Indian Border Security Forces were fully prepared to met any eventuality.

Giving details of the "unprovoked aggressive activities" of the Pakistani Army, the Chief Minister said that attacks had taken place in three different sectors stretching from Sutarkandi in the Karimganj sub-division of South Assam to Dalu in Meghalaya.

The Chief Minister said that the Pakistani troops had captured the Indian border outpost of Sutarkandi and Jorapatta village in Karimganj sector yesterday afternoon.

The Indian border security forces launched a counter-offensive later in the day and recaptured the two places.

In the Garo Hills sector of Meghalaya, the Pakistani Army has been creating a tense situation by firing towards Dalu Tillapara and Chaipani areas.

About 200 Pakistani Army personnel were reportedly patrolling at Tillapara, inside Indian territory this morning. They were chased out of the village after an exchange of fire in which both sides suffered some casualties said that Pakistani troops had been heavily shelling the Indian side of Latu village in Karimganj sector and Dalu outpost in Meghalaya-Garo Hills district.

The troops burnt many houses in Indian villages and killed and kidnapped civilians. Mr. Choudhury said that though there was no Pakistani troops on the Indian soil now, the State Government was concerned about the aggressive posture of the Pak Government.

The Chief Minister said that the Pakistani Army had directed firing towards the Sutarkandi outpost of the Indian Border Security Forces since the evening of May 23.

According to latest reports reaching the Government a grim fighting was going on between the Pakistani Army and the Bangladesh liberation forces near the East Bengal village of Latu across the Indian village of Mohishashon in the Karimganj sector.

Referring to the developments along the Garo-Hills Mymensingh sector of the Meghalaya East Bengal border, the Chief Minister said that the Pakistani troops had been restoring to heavy mortar shelling at Datu, Tillapara, and Chaipai areas since last night, creating a tense situation.

One Indian villager was killed and six others wounded in the Pakistani shelling of Dalu last evening. There have also been some casualties on the side of the border security forces.

Some Indians were kidnapped by the Pakistani army from Tillapara and Chaipani areas early this morning.

Our Shikarpur Correspondent adds: Pat troops have been firing on the border of Shikarpur since 8 a.m. Perhaps they are back to retaliate the death of three of them who are shot dead on May 22 when they entered India and forcibly carried off 11 goats. Pak troops have been deployed along the Kushtia border. Shikarpur BSF has moved to the border. Further details are awaited

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯৯। শরণার্থী শিবিরে বাঙালী নিধন	হিন্দুস্থান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	২৭ মে, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, MAY 27, 1971*

### **BENGALIS BUTCHERED IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS**

May 25. - An engineer from East Bengal, who arrived here recently from Dacca on his way to Sweden, revealed the barbarous acts being committed by the military administration which have a very close resemblance to these perpetrated by Nazi Germany during the last war.

The engineer, whose near relatives are still on the other side of the Padma, described the "concentration camps where Bengalis are being taken and butchered indiscriminately at night. The military authorities, who are trying hard to put on a show of "normal life" in East Bengal have stopped shooting the inmates and instead slit their stomachs with knives, the reason being that the sound of gunfire frightens others and does not add credence to the claim of normalcy.

According to the engineer's knowledge, there are at least four such camps in Dacca. Narayangang. Godnai 1 and Tongi.

He said that although most of the factories around Dacca and Narayangang are not functioning, the troops get people to smoke the boilers to give the impression that all is functioning as usual.

Attendance in various government offices and other commercial and industrial organizations is very low. There have been instances of government officials, being picked up from their homes and never being seen or heard of again.

Many army officers are being called upon to make coffins for their dead soldiers and when they cannot cope with the task, the troops just round up any able-bodied persons in sight and put them to do the job.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০০। বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দানের প্রশ্নে ভারত সরকারের দ্বিধা কাটেনি	কালান্তর	২৭ মে, ১৯৭১

### বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দানের প্রশ্নে ভারত সরকারের দ্বিধা কাটেনি লোকসভায় শ্রীমতি গান্ধীর বক্তব্যের মর্মার্থ

নয়াদিল্লী, ২৬মে-বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে আট ঘন্টার লোকসভা বিতর্কের জবাবদানকালে প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি মিসেস ইন্দিরা গান্ধী আজও স্বীকৃতিদান সম্পর্কে সদস্যদের সম্মিলিত আকাঙ্ক্ষা পূরণ করতে পারেন নি। আজও তিনি বলেছেন, ““আমরা ঝুঁকি নিতে ভয় পাই না। দরকার হলেই ঝুঁকি নেব।”” অথচ তাঁর দলের বিশিষ্ট সদস্য শ্রী দীনেশ সিং বলেছেন, ইতিমধ্যেই ভারত অনেকটা দেবী করে ফেলেছেন। প্রধানমন্ত্রীর বক্তব্য থেকে একটা জিনিস খুব সুস্পষ্ট হয়ে গিয়েছে যে, বিশ্বের অন্যান্য রাষ্ট্রগুলি কি করে সেদিকে ভারত তাকিয়ে আছে।

ইউএনআই-এর সংবাদে প্রকাশ, প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা লোকসভায় বলেছেন, বাংলাদেশে যে সঙ্কটজনক অধ্যায় সূচিত হয়েছে সে ব্যাপারে আন্তর্জাতিক সমাজকে হস্তক্ষেপ করতে হবে। এই অঞ্চলের শান্তি ও নিরাপত্তা যাতে পুনঃপ্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় ও বজায় থাকে তা দেখা বিদেশী দেশগুলোর কর্তব্য। আর তা করতে ব্যর্থ হলে তার পরিণতি খুব বিপজ্জনক।

শ্রীমতি গান্ধী বলেন, বাংলাদেশে যা ঘটেছে তা রাজনৈতিক বা অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যা নয়। এ হচ্ছে সমগ্র অঞ্চলের মানুষের জীবনমরণ লড়াই। তিনি বলেন, একটি গোটা জাতিকে ধ্বংস করার সুপরিকল্পিত প্রয়াস থেকে আজকে বাংলাদেশে এই পরিস্থিতির উদ্ভব হচ্ছে। আর সেই গণহত্যার কার্যকরণ পরিণতিস্বরূপ হাজার পুরুষ নারী শিশুকে হত্যা করা হচ্ছে বা লাখে মানুষকে শরণার্থী করে, ভারতে পাঠিয়ে দেয়া হচ্ছে।

শ্রীমতি আজ পুনর্বার বলেন, আমরা বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দানের প্রশ্নটি প্রতিনিয়ত ভেবে দেখছি। এ ব্যাপারে বা অন্য ব্যাপারে আমরা যে সিদ্ধান্তই গ্রহণ করি না কেন তা স্বাধীনভাবে বিচার বিবেচনা করে গ্রহণ করব। আমাদের বৃহত্তর স্বার্থের কথা মাথায় রেখে সিদ্ধান্ত করব।

প্রধানমন্ত্রী আজ সদস্যদের প্রতিশ্রুতি দেন, বাংলাদেশের প্রশ্নে সব বিরোধী দলের নেতৃবৃন্দের সঙ্গে সংযোগ রক্ষা করে চলবেন।

তিনি সদস্যদের বলেন, পাকিস্তানের নির্বাচনে যে রায় প্রকাশিত হয়েছে গণতন্ত্রের এর চেয়ে কোন সুস্পষ্ট প্রকাশ হওয়া কি সম্ভব? তিনি বলেন, গণতন্ত্রের অনেক গালভরা ঝুলি গুনেছি। মিত্র দেশগুলি দাবি করেন, গণতন্ত্র বাঁচাবার জন্য নাকি তারা দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধে নেমেছিলেন কিন্তু এখন তারা কোথায়?

তিনি বলেন, কোন কোন দেশ বাংলাদেশের মানুষকে বিচ্ছিন্নতাকামী আখ্যা দিয়েছেন। তিনি স্মরণ করিয়ে দেন যে, পাকিস্তানের অধিকাংশ মানুষ পূর্বাঞ্চলে বাস করে। কিন্তু গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থায় সংখ্যাধিক্যের কতকগুলি অধিকার আছে। আর পূর্বাঞ্চলের মানুষ যদি সেই অধিকারগুলো বুঝে নিতে চান তবে তাদের বিচ্ছিন্নতাকামী আখ্যা দেওয়া কি সমীচীন হয়েছে?

তিনি বলেন সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষ ধ্বংস হয়ে যাচ্ছে এ কারণেই ভারতের কঠোর মনোভার প্রকাশিত হয়নি, বাংলাদেশের মর্মান্তিক ঘটনার ছাপ ভারতের অর্থনৈতিক, রাজনৈতিক ও সামাজিক জীবনে এসে পড়েছে। এই হচ্ছে অবস্থার বাস্তব রূপায়ন। এ কোন প্রচার নয়।

পূর্বাঞ্চে প্রাক্তন মন্ত্রী শ্রী দীনেশ সিং বলেন, ভারত কোন ইতিবাচক ভূমিকা গ্রহণ করলে তবে বিদেশী রাষ্ট্রগুলি বাংলাদেশের ঘটনার সঙ্গে নিজেদেরকে জড়িত করবে। তিনি বলেন, অনেক দেবী হয়েছে। আর কালবিলম্ব না করে ভারত সরকারের ইতিবাচক ভূমিকা গ্রহণ করা উচিত।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

তিনি বলেন, বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দেবার পিছনে অনেকগুলি সাংবিধানিক ও বৈধ যুক্তি আছে।

পিএসপি শ্রী সমর গুহ বলেন, বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে ভারত সরকার ইতিমধ্যেই অনেকখানি জড়িয়ে পড়েছে। এখন সে দেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিলে অবস্থার গুণগত পরিবর্তন হবে।

নির্দল সদস্য শ্রী কৃষ্ণমেনন বলেন, একদিন করে স্বীকৃতি দিতে দেরী হচ্ছে বাংলাদেশের পরিস্থিতিও জটিলতর হচ্ছে। শ্রী মেনন মনে করেন বাংলাদেশের উপদ্রুপ অবস্থা পিছনে সে সাম্রাজ্যবাদী শক্তি লুকিয়ে আছে তাদের রুখবার জন্যও বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়া প্রয়োজন।

তিনি বলেন, পাকিস্তানের পুরোপুরি অস্ত্র সরবরাহ বন্ধ করার জন্য ভারত সরকার বৃটেন ও আমেরিকার ওপর চাপ সৃষ্টি করুন।

তিনি মনে করেন, সক্ষম শরণার্থীদের বাংলাদেশের ফিরে গিয়ে মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের নৈতিক সাহায্যদান করা উচিত।

কালান্তর, ২৭ মে, ১৯৭১

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০১। অবিলম্বে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতির দাবিতে পৌরসভার প্রস্তাব	কালান্তর	২৮ মে, ১৯৭১

### অবিলম্বে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতির দাবিতে পৌরসভার প্রস্তাব

কলকাতা, ২৬ মে-বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামের সমর্থনে আজ কলকাতা পৌরসভার বিশেষ অধিবেশনে একটি প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করা হয়। প্রস্তাবে ““অনতিবিলম্বে বাংলাদেশের সার্বভৌম গণতান্ত্রিক প্রজাতন্ত্র ও তার সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি এবং অস্ত্রশস্ত্রসহ সর্বপ্রকার কার্যকরী সাহায্য”” দেবার জন্য ভারত সরকারের কাছে দাবি জানানো হয় এবং ““পশ্চিমবাংলার বিধানসভায় বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতিদান সম্বন্ধে সর্বসম্মত প্রস্তাব গৃহীত হওয়া সত্ত্বেও আজ পর্যন্ত ভারত সরকার তাহা কার্যে রূপান্তরিত না করায় এই প্রস্তাবে গভীর ক্ষোভ ও দুঃখ প্রকাশ করা হয়। ““প্রস্তাবকে কার্যকরী করার জন্য ভারত সরকারের উপর চাপ সৃষ্টি করার উদ্দেশ্যে”” পশ্চিম বাংলার জনগণকে প্রস্তাবে আহ্বান জানানো হয়েছে।

প্রস্তাবে ““বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত শরণার্থীগণকে যথার্থ সাহায্য ও সেবা করার উদ্দেশ্যে মেয়রের নেতৃত্বে একটি সাহায্য ভান্ডার খোলার”” কথা বলা হয়।

প্রস্তাবের পক্ষে একমাত্র আরএসসি ছাড়া আর সমস্ত দলের সদস্য ভোট দেন।

সভার শুরুতে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি আন্দোলনের বিবরণসহ মেয়র শ্রী শ্যামসুন্দর গুপ্ত একটি বিবৃতি দেন। পরে মেয়রের অনুপস্থিতিতে ডেপুটি মেয়র শ্রী পান্না লাল দাস সভার কাজ পরিচালনা ও মেয়রের আসন থেকে মূল প্রস্তাবটি উত্থাপন করেন।

প্রস্তাবটি সমর্থন করে অন্ডারম্যান শ্রী কমলাপতি রায় (সিপিআই) বলেন, যে বর্তমানে বাংলাদেশের মানুষের মুক্তির প্রশ্নটি হোল প্রধান বিষয়; এবং বাংলাদেশের মানুষের সঙ্গে ভারতের ভাগ্য জড়িত থাকা সত্ত্বেও বাংলাদেশের সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি না দেওয়ার পক্ষে পার্লামেন্ট যে সমস্ত যুক্তি দেখান হয়েছে তা মেনে নেওয়া যায় না। সিপিএম সদস্যরা তাঁদের বক্তৃতায় মূল প্রস্তাবকে সমর্থন করলেও বাংলাদেশ ও ভারতের মধ্যকার সীমান্ত বেড়া তুলে নেবার জন্য দাবি করেন। এসইউসি এবং কংগ্রেস সদস্যরা তাদের বক্তৃতায় মূল প্রস্তাবকে সমর্থন করেন। প্রস্তাবের সমর্থনে সবশ্রী শিবকুমার খান্না, ডাঃ কে পি ঘোষ, শ্যামল দত্ত প্রমুখ পৌরপিতাগণ বক্তৃতা দেন।

প্রস্তাবের তিনটি ধারাই আর এসপি সংশোধনী দেয়। অপর একটি ধারায় সমস্ত সমাজতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রের বিরুদ্ধে ক্ষোভ প্রকাশ করা হয়। এদের এইসব সংশোধনীর পক্ষে শুধু নিজেদের ৮ জন সদস্য ভোট দেন। সংশোধনী পরাজিত হলে দলের সদস্যরা মূল প্রস্তাবে ভোট দানে বিরত থাকেন।

সংশোধনীগুলিতে বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতির জন্য ১৫ দিন সময়সীমা বেঁধে দিতে চাওয়া হয় ও স্বীকৃতি না দিলে ১৫ দিন পরে গণআন্দোলন করার কথা বলা হয়। সংশোধনী উত্থাপন করে আরএসপি সদস্য অন্য সব রাজনৈতিক দলের বিরুদ্ধেই বিমোদগার করেন।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০২। পাকিস্তানে গোপন তথ্য পাচার রাজ্যসভায় সরকারী বিবৃতির দাবী	কালান্তর	২৮ মে, ১৯৭১

### পাকিস্তানে গোপন তথ্য পাচার রাজ্য সভায় সরকারী বিবৃতির দাবী

নয়াদিল্লী, ২৭ মে, (ইউএন)- দু’জন মন্ত্রী এবং একজন সংসদ সদস্য পাকিস্তান সরকারকে গোপন তথ্য সরবরাহ করেছে বলে কলকাতার দৈনিক সংবাদপত্রে যে সংবাদ প্রকাশিত হয়েছে, কয়েকজন সদস্য আজ রাজ্যসভায় উক্ত বিষয়টি উত্থাপন করেন। কোন কোন সদস্য সংবাদপত্রের সংবাদও উদ্ধৃত করেন।

শ্রী লোকনাথ মিশ্র (স্বতন্ত্র) সভায় সংবাদপত্রের রিপোর্টের কিয়দংশ পাঠ করেন।

উক্ত রিপোর্টে বলা হয়েছে, পশ্চিমবঙ্গের যুক্তফ্রন্ট মন্ত্রিসভার জনৈক মন্ত্রী খুবই গোপনীয় ফাইলপত্র পাকিস্তান সরকারকে সরবরাহ করছেন। এই রাজ্যের জনৈক সুপরিচিত সংসদ সদস্য পাকিস্তানের গুপ্তচর হিসেবে কাজ করে পাকিস্তান থেকে টাকাও পেয়েছেন। শ্রী মিশ্র উক্ত মন্ত্রী ও সংসদ সদস্যের নাম প্রকাশের ও অবিলম্বে তাদের গ্রেফতারের দাবী জানান।

এই বিষয়টি খুবই গুরুতর বলে তিনি সরকারকে একটি বিবৃতি দিতে অনুরোধ জানান। তিনি বলেন, এতে দেশে নিরাপত্তাই শুধু বিপন্ন হয়নি পার্লামেন্টের মর্যাদা হানি ঘটেছে।

শ্রী ভূপেশ গুপ্তও অনুরূপ রিপোর্ট পশ্চিমবঙ্গের কোন কোন বাংলা দৈনিক সংবাদপত্রেও প্রকাশিত হয়েছে বলে বলেন, এবং তিনি রিপোর্টের কোন সত্যতা আছে, না রিপোর্টটি জাল, সে সম্পর্কে সরকারকে একটি বিবৃতি দিতে অনুরোধ জানান।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০৩। বাংলাদেশে হস্তক্ষেপ ও সুদৃঢ় নীতির দাবীতে-	কম্পাস	২৯ মে, ১৯৭১

সম্পাদকীয়

## বাংলাদেশে হস্তক্ষেপ ও সুদৃঢ় নীতির দাবীতে

বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি দানের ব্যাপারে আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে চাপ আসতে পারে, এজন্যই ভারত সরকার ইতস্তত করছেন। সাধারণভাবে এরকম একটা ধারণাই এখন জনসাধারণ্যে দেখা যাচ্ছে। ভারত বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিলেও বিশ্বের অন্যান্য রাষ্ট্রগুলি হয়তো ভারত সরকারকে অনুসরণ করে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি দেবে না। এটাই নাকি ভারতের পক্ষে স্বাধীনভাবে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়ার পথে যথেষ্ট বাধার কারণ।

কিন্তু বাস্তবক্ষেত্রে বিদেশী রাষ্ট্রগুলির মনোভাব কি দাঁড়াতে পারে, তা পর্যালোচনা করা প্রয়োজন।

চীন সুস্পষ্ট ভাষায় ভারতকে এই মর্মে হুঁশিয়ার করে দিয়েছে যে পাকিস্তানের অভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপারে ভারত যেন আর নাক গলায়। সর্ব প্রথমে চীনের হুমকির বিষয়ে আলোচনা করা দরকার।

পূর্ব বাংলার ঘটনাবলীর উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করে ১৯৭১ সালের ৩রা এপ্রিল সোভিয়েট রাশিয়া পাকিস্তানের কাছে এক নোট পাঠিয়েছিল। এর পরেই আসে ১৯৭১ সালের ৬ই এপ্রিল চীনের তরফে ভারতের প্রতি হুঁশিয়ার বাণী। চীনের এই হুঁশিয়ারীর পরেই এদেশে অনেকেই বলতে শুরু করলেন, “‘আর কিছু করার প্রয়োজন নেই’”, বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে ভারত যেন আর জড়িয়ে না পড়ে।

অবশ্য চীনের ঐ নোটের তাৎপর্য খুব সতর্কতার সঙ্গে অনুধাবন করলে দেখা যায়-

(ক) সম্ভবতঃ রাশিয়ার নোটের প্রত্যুত্তরে পাকিস্তানের অনুরোধে বা চাপে চীন ভারতের প্রতি ঐ ধরনের হুঁশিয়ারী দিতে থাকতে পারে। যদি চীন সত্যিই তার হুঁশিয়ারী সম্পর্কে সিরিয়াস হয়ে থাকে, তাহলে তাকে অবশ্যই ভারত ও রাশিয়ার বিরুদ্ধে ব্যবস্থা নিতেই হবে। আর এরকম ব্যবস্থা নেওয়ার অর্থই হলো বিশ্বযুদ্ধকে ডেকে আনা। কিন্তু এই মুহূর্তেই যে চীন বিশ্বযুদ্ধের জন্য প্রস্তুত, তা কারুর মত নয়। শুধু হুমকি দিয়েই চীন পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে তার বন্ধুত্বকে বজায় রাখতে চেয়েছে-তার বেশী কিছু নয়।

(খ) চীন যে হুঁশিয়ারী দিয়েছে, তাতে কোথাও পূর্ববাংলার আন্দোলন ও দাবীর ন্যায্যতা সম্পর্কে যেমন কিছু বলেনি, তেমনি ঐ আন্দোলন ও দাবীর সম্পর্কে অন্যভাবে কোন বক্তব্য রাখেনি। চীন শুধু ভারতের হস্তক্ষেপেরই নিন্দা করেছে। এর অর্থ হলো পূর্ব বাংলার স্বায়ত্তশাসনের প্রশ্নটি সম্পর্কে বিবেচনার পথ সে খোলাই রেখেছে। এ প্রশ্ন নিয়ে তখনই সে বিবেচনা করবে, যখন তার স্বার্থের প্রশ্ন দেখা দিবে।

(গ) যদি পাকিস্তান চূড়ান্ত পরিণতিতে সম্পূর্ণরূপে শত্রুশাসন দুটি ইউনিট ভেঙ্গে পড়ে আর ঐ ইউনিট দু'টি একে অপর থেকে স্বাধীন হয়ে যায় তাহলে চীন এবং অন্যান্য শক্তিগুলিকে (যুক্তরাষ্ট্র, সোভিয়েট রাশিয়া ও বৃটেন) একটিকে ছেড়ে আর একটিকে বেছে নিতে হবে। অবশ্য উপরোক্ত রাষ্ট্রগুলির প্রত্যেকেই পাকিস্তানের ঐক্যবস্থা বজায় রাখতে আগ্রহী। কারণ, সাধারণভাবে এশিয়ায় এবং বিশেষভাবে ভারত উপমহাদেশে নিজেদের আন্তর্জাতিক রণকৌশল স্বার্থ বজায় রাখার জন্য তারা প্রত্যেকেই ঐক্যবদ্ধ পাকিস্তানকে ব্যবহার করার সুযোগ পাবে। এতে তাদের দুটি উদ্দেশ্যই সিদ্ধ হবে- ভারতের বিপক্ষে পাকিস্তানকে দাঁড় করিয়ে সাম্য সৃষ্টি করা এবং

নিজ নিজ রাজনৈতিক স্বার্থে পাকিস্তানকে সামরিক ঘাঁটি হিসেবে ব্যবহার করা। কিন্তু পাকিস্তান বিভক্ত হয়ে যাওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানকেই বেছে নেবে- পূর্ব বাংলাকে নয়। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানই সত্যিকারের পাকিস্তান। পূর্ব পাকিস্তান তথা পূর্ব বাংলা ত’ পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের উপনিবেশ। ভারত এবং রাশিয়ার মধ্যে যাতে সামরিক দিক দিয়ে সংযোগ না ঘটতে পারে, সে উদ্দেশ্যে এ দুটি দেশের মধ্যে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানকে গাঁজ হিসেবে ব্যবহার করা যাবে। চীনকে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান তার প্রথম শ্রেণীর বিপক্ষে বন্দর করাচীকে ব্যবহার করার জন্য দেবে। চীন আজ রাশিয়া ও যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের পশ্চিম এশিয়া এবং উত্তর আফ্রিকায় ঘাঁটি গড়তে পারেনি। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের মাধ্যমে চীন সহজেই ঐ দুটি অঞ্চলে প্রবেশের সুযোগ পাবে।

(ঘ) অবশ্য চীন যে তার ভৌগোলিক রাজনৈতিক হিসাবের খাতা থেকে পূর্ব বাংলাকে একেবারে খারিজ করে দেবে, তা নয়। সে পূর্ববাংলার প্রশ্নটিও খোলা রেখেছে। যাতে আওয়ামী লীগেই নেতৃত্ব একই সাথে ভারতের সঙ্গে কলংকিত হয় এটা দেখবার জন্যই চীন অপেক্ষা করছে। মুজিবর রহমান ও তার দল সুস্পষ্টরূপে ভারতের সমর্থক। এবং বাংলাদেশের জনসাধারণও মুখ্যত ভারতের সমর্থক। ইয়াহিয়া খানের নির্মম নিপীড়নে ভারতের প্রতি বন্ধুত্বাবাপন্ন আওয়ামী লীগ নেতৃত্ব যদি পরাজিত ও কলংকিত হয়, সেক্ষেত্রে পূর্ব বাংলায় রাজনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে হতাশা ও শূন্যতা দেখা দেবে। তা পূরণের জন্য সেখানে চীনপন্থী রাজনৈতিক দলগুলো এগিয়ে আসবে। আর তখন চীন পূর্ব বাংলার রাজনীতিতে প্রবেশ করতে ইতস্তত করবে না। সে অবস্থায় চীন শুধু পূর্ব বাংলার প্রশ্নেই আবদ্ধ থাকবে না। সম্ভবত: সিকিম, ভুটান, নেপাল ও ব্রহ্ম সমেত আসাম, নেফা, নাগাল্যান্ড, ত্রিপুরা, মণিপুর এবং পশ্চিম বঙ্গকে নিয়ে সারা পূর্ব ভারতে সাধারণভাবে মুক্তিযুদ্ধ শুরু করার জন্য পূর্ব বাংলাকে ঘাঁটি হিসেবে ব্যবহার করা হবে। ভারত কি এ অবস্থা ঘটতে দেবে? এটা কি ভারতের পক্ষে আত্মহত্যার শামিল নয়?

(ঙ) ১৯৬২ সালে নেফায় যেদিন চীন তার সৈন্য সামন্ত নিয়ে ঢুকেছিল তখন ভারতের প্রতিরক্ষা অবস্থা যা ছিল, তা আজকের দিনের অর্থাৎ ১৯৭১ সালের চীন বনাম ভারতের প্রতিরক্ষা ব্যবস্থার বিচারে সম্পূর্ণ ভিন্ন। সে সময় প্রতিরক্ষা ব্যবস্থা বলতে সত্যিকারের যা বোঝায়, তা ভারতের ছিল না। তাতেও সে সময়ে “থাগ-লা” ; থেকে “ফুট হিলস” আসতে একমাস লেগেছিল। এখন উত্তরাঞ্চলে শত্রুকে রুখবার জন্য পাহাড়ী পরিবেশে যুদ্ধক্ষম আধুনিক অস্ত্রশস্ত্রে সুসজ্জিত নয় ডিভিশন সৈন্যকে ভারত উত্তরের পার্বত্য অঞ্চলে নিযুক্ত করেছে। চীন ভুটানকে আক্রমণ করতে পারবে না। ভুটান রাষ্ট্রসংঘের সদস্য। এক্ষেত্রে ভুটান আক্রান্ত হলে বিশ্বের অন্যান্য শক্তিগুলিও জড়িয়ে পড়বে। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিফৌজকে বিপুল সাহায্য দেওয়ার উদ্দেশ্যে যদি ভারত হস্তক্ষেপ করে, তাহলে অনতিবিলম্বে বাংলাদেশ পাক-বাহিনীকে নির্মূল করে দিতে পারবে। এরকম অবস্থায় পূর্ব বাংলায় অবস্থিত পাকিস্তানী বাহিনীকে চীন সত্যিকারের কোন সাহায্যই দিতে পারবে না। চীনের পক্ষে ভারতের নয় ডিভিশন সৈন্যের বেড়া জাল ছিন্ন করে পাকিস্তানী বাহিনীকে সাহায্য দেওয়া সহজ হবে না। তাছাড়া, যত বড় শক্তিই হোক না কেন, হিমালয় ডিঙ্গিয়ে ভারতীয় উপত্যকায় প্রবেশ করে কোন শক্তির পক্ষেই যুদ্ধ করা সম্ভব হবে না- যুদ্ধের সরবরাহ পথ এতই বিপদসঙ্কুল ও অনিশ্চিত যে সমর কৌশল প্রশ্নটি অসম্ভব হয়ে উঠবে। আর তাছাড়া সাধারণত চীনকে যুদ্ধের জন্য অন্য দেশে ঢুকে পড়তে দেখা যায় না। কেবলমাত্র কোরিয়াতে এর ব্যতিক্রম ঘটেছিল। তবে সেখানেও নিজের প্রতিরক্ষার স্বার্থেই চীন ব্যতিক্রম ঘটিয়েছিল। এটা মনে রাখা প্রয়োজন যে, এখনও পর্যন্ত চীন ভিয়েতনামে কোন সশস্ত্র বাহিনী পাঠায়নি।

(চ) এখন চীন এবং রাশিয়ার মধ্যে যে সম্পর্ক বর্তমান, তা হলো প্রকাশ্য বৈরিতার। কিন্তু ১৯৬২ সালে ঐ দুটি রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে সে রকম সম্পর্ক ছিল না। তাছাড়া সে সময় কিউবায় পারমাণবিক বোমারু বিমানের ঘাঁটি স্থাপনের প্রশ্নে যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সঙ্গে রাশিয়ার বিরোধ আসন্ন হয়ে উঠেছিল, আর সে জন্য রাশিয়া অনেকাংশে প্রতিহতও হয়েছিল। চীনও সে সময় রাশিয়া ও যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে যে বিপজ্জনক পরিণতির উদ্ভব হয়েছিল, তার সুযোগ নিয়েছিল। এখন সিংকিয়াং থেকে শুরু করে মাংগোলিয়া পর্যন্ত দু’দেশের মধ্যে বিরাজমান সুবিস্তৃত সীমান্ত জুড়ে চীনকে বিপুল সৈন্য বাহিনী নিয়োগ করতে হয়েছে। এটা মনে রাখা দরকার যে, সোভিয়েট-চীন সীমান্ত অঞ্চল পৃথিবীর মধ্যে দীর্ঘতম।

উপরোক্ত বিষয়গুলি বিবেচনা করে বলা যায় যে, চীন যে হুঁশিয়ারী দিয়েছে তা ধর্তব্যের মধ্যে না আনাই উচিত হবে। তাই আমরা পাকিস্তানকে তার ইচ্ছামত বাংলাদেশ ও তার সংগ্রামী নেতৃত্বকে ধ্বংস করতে দিতে পারি না।

ভৌগোলিক-রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতির কারণেই রাশিয়া ও পাকিস্তান, বিশেষত: পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান সম্পর্কে বিশেষ আগ্রহী। চীন এবং যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের খপ্পর থেকে পাকিস্তানকে ছিনিয়ে আনতে রাশিয়া চায়। নিঃসন্দেহে বলা যায় যে, আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে এখন রাশিয়ার দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি রক্ষণশীল। রাশিয়াও স্থিতিবস্থার সঙ্গে মানিয়ে নিয়ে চলতে চায়। প্রতিরক্ষা এবং অন্যান্য কারণের জন্য ভারত যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের চাইতে সোভিয়েট রাশিয়ার ওপরই বেশী নির্ভরশীল। কিন্তু রাশিয়ার উদ্বেগ নিয়ে ভারতের পক্ষে মাথ ঘামানোর প্রয়োজন নেই। কারণ, ভারত দৃঢ়তার সঙ্গে তার নীতি অনুযায়ী এগিয়ে গেলে, রাশিয়া কোন অবস্থাতেই ভারতকে পরিত্যাগ করতে পারবে না। কেননা, তাহলে তাকে সমগ্র এশিয়াতেই তার (রাশিয়ার) বর্তমান আত্মরক্ষা ব্যবস্থা পরিত্যাগ করতে হবে।

বর্তমানে আমেরিকায় বাংলাদেশ বিরোধীদের চাইতে সমর্থকদের সংখ্যাই বেশী। এখন সেখানকার প্রভাবশালী মহল পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানকে বাংলাদেশের অবস্থার জন্য নিন্দা করছে। অবশ্য মার্কিন সরকার ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে পাকিস্তানকে সমর্থন করে এখনও সেই পুরোনো খেলাই খেলছে।

স্বাধীন সত্তা নিয়ে পূর্ব বাংলায় নব অভ্যুদয় ঘটেছে তাকে এখন ইংল্যান্ডের শ্রমিকদল সাহায্য সমর্থন করতে প্রায় অঙ্গীকারাবদ্ধ। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যবাহিনী যে নারকীয়তা ও নির্মমতার মধ্য দিয়ে পূর্ব বাংলায় হত্যাকাণ্ড চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে, তা সেখানকার ক্ষমতাসীন রক্ষণশীল দলও সমর্থন করতে পারছে না।

ব্রহ্মদেশ, সিংহল, নেপাল, সিকিম প্রভৃতি ভারতের চতুর্দিকস্থ ছোট ছোট রাষ্ট্র পূর্ব বাংলার পরিস্থিতিতে ভারত কী রকম আচরণ করে এটা দেখার জন্যই অপেক্ষা করছে। যদি ভারত তার কর্তব্য সম্পাদনে ব্যর্থ হয়, তাহলে ভারতের প্রতি এখনও তাদের যেটুকু আস্থার ভাব আছে, সেই ভাবটুকু একেবারেই কেটে যাবে এবং তারা আত্মরক্ষার জন্য অন্যান্য বৃহৎ শক্তির জন্য ঝুঁকি পড়বে।

অবশ্য ভারত সরকারও এসব বিষয়ে অবহিত। আন্তর্জাতিক শক্তিগুলির তথাকথিত চাপেই যে ভারত বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দানের পক্ষে চূড়ান্ত সিদ্ধান্ত নিতে ইতস্তত করছে তা-ও বলা যায় না। এ ব্যাপারে অন্যান্য শক্তির ওপর ভারত সত্যিই কোন দোষারোপ করতে পারে না। এক্ষেত্রে সিদ্ধান্তটা নেবার ভার ভারতকেই নিতে হবে- ঐ সব রাষ্ট্রকে নয়।

বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে জড়িয়ে পড়ার মত শক্ত নীতি গ্রহণের ক্ষেত্রে কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রিসভায় শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠতা নেই তা বলা যায় না। তাছাড়া, আজ কি একটি মাত্র ব্যক্তির হুকুমে, তাঁর নিজের শাসনেই, ভারত সরকার চলছে না? কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রিসভায় অন্যান্য মন্ত্রীদের অস্তিত্বটা তাঁর মর্জির উপরই নির্ভর করে। নিজেরই ইচ্ছামত প্রধানমন্ত্রী মন্ত্রিসভা গঠন করতে পারেন- ভাঙতেও পারেন।

ভারতের ঐক্যবদ্ধ জনমত হল, বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়া হোক- আর খোলাখুলিভাবে উপযুক্ত পরিমাণ সাহায্য দেওয়া হোক।

এ প্রশ্ন নিয়ে পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে যুদ্ধ বাধলে আমাদের সমর বিভাগের সেনাপতিরা যে বিরোধিতা করবে তা সত্য নয়। অবশ্য তাদের মধ্যে সকলেই খুব উৎসাহী নাও হতে পারেন। কিন্তু যুদ্ধ অথবা শান্তি যাই হোক না কেন, এসব বিষয়ে সিদ্ধান্ত নেন রাজনৈতিক কর্তৃপক্ষ, সমর বিভাগ নয়। রাজনৈতিক কর্তৃপক্ষের নির্দেশ মান্য করাই ও আদেশ পালন করাই সামরিক বিভাগের কাজ। সমর বিভাগের ওপর সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়ার ভার অর্পণ করলে, তারা সব সময় উপযুক্ত প্রস্তুতির অভাবের ছুতো দেখিয়ে যুদ্ধকে পরিহার করতে চাইবে। আর প্রস্তুতি



কথাটা সবসময়ই আপেক্ষিক অর্থে ব্যবহৃত হয়ে থাকে; প্রস্তুতি বলতে প্রকৃতপক্ষে যা বুঝায়, সে অর্থে এমনকি যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে, সোভিয়েট রাশিয়া এবং চীনের মত শক্তিও প্রস্তুত নয়। প্রস্তুতি পর্বের সীমা থাকে না; উপরন্তু যদি আমরা দেখি যে কোন ন্যায্য কারণের জন্য এবং ভারতের প্রতিরক্ষার জন্য যুদ্ধ করতে গিয়ে আমরা অপ্রস্তুত অবস্থায় আছি, তাহলে কেন বছর বছর আমাদের বাজেটে সমর বিভাগের জন্য ১১৫০ কোটি টাকা বরাদ্দ করি? আর বাস্তবিকই আমাদের সামরিক বিভাগ প্রধানমন্ত্রীর নির্দেশ পালনে অস্বীকৃত হয়নি।

এই ব্যাপারে কোন কিছু না করতে গেলে যে খরচ হবে তার পরিমাণ প্রত্যক্ষভাবে কিছু করতে গেলে, এমনকি একখন্ড সম্ভাব্য যুদ্ধ করতে হলেও তার চেয়ে বেশী হবে। বাংলাদেশ থেকে কমপক্ষে এক কোটির মত উদ্বাস্তুকে আশ্রয় দেওয়ার জন্য এখনই ভারতকে প্রস্তুত থাকতে হবে। এই উদ্বাস্তুদের মধ্যে বাঙ্গালী হিন্দুদের সংখ্যাই দাঁড়াবে ৯০ লক্ষের মত। বাংলাদেশে সত্যিকারের গণতান্ত্রিক ও ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ রাষ্ট্র স্থাপিত না হলে বাঙ্গালী হিন্দু উদ্বাস্তুরা কখনও দেশে ফিরে যাবে না। বাংলাদেশের উদ্বাস্তুদের জন্য মাথাপিছু ব্যয় দৈনিক দুটাকা করে ধরা হলে, ভারতকে তাদের জন্যে দৈনিক দু কোটি টাকা ব্যয় করতে হবে। ঐ উদ্বাস্তুদের ভরণ পোষণ ও পূর্ববাসনের বোঝা রাষ্ট্রসংঘ বহন করবে না এবং বহন করতে পারে না। একমাত্র প্যালেস্টাইনের উদ্বাস্তুদের ক্ষেত্রেই এর ব্যতিক্রম ঘটেছে। অবশ্য সেই ব্যতিক্রমও ঘটেছে, যুদ্ধের পর সন্ধির শর্ত পালনের বাধ্যবাধকতা হিসেবে। বাংলাদেশের ক্ষেত্রে সরকারীভাবে কোন যুদ্ধ ঘোষিত হয়নি- তাই সন্ধির শর্তের কোন প্রশ্নই এখানে নেই। কিছুকালের জন্য বিশ্ব সংস্থাগুলি কিছু সাহায্য দিতে পারে কিন্তু তারা নিশ্চয়ই উদ্বাস্তুদের জন্য দায়দায়িত্বের ভারগ্রহণ করবে না।

এসব উদ্বাস্তুরা ভারে ভারতের অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা ভেঙ্গে পড়বে। যদি ভারতে পূর্ব বাংলার সব বাঙ্গালী হিন্দুরাই চলে আসতে বাধ্য হয়, তাহলে সারা দেশে সাম্প্রদায়িক পরিস্থিতির মধ্যে বিরাট ওলট-পালট ঘটবে এবং পরিণামে ভারতেও ভীষণ সাম্প্রদায়িক রক্তবন্যা বইতে পারে। এর ফলে এ দেশের রাজনৈতিক ভারসাম্যও বিপর্যস্ত হবে- শেষ পর্যন্ত কেন্দ্রে বর্তমান মন্ত্রীসভার এবং ভারতের পূর্ব অঞ্চলের রাজ্যসমূহের মন্ত্রীসভাগুলির পতন ঘটবে। সে অবস্থায় পঞ্চবার্ষিকী পরিকল্পনার কাজ শিকিয়ে তুলে রাখতে হবে এবং উন্নয়নমূলক কাজগুলিকে বন্ধ রাখতে হবে। জনগণের নৈতিক মেরুদণ্ড দ্রুত ভেঙ্গে পড়বে। তখন ভারতের ভেতরই গড়ে উঠবে বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদী মনোভাব। আর, চূড়ান্ত পর্যায়ে ভারত যুদ্ধকেও এড়িয়ে যেতে পারবে না। আহ যদি যুদ্ধ হয়ই, তাহলে এ যুদ্ধের যে খরচা পড়বে তার চাইতে দশগুণ বেশী খরচা পড়বে ভবিষ্যতের যুদ্ধে- যে যুদ্ধ ঘটবে পাকিস্তানের ইচ্ছায় ও পাকিস্তানের সুবিধামত।

আমাদের এই উপমহাদেশের অগ্রগতির যাত্রাপথে বাংলাদেশ হল হারানো সূত্র। সাম্প্রদায়িকতার জগদ্বল পাথরে ধাক্কা খেয়ে ভারতকে তার আদর্শ থেকে সরে আসতে হয়েছে। পাকিস্তানবাদ এবং দ্বিজাতিতত্ত্বের সত্যিকারের জবাব হিসেবেই বাংলাদেশের অভ্যুদয় ঘটেছে। ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ, গণতান্ত্রিক এবং প্রগতিশীল ও ভারতের প্রতি বন্ধুভাবাপন্ন রাষ্ট্র হিসেবে বাংলাদেশের আবির্ভাব ঘটলে, এই উপমহাদেশ থেকে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা, বর্ণভেদ এবং সঙ্কীর্ণতাবাদের মত সব শক্তিগুলিই বিলীন হয়ে যাবে। বাংলাদেশ আমাদের সামনে এক বিরাট সুযোগ এনে দিয়েছে- যা হয়তো আগামী আর এক শতাব্দীর মধ্যে আবার আমরা পাব না।

ভারত বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিলে যদি পাকিস্তান ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা করে, তাহলে পাকিস্তান যে পূর্ব বাংলার কয়েক দিনের বেশী টিকে থাকতে পারবে না, তা সে ভালভাবেই জানে। কিন্তু এই ভীষণ সম্ভাবনা থাকা সত্ত্বেও পাকিস্তানের পক্ষে যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা ছাড়া আর কোন পথ নেই। কারণ, পাকিস্তানের জঙ্গী শাসকরা নিজেদের জনগণের হাত থেকে রেহাই পাওয়ার জন্য ভারতের কাছে পরাজয় বরণকেই শ্রেয় মনে করবে। পশ্চিমাঞ্চলেই চূড়ান্তভাবে যুদ্ধের নিষ্পত্তি হবে। এজন্য উত্তরাঞ্চল থেকে সৈন্যদের সরিয়ে আনার প্রয়োজন হবে না। পূর্বাঞ্চলে পাকবাহিনীকে উচ্ছেদ করা হলে, - যা কয়েকদিনের ব্যাপার মাত্র - আমরা স্বচ্ছন্দেই পূর্বাঞ্চল থেকে পশ্চিমফ্রন্টে শক্তি বৃদ্ধি করতে পারব। সম্ভবত এক মাসেরও অধিক কাল পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধে টিকে

থাকতে পারবে না। এ অবস্থায় পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান চূড়ান্ত পর্যায়ে ধসে যাবে। অথবা এমনও হতে পারে যে, ভারত বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়া সত্ত্বেও পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা নাও করতে পারে। বর্তমানে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানে যে উন্মোদনা দেখা দিয়েছে, তাতে বলা যায় যে, রাজনৈতিক সমস্যার সমাধানের জন্য গণতান্ত্রিক নির্বাচিত জনগণের প্রতিনিধিদের হাতেই পূর্ব বাংলাকে সমর্পণ করে যুদ্ধে পরাজয় বরণের মত দূরদর্শিতা বিজ্ঞতা পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের জঙ্গী শাসক গোষ্ঠীর মধ্যে নাও থাকতে পারে।

শত্রুপক্ষকে পিছন থেকে ব্যতিব্যস্ত করে শেষ করে দেওয়ার জন্য বাংলাদেশের জনগণকে গেরিলা দল সংগঠন করতে বলা হয়েছে। এ অনেকটা লম্বা-চওড়া নির্দেশ দেওয়ার মত ব্যাপার। এমনকি যদি তারা শেষ পর্যন্ত এরকম স্থায়ী শক্তি সংগঠন করতেও পারেন, তবুও ঐ শক্তিকে নির্দিষ্টরূপে দিতে কয়েক বছর কেটে যাবে। আর চীন ও রাশিয়া কারুর মতামতের অপেক্ষা না করে ভিয়েতনামকে যেমনভাবে বিপুল পরিমাণ সাহায্য দিয়েছিল এবং আজও দিচ্ছে, ঠিক তেমনভাবে যে কোন অবস্থার সম্মুখীন হওয়ার জন্য প্রস্তুত থেকে যদি ভারত বিপুল পরিমাণ সাহায্য দিতে অঙ্গীকারাবদ্ধ না হয়, তাহলে এ ধরনের গেরিলা শক্তির নেতৃত্ব ভারতের পক্ষে খুব সহায়ক হবে না। তাছাড়া, মুক্তিফৌজকে অত গোপনে ঐভাবে বিপুল পরিমাণ সাহায্য দেওয়া যাবে না। মুক্তিফৌজকে বিপুল পরিমাণ সাহায্য দেওয়ার জন্যও ভারতকে অবশ্যই সর্বপ্রথমে বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিতে হবে।

উপরন্তু ভারত বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি না দেওয়া পর্যন্ত বাংলাদেশের জনসাধারণের মধ্যে নিজেদের সম্পর্কে এবং বাংলাদেশ সরকার সম্পর্কে আত্মবিশ্বাসের ভাব বজায় থাকবে না। বাংলাদেশের জনগণকে অস্ত্রশস্ত্র দিয়ে সুসজ্জিত করার আগে তাদের নৈতিক ও রাজনৈতিক দিক দিয়ে শক্তিমান করে দিতে হবে। নৈতিক মানদণ্ডহীন জাতিকে যতই অস্ত্র দেওয়া হোক না কেন, কোনদিনই ঐ জাতি অস্ত্র ব্যবহার করতে পারবে না।

ভারতের মতো উপমহাদেশে নেতা হবেন সুমহান, আর তার রাজনৈতিক দূরদর্শিতার মধ্যে থাকবে যুগপৎ দূরদৃষ্টি ও শক্তি। এই দেশকে শাসনের ভার ক্ষুদ্রে শ্রেণীর রাজনৈতিকদের হাতে দেওয়া যায় না। মহান দেশরূপে যদি ভারত পরিগণিত হয়, তাহলে তাকে বর্তমান পরিস্থিতি অনুযায়ী দায়িত্বভার বহন করতেই হবে। এ বিষয়ে ইতস্তত করলে চলবে না। এই জাতিকে তার লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছিয়ে দেওয়ার জন্য সুমহান কাজও সুদৃঢ় প্রতিজ্ঞার প্রয়োজন। কেবলমাত্র সুমহান কাজ ও সুদৃঢ় প্রতিজ্ঞাই সমগ্র জাতিকে উদ্ধুদ্ধ করতে পারে। তাহলেই এ দেশ এক বিরাট শক্তিতে পরিণত হবে এবং সকলের সম্মানের পাত্র ও শ্রদ্ধার পাত্র হয়ে দাঁড়াবে। ভারতের সামনে যে দায়িত্ব উপস্থিত, তা যদি সে এড়িয়ে যেতে চায়, তাহলে তার ধ্বংস অনিবার্য ও নিশ্চিত।

সম্পাদকীয়, কম্পাস : ২৯শে মে, ১৯৭১

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০৪। বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে ভারতের ভূমিকা	কম্পাস	২৯ মে, ১৯৭১

## বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে ভারতের ভূমিকা সুদিন ভট্টাচার্য

আপাতঃ দৃষ্টিতে মনে হয় ইয়াহিয়া খাঁ বোধ হয় যা চেয়েছিলেন তাই হতে চলেছে। পূর্ব বাংলার প্রায় এক কোটি হিন্দু এবং কয়েক লক্ষ শিক্ষিত সংস্কৃতিবান মুসলমান সে দেশ থেকে বিতাড়িত হয়ে ভারতের আশ্রয় নেওয়ার পথে। এর ফলে সুচতুর রাজনীতিবিদ ভুট্টোর আশা পূর্ণ হবে- বাঙ্গালীরা পাকিস্তানে সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের পরিণত হবে। তার প্রতিক্রিয়া হবে সুদূরপ্রসারী। পূর্ব বাংলায় গণবিপ্লবের সময় পাকিস্তান সরকার যেমন মাসাধিকতাল ধরে গড়ে দৈনিক ১ কোটি টাকা সামরিক ব্যয় করতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন এবং প্রায় ৭০ কোটি টাকার মত বৈদেশিক মুদ্রা রোজগার করতে অক্ষম হয়েছেন তেমনি ভারতকেও প্রতিদিন আশ্রয়প্রার্থীদের ভরণপোষণের জন্য একই প্রকার অর্থ ব্যয় করতে হবে তা ছাড়া সামাজিক এবং রাজনৈতিক কুফল তো আছেই।

কিন্তু কেন এমন হতে চলেছে? আওয়ামী লীগ নেতৃত্বের ব্যর্থতা? পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের অসাধারণ উন্নতমানের অস্ত্রাদি এবং দক্ষতা? না ভারতের ব্যর্থতা? এই তিনটি বিষয় একে একে আলোচনা করা যাক-

(১) আওয়ামী লীগ খুব বেশী দিনের দল নয়। নেতৃত্বও তরুণ। এর সুবিধা ও অসুবিধা দুইই আছে। অহিংস সংগ্রামের অভ্যস্ত নেতৃত্ব হিংস সংগ্রামের প্রস্তুতি চালাতে স্বভাবতঃই অক্ষম হয়েছিলেন। দ্বিতীয়ত : এঁদের সমর্থকদের একাংশ, ছাত্ররা আদর্শনিষ্ঠ এবং সাম্প্রদায়িকতার উর্ধ্বে থাকলেও দূর গ্রামাঞ্চলে তাদের প্রভাব ততটা কার্যকর হয়নি। সেখানে এখনও লীগ যুগের ধর্মান্তার রেশ কম বেশী রয়ে গিয়েছে। ইয়াহিয়া চক্র এই সুযোগ কাজে লাগিয়েছেন। তৃতীয়তঃ শেখ মুজিবের ব্যক্তিত্ব এবং নেতৃত্ব ছিল এই দলের সবচেয়ে বড় ভরসা। ২৫শে মার্চ রাতে মুজিবর রহমান পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের হাতে গ্রেফতার হওয়ায় তার দল অনেক পরিমাণে দিশাহারা হয়ে পড়ে। সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম সম্পর্কে লীগের নেতৃবৃন্দের বিন্দুমাত্র ধারণা থাকলে তারা বিদ্রোহ করার জন্য ২৫শে মার্চ পর্যন্ত অপেক্ষা করতেন না এবং সৈন্যদের হতো পুলিশ ও ইপিআরকে নিরস্ত্র এবং প্রায় নিশ্চিহ্ন হতে দিতেন না এবং প্রথম দিনেই তারা ঢাকা বিমানঘাঁটি দখল করবার চেষ্টা করতেন।

(২) পাকিস্তান মোটামুটি শক্তিশালী দেশ। ‘টাইম’ পত্রিকার তথ্য যদি ঠিক হয় তাকে বুঝতে হবে যে দেশের ঐ সৈন্যদলে প্রতি ১০০ জনের মধ্যে মাত্র একজন পূর্ব বাংলার মানুষ। মাত্র ৫/৬ ব্যাটেলিয়ন সৈন্য পূর্ব বাংলা- তার মধ্যেও বহু অবাস্তব সৈন্য ও অফিসার ছিল। এর মধ্যেও অর্ধেক ছিল পশ্চিম অংশে। সুতরাং বিদ্রোহের দিনে মাত্র হাজারখানেক সামরিক শিক্ষিত বাঙ্গালী পূর্ব বাংলায় উপস্থিত ছিলেন ইপিআর প্রকৃতপক্ষে সীমান্ত পুলিশ। এদের অল্প সংখ্যক স্টেন, এলএমজি ২" ও ৩" মর্টার ছিল। কিন্তু সামরিক শিক্ষার মানের দিক দিয়ে এরা খুব পশ্চাৎপদ। আনসারদের অস্ত্রশস্ত্র খুব কমই ছিল, সামরিক শিক্ষার মানও ছিল শোচনীয়। শুধুমাত্র আওয়ামী লীগের প্রতি আনুগত্য ও স্বদেশ প্রেমের দ্বারা তো যুদ্ধ করা যায় না- বিশেষতঃ পূর্ব বাংলার খোলামাঠে এবং গ্রীষ্মকালের ফসলহীন ক্ষেতের উপর যুদ্ধ হলে জিতবার কোন আশাই থাকে না আধুনিক সৈন্য বাহিনীর বিরুদ্ধে।

পাকিস্তানের সামরিক শক্তি “স্টেটসম্যান” -এর হিরনায় কার্লেকার মহাশয় যা দিয়েছেন ততটা নয়- “ইনস্টিটিউট অব স্ট্রাটেজিক স্টাডিজ” -এর মতে তার চেয়ে অনেক কম। নিয়মিত সৈন্য প্রায় ২ লক্ষ ৭০ হাজার,

কাশ্মীরের আধাসৈন্য প্রায় ৩০ হাজার। এছাড়া আছে স্কাউট, রেঞ্জার ইত্যাদি অনিয়মিত কিন্তু মোটামুটি দক্ষ সৈন্য আর ৪০/৫০ হাজারের মত। অস্ত্রশস্ত্রে ঐ ২৭০০০০ সৈন্য বেশ আধুনিক, বাকীরা সেকেলে। মার্কিন বদান্যতায় পাওয়া এবং ১৯৬৫'র ক্ষয়ক্ষতি থেকে রেহাই পাওয়া ৪০০ মাঝারি ট্যাঙ্ক এবং রাশিয়া ও চীন থেকে পাওয়া ৩০০-এর মত মাঝারি ট্যাঙ্ক আছে। হাঙ্কা ট্যাঙ্ক (মার্কিন ও চীনা) এবং উভচর ট্যাঙ্ক (রাশিয়ান পিটি-৭৬) মিলেও আরও ২০০-এর মত হতে পারে। কামান বেশীর ভাগই পুরানো ২৫ পাউন্ডার হলেও অল্পসংখ্যক মার্কিন ও রুশ খুব ভারী কামান ও ভালোজাতের চীনা মর্টার ও রকেটও আছে। পূর্ব বাংলায় কিন্তু এই বাহিনীর সাত ভাগের এক ভাগও ছিল না ২৫শে মার্চ। এবং তার পরের একমাসে- বিদেশীদের মতে আরও ১০/১২ হাজার সৈন্য আমদানি করা হয় জাহাজ ও বিমান পথে। আর ছিল ২০/২২ খানার মত পুরাতন স্যাবর জেট বিমান। অল্পসংখ্যক হেলিকপ্টার, 'গানশিপ' ও ছিল পূর্ব বাংলায়।

আওয়ামী লীগের “রেগ-টেগ সার্কাস” -এর তুলনায় ৩০/৪০ হাজার নিয়মিত সৈন্য এবং তাছাড়া ৪০ শতাংশ লেজুড় যথেষ্ট শক্তিশালী এ কথা বলাই বাহুল্য। ইপিআর- এর কোন রণসম্প্রদায় এই বাহিনীর বা স্যাবর জেটগুলির মোকাবিলা করবার পক্ষে উপযুক্ত নয়। সুতরাং ফল যা হওয়ার হয়েছে।

(৩) ভারতের শোচনীয় ব্যর্থতার ইতিহাস বড়ই করুণ। এমন সুবর্ণ সুযোগ যে দেশ গ্রহণ করতে না পারে সে দেশের নেতৃত্ব ক্ষমার অযোগ্য। পাকিস্তান ভারতের শত্রুদেশ। ১৯৬৫ সালের পর থেকেই দুই দেশের মধ্যে ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্য বন্ধ, কোন প্রকার কূটনৈতিক সৌজন্যে প্রদর্শনও হয় না। পাকিস্তানের একমাত্র কাম্য হল ভারতের সর্বনাশ হোক। যেনতেন প্রকারে ভারত সামরিক ও আর্থিক দিক দিয়ে দুর্বল হোক। নাগা মিজো তামিলরা বলুক যে আমরা ভারতের মধ্যে থাকবো না। চীন ও ভারত এশিয়ার এই দুইটি প্রধান শক্তি পরস্পর শত্রুতার মধ্যে কালযাপন করুক- পাকিস্তান এই চায়। তার বিনিময়ে ভারত ক্রমাগত চাইছে যে, পাকিস্তান আমাদের সঙ্গে ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্য করুক। ভদ্র আচরণ করুক ইত্যাদি। এর চেয়ে হাস্যকর মূর্খতা আর কি হতে পারে। জার্মানীর মদগবী প্রাশিয়ান জাঙ্কারদের মত সৌর্যবীর্যবাহী পাঞ্জাবী আফ্রিদি বেলুচরাও ভাবে যে ভারত আমাদের কি ক্ষতি করতে? আমাদের সহায় চীন, তুরস্ক, ইরান, সৌদি আরব এবং লিবিয়া- এই শ্রেণীভুক্ত দেশ দু'টি তেল বিক্রির টাকার একটা বড় অংশ যেমন ইসরাইলীদের বিরোধী আরবরা পাচ্ছে তেমন এর একটা উল্লেখযোগ্য অংশ পাচ্ছে হিন্দু বিরোধীরা ভূমিকায় পাকিস্তান। সামরিক শক্তির দিক থেকে একমাত্র চীন শক্তিমান। তুরস্ক ও ইরানের কিছু আধুনিক রণসম্প্রদায় আছে কিন্তু সাহায্য দেওয়ার মত কিছু না। স্টেইটম্যান (১২ মে) এ কুলদীপ নায়ার লিখেছেন যে ইরান ও তুরস্ক পাকিস্তানকে এফ-৫ এবং এফ-৮২ বিমান দিয়েছে। অদ্ভুত কথা। ঐ এফ-৫ মার্কিনরা ১৯৬২ সালে ভারতকে দিতে চেয়েছিল। ভারত নিতে রাজী হয়নি। মাক্কাতার আমলের এফ-৮২ (না ছাপার ভুল- এফ-৮৬?) কি করবে। ভারতে প্রায় ৩-৪ শত মিং-২১ ও এস-২২ যাদের গতিবেগ উপরোক্ত বিমানদ্বয়ের গতিবেগের দ্বিগুণ- তাদের সামনে ২০/২৫ খান ঐ বিমান কি করবে? ইরানে খান কয়েক ফ্যান্টম (এফ-৪ এফ) আছে কিন্তু ঐ কখনোই বা কি হবে। কিন্তু ভবিষ্যতে ভারতের এই বর্তমান সুবিধা নাও থাকতে পারে। সুতরাং এমন সুবর্ণ সুযোগ ভারতের হারানো উচিত নয় এবং শেষ পর্যন্ত কুলদীপ নায়ারও অবশ্য বলেছেন- “ইন্ডিয়া কেন স্টিল ইসু এন আলটিমেটম টু পাকিস্তান টুন স্টপ দি ইনফ্যান্স অফ রিফিউজীস অর ফেছ দি কস্‌কুইনসেস”।

নীচে এশিয়ার কয়েকটি দেশের সৈন্য ও বিমানের সংখ্যা দেওয়া গেল- চীন (১) নিয়মিত সৈন্য ২৫ লক্ষ, ৬টি আর্মার্ড ডিভিশন, ৪০০০ ট্যাঙ্ক (২) ২৫০০ যুদ্ধবিমান- অধিকাংশ মীগ- ১৭ ও ১৯, সামান্য সংখ্যক ২১ এবং ৩০০ ইলিউসিন-২৮ (ক্যানবেরার চেয়ে মধুরগতি এবং কম উচ্চে উড়তে পারে)।

ভারত- (১) নিয়মিত সৈন্য ১০ লক্ষ, ৩ আর্মার্ড ডিভিশন বা সমসংখ্যক ব্রিগেড ও রেজিমেন্ট, ১০০০ মাঝারি ও ৪০০ হাঙ্কা ট্যাঙ্ক (২) প্রায় ৭০০০ যুদ্ধ বিমান- এক তৃতীয়াংশ শব্দের দ্বিগুণ গতিবেগ সম্পন্ন, ৭০ বোমারু। ৪০০০ কামান।

পাকিস্তান- (১) নিয়মিত সৈন্য প্রায় ৩ লক্ষ, ২ আর্মার্ড ডিভিশন, ৭০০ মাঝারি, ১০০ হালকাআ ট্যাঙ্ক (২) প্রায় ৩০০ যুদ্ধ বিমান- মাত্র ৩০ টি শব্দের দ্বিগুণ গতিবেগ সম্পন্ন (মীরাজ)। ১০০০ কামান।

তুরস্কের শক্তি পাকিস্তানের চেয়ে একটু বেশী এবং ইরানের শক্তি বহুগুণ কম। সৌদি আরবের ২৫ খানা শব্দের দ্বিগুণ অধিক গতিবেগ সম্পন্ন লাইটনিং বিমান আছে। যেহেতু চীন সম্ভাবিত কোন যুদ্ধে জড়িয়ে পড়বার কোন সম্ভাবনাই নেই বলা চলে, কারণ তাকে রাশিয়া ও আমেরিকার মোকাবিলা করতে হয় এবং ভারতের সঙ্গে যুদ্ধ করা তার নীতিও নয়। তখন পাকিস্তান কোন সাহসে ভারতের সঙ্গে লড়তে চায়? পাঞ্জাবী মিলিটারী অভিজাত্যের দর্প চূর্ণ করার এবং তথাকথিত আজাদ কাশ্মীর পুনরুদ্ধার করবার, চিরকালের মত নাগামিজো সমস্যার সমাধান করবার মত এমন সুযোগ আর কখনু আসবে না। কারণ এখন পাকিস্তানের মাত্র ৮ ডিভিশন সৈন্য পশ্চিমে আর চার ডিভিশন পূর্ব দিকে। সুবর্ণ সুযোগ।

আর ভারত আজ যদি ভয় পেয়ে পিছিয়ে যায়- বসন্তঃ ভয় পেয়ে অকারণে ভারত পিছিয়েই গেছে- তবে ইতিহাস তার জন্য ক্ষমা করবে না। প্রায় এক কোটি নবাগতের ভরণ পোষণের ব্যবস্থা করতে তাকে দেউলিয়া হতে হবে এবং কেউ তাকে এ বিষয়ে সাহায্য করতে আসবে না। কারণ মার্কিনরা জানে রুশরাও জানে ভারতকে এখন সাহায্য করার অর্থ হল এশিয়াতে আর একটি “চীনের” সৃষ্টি করা। তার চেয়ে সামরিক ভারসাম্যের নিষ্ফল ধোঁকাবাজি চলতে থাকুক। মরুক ভারত আশ্রয় প্রার্থী সমুদ্রে হাবুডুবু খেয়ে।

বলতে বাধা নেই যে সাম্প্রতিক সাধারণ নির্বাচনে বিপুল সংখ্যাধিক্যে জয়লাভ করায় ইন্দিরাজীর প্রতি অনেক বিরূপ জনেরও একটু শ্রদ্ধার ভাব উদয় হচ্ছিল। পূর্ব বাংলার প্রতি আচরণের অপ্রতুলতায়, ব্যর্থতায় আজ তারা সকলেই ক্ষুব্ধ হয়েছেন এ কথা বলাই বাহুল্য। এর ফলে ভারতের রাজনীতি এই কষ্টার্জিত স্থিতিশীলতা আর বেশিদিন স্থায়ী হবে বলে মনে হয় না। কার্যকালে যার বল কার্যকর নয় এমন মানুষ কখনও কারো শ্রদ্ধার পাত্র হতে পারে না। বাংলা দেশের ভবিষ্যৎ নির্মাণে ভারতের ব্যর্থতা সত্যিই বেদনাদায়ক। পাকিস্তানী জঙ্গীবাদের জয় হলে এশিয়া ভূখণ্ডে গুরুতর বিপর্যয় ঘটতে পারে। এবং তার জন্য ভারতের দায়িত্ব হবে পাকিস্তানের চেয়ে কম নয়।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০৫। লোকসভায় কমিউনিষ্ট সদস্যদের পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনার সম্পর্কে ভারতের আচরণের নিন্দা	কালান্তর	১ জুন, ১৯৭১

## লোকসভায় কমিউনিষ্ট সদস্যদের পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনার সম্পর্কে ভারতের আচরণের নিন্দা

(বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি)

নয়াদিল্লী, ৩১ মে- আজ লোকসভায় কমিউনিষ্ট সদস্য এস কে ভেলায়ুধন কলকাতায় পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনার মেহদী মাসুদের প্রতি ভারত সরকারের আচরণের তীব্র নিন্দা করলে বৈদেশিক দপ্তরের মন্ত্রী শরণ সিং-এর পক্ষে সভাকে শান্ত করা মুশ্কিল হয়ে পড়ে।

ক্ষুদ্র ভেলায়ুধন জানতে চান পাকিস্তান সরকার যখন ঢাকার ভারতীয় দূতাবাসের কর্মকর্তাদের অন্তরীণ করে তখন তার প্রতিশোধাত্মক ব্যবস্থা হিসেবে ভারত সরকার কলকাতার পাক ডেপুটি হাই কমিশনারকে কেন অন্তরীণ করেননি?

সরকারকে এই আচরণকে কাপুরুষোচিত আখ্যা দিয়ে তিনি বাংলাদেশ মিশনের সদস্যদের সঙ্গে পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনারের সাক্ষাতের অনুমতি দানের তীব্র নিন্দা করেন।

জবাবে বৈদেশিক দপ্তরের মন্ত্রী স্বীকার করেন যে মেহদী মাসুদ কলকাতার পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশন দপ্তরের প্রাক্তন কর্মীদের সঙ্গে সাক্ষাতের সুযোগ লাভের দাবি করেছিলেন। কিন্তু তিনি জানেন না যে মেহদী ঐ সব কর্মী যারা বর্তমানে বাংলাদেশের প্রতি তাদের আনুগত্য পরিবর্তন করেছেন তাদের বাড়ি বাড়ি দেখা করার জন্য গেছেন।

পাক ডেপুটি কমিশনারের প্রতি সদয় ব্যবহার করার কারণ স্বরূপ শ্রী শরণ সিং বলেন ভারত সরকারের প্রধান লক্ষ ছিল ঢাকা থেকে ভারতীয় দূতাবাসের কর্মীদের বের করে আনা।

অনুরূপ কারণেই ইন্দিরা কংগ্রেস সদস্য এল কে দাশ চৌধুরী মাসুদকে বহিষ্কার করার দাবি প্রত্যাখ্যান করেন। তিনি যুক্তি হিসেবে আর বলেন, যদিও মাসুদ পাক ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনের কূটনৈতিক সদস্য নন কেন না কলকাতায় ঐ দপ্তরের বর্তমান অস্তিত্ব নেই তবুও ভারত সরকার জেনেভা কনভেনশন অনুযায়ী কিছু সুযোগ সুবিধা দিতে বাধ্য।

ভেলায়ুধনের আর এক প্রশ্নের জবাবে শ্রী শরণ সিং জানান যে, ঢাকায় ভারতীয় দূতাবাসের কর্মীদের ফিরিয়ে আনার জন্য ভারত সরকার পাকিস্তান সরকারের সঙ্গে অনবরত যোগাযোগ করছেন। এই বিষয়ে ভারত সরকার উভয় দেশে বহু স্থানীয় রাষ্ট্রের দিল্লীস্থ দূতাবাসের সঙ্গেও যোগাযোগ করছেন।

লোকসভায় কমিউনিষ্ট দলের নেতা ইন্দ্রজিত গুপ্ত বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি আন্দোলনের সম্পর্কে প্রকৃত সংবাদ বিদেশের সরকারগুলিকে কি রকম ওয়াকিবহাল রাখছেন তার নির্দিষ্ট জবাব দাবি করেন।

জবাবে বৈদেশিক দপ্তরের রাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী সুরেন্দ্র পাল সিং জানান ভারতে প্রতিনিধিরা সংশ্লিষ্ট সরকারগুলিকে বাংলাদেশের খবরাখবর দিয়েছেন। তাছাড়া এ দেশে যেসব বিদেশী দূতাবাস আছে সরকার তাদের কাছেও বিভিন্ন সময়ে এ বিষয়ে জানিয়েছেন।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

বিদেশী রাষ্ট্রগুলির এবং জাতিসংঘ সম্পাদকের দৃষ্টি বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে সংসদের প্রস্তাব এবং প্রধানমন্ত্রীর বক্তৃতার প্রতি আকর্ষণ করা হয়েছে।

এই কূটনৈতিক কার্যকলাপের ফলে বেশ কয়েকটি সরকার মানবতার খাতিরে বাংলাদেশের জনসাধারণের জন্য সেবামূলক কাজের প্রতি উৎসাহ প্রকাশ করেছে। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি আন্দোলন সম্পর্কে অধিকাংশ সরকারই কোন নির্দিষ্ট নীতি গ্রহণ করেনি।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০৬। বাংলাদেশে পাক ফৌজী বর্বরতা অবিশ্বাস্য কিন্তু সন্দেহাতীত	কালান্তর	১ জুন, ১৯৭১

## বাংলাদেশে পাক ফৌজী বর্বরতা অবিশ্বাস্য কিন্তু সন্দেহাতীত (স্টাফ রিপোর্টার)

কলকাতা, ৩০শে মে, ‘ওয়ার অন ওয়ার্ট’ -এর সভাপতি মিঃ ডোনাল্ড চেসওঅর্থ এবং ব্রিটিশ পার্লামেন্টের সদস্য মিঃ এম বার্নেস বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত শরণার্থীদের শিবির পরিদর্শনের পর আজ এখানে এক সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে বলেন, পূর্ব বাংলায় পাকিস্তানী ফৌজের বর্বরতা ও হত্যাকাণ্ড সম্পর্কে সন্দেহের কোনও কারণ নেই এবং পাকিস্তানকে যেসব দেশ অস্ত্র ও অন্যান্য সাহায্য দিয়েছে, তাঁদের দায়িত্ব রয়েছে পাকিস্তানের উপর প্রয়োজনীয় চাপ সৃষ্টি করার - যাতে পূর্ব বাংলা থেকে সৈন্য প্রত্যাহত হয় এবং সেখানকার প্রশ্নের একটা প্রকৃত গণতান্ত্রিক মীমাংসা সম্ভব হয়।

মিঃ বার্নেস বলেন, যদি ধরা যাক ৬ মাস পরেও এই সমস্যা অসমাপ্ত থাকে, মুক্তিফৌজের সঙ্গে পাকফৌজের সংঘর্ষ এবং শরণার্থীদের আগমণ অব্যাহত থাকে, তাহলে ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের মধ্যে উত্তেজনা বাড়বে এবং তাতে একটা গুরুতর পরিস্থিতির উদ্ভব হতে পারে। বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান ট্রাজেডির সমাধানের একটা উপায় বিশ্বের রাষ্ট্রগুলিকে অবশ্যই বার করতে হবে।

যে সব দেশ পাকিস্তানকে অস্ত্র ও অন্যান্য সাহায্য দিয়েছে, এই ব্যাপারে তাদের দায়িত্বের কথা উল্লেখ করে মিঃ বার্নেস বলেন, পাকিস্তানের সমস্ত নাগরিকের উন্নয়ন ও প্রতিরক্ষার জন্য যে সাহায্য ও অস্ত্র দেওয়া হয়েছিল, পাকিস্তান সরকার তাকে ঐ দেশের অধিবাসীদের এক অংশের বিরুদ্ধে ব্যবহার করেছে। কোনও দেশ এবং পাকিস্তান যাতে সাহায্যের এহেন অপব্যবহার না করতে পারে, তার জন্য পাকিস্তানকে উন্নয়নমূলক সাহায্য ও অস্ত্র সাহায্যদানকারী দেশগুলির এক্ষেত্রে বসে একটা উপায় বার করা উচিত। তিনি জানান।

“এইড কনসোর্টিয়াম” (সাহায্যদানকারী রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ) আগামী জুলাই মাসে বৈঠকে মিলিত হয়ে এ বিষয়ে তাদের ইতিকর্তব্য স্থির করবে।

মিঃ ডোনাল্ড চেসওঅর্থ জানান যে, গত বছর পূর্ববঙ্গে ঘূর্ণিঝড়ে দুর্গত মানুষের সাহায্যের জন্য তাদের বেসরকারী সাহায্য সংস্থা ১৫ লক্ষ পাউন্ড সংগ্রহ করে যার অধিকাংশই ব্যয়িত হয়নি। তারা এখন মনে করেন, ঐ টাকার একটা অংশ পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে ভারতে আগত শরণার্থীদের জন্য ব্যয়িত হওয়া উচিত। কিন্তু ঐ টাকা যেহেতু ঘূর্ণিঝড়ে সাহায্যার্থে সংগৃহীত হয়েছিল, সেই হেতু শরণার্থীদের জন্য এ টাকা ব্যয় করায় আইনগত জটিলতা আছে। তাঁদের এখানে আসবার অন্যতম প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য ছিল, শরণার্থীদের মধ্যে পূর্ব বাংলার ঘূর্ণিঝড়ে দুর্গত মানুষ আছে কিনা তা নির্ধারণ করা। তাঁরা পশ্চিমবঙ্গ, আসাম ও ত্রিপুরায় শরণার্থীদের তিনি বলেন, পূর্ব বাংলায় যা হচ্ছে, তা এমনি অবিশ্বাস্য ও অবর্ণনীয় যে, দেশে ফিরে গিয়ে ইংল্যান্ডের মানুষকে একথা বুঝানো তাঁর পক্ষে কঠিন হবে যে, তিনি বাংলাদেশের ঘটনা সম্পর্কে যা বলছেন, তা অতিরঞ্জিত নয়।

তিনি আশঙ্কা প্রকাশ করেন যে, ওপার বাংলায় এক ব্যাপক দুর্ভিক্ষ দেখা দিতে পারে, যা হয়তো আকারে ১৩৫০ সালের দুর্ভিক্ষের মতোই ভয়াবহ হবে। ওখানে যা ঘটছে তা যে শান্তির পক্ষে বিপজ্জনক তাই নয়, সমস্যার আকার এতো বড়ো যে, বাইরে থেকে তা অনুমান করা কঠিন। সমস্যার এই ব্যাপ্তি সঠিকভাবে উপলব্ধি করার জন্য ব্রিটেনের বর্হিদৈশীয় উন্নয়ন দপ্তরের মন্ত্রীকে তিনি এখানে এসে অবস্থা দেখে যাবার প্রস্তাব করবেন বলে জানান।

তিনি বলেন, ব্রিটেন বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে ১০ লক্ষ পাউন্ড সাহায্য দেবার কথা ঘোষণা করেছে। কিন্তু সমস্যার ব্যাপ্তি এবং ব্রিটেনের মতো একটি শিল্পোন্নত দেশের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে এই সাহায্য কমপক্ষে এক কোটি পাউন্ড হওয়া উচিত।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০৭। ভাসানী রাজনৈতিক সমাদানের সম্ভাবনা নাকচ করেছেন	অমৃতবাজার পত্রিকা	১৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JUNE 1, 1971*

# **BHASANI RULES OUT A POLITICAL SOLUTION**

*By Special Representative*

The National Awami Party leader, Maulana Bhasani, on Monday ruled out the possibility of arriving at a political settlement of the Bangladesh issue. He did so almost in identical terms as the Awami League leaders had done a few days ago. There might be setbacks. But our fight against Pakistan would continue, if necessary for a hundred years. Either we win or die" he added.

Talking to reporters somewhere in Bangladesh the Maulana said even if attempts were made for a political settlement either by someone in Bangladesh or abroad the 75 million people of Bangladesh would reject it outright. The reason was that the people had lost their faith in the Pakistan Government, more so after its recent atrocities perpetrated on the people of Bangladesh which was something unheard of in human history.

However, he would not mind a referendum being held under the U.N. auspices to ascertain the wishes of the people of Bangladesh. He was sure that not even one per cent of the people would vote against independence. This could also give the lie to the Pakistani propaganda that the present Bangladesh freedom movement was sponsored by India. Why do not countries like the USA, USSR, Britain or China which were friendly to Pakistan send out their journalists to make an independent study of the Army atrocities?

For long popularly known as a friend of China the Maulana was asked if he proposed to visit countries like China or Russia to enlist support for the Bangladesh cause. His reply was clear and specific. If, he said, they had not been prompted yet to discharge their moral responsibility in regard to the Bangladesh situation, he had doubts if his visits would achieve any useful purpose. He was sorry that except for India, no other country be it socialist or imperialist had taken any note of their plight.

## **advice to party men**

The Maulana said that he had advised his party men and all Leftist forces in Bangladesh to form all-party "action committees" in villages to mobilize people for the protracted struggle against Pakistan. One of the tasks before these committees would be to urge people not to pay taxes to the Pakistan Government. The second most important task would be to counter anti-Indian propaganda by the Pakistani Army.

However, after his bitter experience of multi-party coalitions or platforms since the days of partition Maulana Bhasani pointed out he would not advocate the formation of anything like a national liberation front or a national government at this stage; more so because of his awareness of the possibility of quarrels over leadership.

But his more serious point of concern appeared to be not to weaken in any way what was being done by the people of Bangladesh. In this respect the Awami League or any other leadership was acceptable to him. Nothing should be done to provide an opportunity to the Pakistan Government to divide and rule the people of Bangladesh.

The Maulana would not give a direct reply to the question" as to whether he felt that a protracted struggle for the freedom of Bangladesh might give the extremists an opportunity to seize leadership. But his comments in this context, like "a tiger never forgets the taste of human blood", "there are 1.3 million" educated unemployed in Bangladesh and "possession of arms transforms a man's attitude and behavior" were eloquent.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০৮। বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে বিশ্বের হস্তক্ষেপ চাই	অতৃতবাজার পত্রিকা	২ জুন, ১৯৭১

*AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA JUNE 2, 1971*

**'GET WORLD INVOLVED IN BANGLADESH'**

**Dinesh Singh M.P.**

*( Former Minister of External Affairs)*

The heroic struggle of the people of Bangladesh has to be seen in the context of the developments in the Indian sub-continent. The elections in India, Pakistan and also Ceylon have established beyond doubt the people's choice in favour of democracy, change and stability. In selecting their leaders and parties people have, unmistakably, expressed their desire for rule by the people even in the face of military domination. They have equally opted for rapid transformation of their societies peacefully and have given their over-whelming support to those who they thought would be able to realize their aspirations.

It was against this background that India lent full support to the Government of Ceylon, when it felt that an attempt was being made to thwart the expressed will of the people. Therefore it was only natural that when a similar situation was created in Pakistan, India should have taken the same stand. Our Parliament's pledge to extend sympathy and support to Bangladesh was based on the same considerations. The will of the people had to be respected. A society governed by democracy has no other option. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's bold statement in the Lok Sabha on May 24, 1971 was a continuation of the sympathy and support resolved by Parliament and it should be welcomed.

Bangladesh is, therefore, not an exercise in isolation but a manifestation of the aspirations of the people living in this part of the world. It is a reflection of the struggle of the people of Pakistan to throw off the yoke of military domination. It is a movement for the establishment of democracy and fundamental human rights. This is clear from the results of the elections held in Pakistan not long ago under the martial law administration. Out of 313 seats in the National Assembly (169 in East and 144 in West Pakistan). Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League and its supporters were expected to command the allegiance of 702 members. A clear majority in the Assembly.

Their six-point plan was certainly not a recipe for secession either. Why should a majority want to break away from the minority? And President Yahya Khan had acknowledged Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the future Prime Minister of Pakistan. Besides, in the six-point programme presented by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman a Federation of Pakistan was the first point. It was the sudden, unwarranted and ruthless attack by the West Pakistani armed forces in Bangladesh against defenseless civilians that split Pakistan.

### Upsurge

Therefore, it is a case of the upsurge of the people of Pakistan against military dictatorship established by colonialist intrigue. It is a question of our lending support not to a secessionist move as Pakistan is trying to make out. but to the upsurge of the people of Pakistan to establish a democratic society.

This has been our traditional approach in foreign affairs. Should we not extend help to those across our borders when they are fighting for the same values we have supported in international forums? when we raise our voice against apartheid in South Africa. When we support armed intervention against the minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, when we press for the liberation of peoples under Portuguese domination, can we be mute spectators to the unprecedented atrocities across our borders? Can we shut our eyes to the ruthless repression, the wanton killings in Bangladesh? Are they not entitled to fundamental human rights? Will not millions of refugees come to India if this carnage is not stopped? Should we not help them? Never since independence have our national interests and our ideals converged so closely as they have done in Bangladesh.

We have the refugees now. Four million today; seven million tomorrow and ten million the day after. Nobody knows how many will come; how much we shall have to spend on them; and for how long.

How can this be Pakistan's internal affair? When large numbers of people are forced out of a country's borders into another country it is no longer an internal affair. It is a form of aggression, occupation of the territory of another country. If people can be forced out of a country into another without firing a shot to ease economic pressures and to find solutions to political problems, why go to war? Pakistan cannot be permitted to balance the problem of numbers between East and West Pakistan this way. Bangladesh is an international issue today. A case of genocide, trampling of fundamental human rights and the violation of the frontiers of a neighbouring country.

But we are losing time. We have already missed the critical first three weeks in the euphoria (that got built up. It should have been assessed that Pakistani repression would send a flood of refugees to India. If we could have assisted the Mukti Fauz to consolidate its position in the liberated areas, the refugees may not have been forced to come to India. And, even if they had come to India, they could have been sent to the liberated areas. The Government of Bangladesh could have sought international support and the pressure would have been on Pakistan to settle the matter. The pressure today is on us. There are no refugees in Pakistan.

### Recognition

The question of formal recognition of Bangladesh and the timing of it must be left to the Government to decide. Of course, recognition will give strength to the freedom fighters and there are no legal or constitutional barriers. The question now is of future action.

If the Mukti Fauz could give protection to people over a substantial area against attacks of Pakistani army, the refugees from India could still be moved to Bangladesh. Alternatively, a determined effort will have to be made to involve the international

community in sending the refugees back. They will not want to go back unless their security can be guaranteed-unless they can be protected from the atrocities of the Pakistani army.

The approach to the world community has to be a positive one. We can certainly ask for more funds. But the response to the appeal of the U.N. Secretary General has been disappointing. May be, we shall get some more money. But that will not solve the problem. Pakistan must be made responsible by United Nations to reimburse us in full the expenditure we incur on the refugees. The international community must assume the responsibility of ensuring the safety of the refugees.

Refugee camps should be established in East Bengal under U.N. supervision to house the refugees now in India, and others that may come later, till a settlement is reached to establish Bangladesh on any basis freely acceptable to the people of East Bengal.

The military junta of Pakistan is desperately trying to cover up its ignominious action by creating an impression of Indo-Pakistan issue or even conflict. We must not allow this to happen. The matter has to be settled between the military Government of Pakistan and the Government of Bangladesh with international good offices as necessary. We must, therefore, give every support to the Government of Bangladesh. There is equally a danger of Pakistan fanning communal feelings. This must be firmly resisted. That is why the refugees must be sent quickly to camps to be established by U.N. in East Bengal.

Pakistan's diplomacy has succeeded so far in preventing intervention by India; they have successfully kept up China as a counterpoise and they have maneuvered to keep the United Nations and the big powers out. We need to take a vigorous international initiative to demolish the house of lies built by Pakistan, and simultaneously present specific proposals for international action. We must get the world involved in Bangladesh quickly.

No matter how long it takes-whether a couple of weeks, a couple of months or a couple of years, the people of Pakistan are bound to wrest their freedom from military domination and the people of Bangladesh are bound to win their independence or make any other arrangement they choose. We must wish them every success. - (INFA).

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০৯। আশা ও বিভ্রান্তির মাঝখানে	হিন্দুস্থান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, JUNE 4, 1971*

# **BETWEEN HOPES AND ILLUSIONS**

*By Pran Chopra*

**Like people who must settle down patiently to the long days of the loo, the refugees from Bangladesh must settle down to the six-months wait Mrs. Gandhi has been talking about. But after the heat of the loo comes a pleasant monsoon. What lies at the end of the six months' wait?**

Mrs. Gandhi's speech in the Lok Sabha on May 24 is in some ways an advance upon her previous speeches. The fact that for the first time she spoke about Bangladesh, not East Bengal, would have signified little by itself. But it was heavily underscored by the tone of her speech which was altogether more serious more loaded with warnings about the consequences which may follow if no one pays heed to the plight of Bangladesh and the burden which Pakistan has thrown upon India. But she gave away very little about how much heed she thinks anyone is going to pay. The ominous note in her speech has been interpreted in two ways; that Yahya Khan is softening up under the pressure of events and a little thunder in her speeches will bring India some credit for what is likely to happen anyhow, or alternatively that the world is indeed taking "unconscionably long" to wake up to realities and she must prepare India which might follow. But the most likely interpretation is the least unlikable of the three: that while concern about the emerging realities is certainly growing within the Government variable rhetoric is the only answer we have found as yet. So far, we have not squarely faced the possibility that neither the foreseeable internal nor external pressure may prove sufficient for (he gentlemen in Islamabad and to ensure India's security it can become necessary for the Government to take "all measures" about which Mrs. Gandhi spoke.

The pressure which India would like to see international sources apply upon Islamabad is mainly economic. It is firmly believed in New Delhi that West Pakistan will have to come to a political settlement with East Bengal or else give it up, if it is not allowed to defer its international repayment obligations and, beyond what was already on the way at the end of March is not given any further aid for the next six months or so. In that event, it is thought West Pakistan will not be able to wage even the limited scale operations which would still be needed to cope with such fighting capability as the Mukti Fauj is still able to muster the rest will be seen to by differences within the military junta in Islamabad and between the army and aspiring politicians who will want more power than embattled army commanders are usually willing to transfer to political hands.

This prescription is correct. But one does not see any pharmacy which is willing to dispense it. As far as India is formally aware and officially the only economic denial to which the aid giving countries find themselves committed is that all the foreign aided products in East Bengal have come to a halt and there is little likelihood of their being resumed for several months perhaps for two or three years. But this is less proof the

displeasure of aid giving countries with West Pakistan than a physical consequences of the chaos prevailing in East Bengal. As soon as the army's conflict with the Awami League began, life became too insecure for foreign governments to be sure about the safety of their nation's working on these projects. All foreign staff were therefore gradually pulled out and it is believed unlikely that they will feel safe enough to go back there for some time to come. In the meantime, the aid meant for these projects will remain suspended. Beyond that and despite the whispered assurance dropped into waiting Indian ears there is no known denial of foreign aid yet; in fact soon after the fighting the Russians made it known that they were sticking to their agreement to build a steel mill near Karachi.

The picture may become a little clearer when the aid consortium for Pakistan meets in August; before that here might be only a glimpse of their attitude when the same countries meet as the aid India consortium, in July. But one obvious thing can be safely said: that by and large the other members of the consortium will take their cue in this matter from Britain and the United States and if the current political attitude of these two countries is any indication of what their future economic policy will be, then India should not expect too much in that quarter. The public and the authorities in both countries have been fully exposed to the gruesomeness of what has happened in East Bengal. The British and American Press has been remarkably frank; even those correspondents have been who were taken on a conducted tour through whitewashed scenes of the recent savagery. Their coverage has won praise from people in New Delhi who are not normally given to paying compliments to the Western Press. But even then official comment in Washington as well as London remains careful not to hurt anyone's feelings in Islamabad, which only shows how hard they are on their idea that an anchorage in Pakistan, which mostly means West Pakistan to them, is very important for them, in their own interests.

The best example of the contemporary Anglo-American attitude was provided by the British Government on May 25, While it was stated in the House of Commons that day that a special envoy of President Yahya Khan had been told of Britain's concern over the "East Bengal situation" (whether the situation means the refugee exodus or the military terror or the suppression of the popular will was left carefully vague) it was also stated that Britain had welcomed the envoy's emphasis upon President Yahya Khan's "determination to seek an early political solution to Pakistan's internal political difficulties". In other words President Yahya Khan can decide for himself what would be the best "solution" for what his envoy euphemistically described as "internal difficulties".

Only a few days earlier Yahya Khan himself had made it abundantly clear that in his solution there would be no room for the Awami League though it had proved itself to be synonymous with the people of East Bengal. One of Yahya Khan's resounding declarations was that we will deal "with Mujibur Rahman as we see fairly another that there would never be any negotiations with the Awami League; and yet another that he was determined to punish those Awami League leaders who had "committed crimes" and since he also said that Mujib had plotted to arrest him, the President of the country, he clearly implied that Mujib could also be treated as having committed a crime and dealt with accordingly. He did hold out the carrot that Awami League members of the National Assembly would be treated as having been elected as individuals, not as candidates of the League: therefore the ban on the League would not necessarily be extended to them as well and those who were considered to have been sufficiently reformed by their experiences since March 25 might be accommodated in the "political solution." But other

West Pakistani leaders have explained what the accommodation would be: by holding fresh elections in the light of "the changed political realities in East Pakistan" the status of a minority would be conferred upon the majority. With so much in common between them and Yahya Khan, and between Yahya Khan and the hard line generals who constitute the bulk of the military junta, hope should not be invested in an internal break up in West Pakistan unless difficulties arise in the wake of denial of foreign aid to the barbaric oligarchy.

Foreign governments have shown much greater understanding of the refugee problem on the Indian side of the border than for the political problem on the other side. Their response can be described as generous. So generous in fact that Indian-fears of the purely economic aspects of the burden begin to seem unrealistic; after all, as against the three and half million refugees who have come already or the five million who may. We normally add fifteen million people to our population every year, and that without getting any promises of any special assistance for keeping them alive. Given moderate efficiency in relief management the refugees can be confidently hopeful that they will still be alive at the end of six months or even as many years. But whether they will ever cease to be refugees is much less certain. From relief they must go either towards rehabilitation or repatriation; but prospects about one journey are as unsure as about the other and will remain unsure unless either the big powers change their policy towards Pakistan or India decides to act independently of them. In fact the more people talk about the problem on the Indian side of the border rather than the one on the East Bengal side, the less likely does it become that the refugees will ever be able to go back to their homes.

No matter how hard India presses for "credible guarantees" for the refugee when he goes back home, they will never be credible in his eyes if their implementation is left in the hands of Yahya Khan or any puppet-regime that he may yet be able to contrive in Dacca. This is especially true of the two million Hindus who have been driven out and those who may yet be; their sources of livelihood, especially land; which has already been seized and distributed by members of the Muslim League, will never be restored to them by a government which is hostile to the Awami League. That is, if they are able to go back in the first place. During the long and laborious process which Yahya Khan will be able to insist upon for shifting the refugee from the "Indian destitute," the world will lose all interest in the problem and then only a thin trickle will be allowed to cross back into East Bengal. And yet it is happening every day that the political problem is King pushed into the back ground as everyone talks more and more about the economic and human problem of refugee relief; the contrast between Senator Kennedy's latest statement, contained in his letter to Secretary of State Rogers, and his earlier statements is a warning light. If it is ignored, the political problem will remain unsolved in the end and therefore the human and economic problem as well. It is an enormous illusion that the latter can be solved while the former is forgotten. Either India must act in the context of the political problem or the aid giving countries must show much greater awareness and purposefulness than they are showing at present if the triple problem is not to become a permanent legacy for Bangladesh and India.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১০। পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে সমঝোতার কোন অবকাশ নাই- তাজউদ্দীন	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, JUNE 4, 1971*  
**NO ROOM FOR COMPROMISE WITH  
 PAKISTAN: TAJUDDIN**

New Delhi, June 3. - The Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, categorically declared in Mujibnagar yesterday that "there is no room for compromise (with West Pakistan) within the framework of Pakistan," says UNI.

"Bangladesh is sovereign and independent and we shall defend its separate and free- entity at any cost", he said.

In an interview with All India Radio, Mr. Ahmed reiterated - "our irrevocable commitment to a policy of friendship for all, especially our neighbors ... irrespective of variations in the response of world powers to our present difficulties."

"Beyond this it is not possible to define too rigidly the foreign policy of a two-month- State, Mr. Tajuddin said in reply to a question".

He added: "There are encouraging developments and no final judgment need be made on the long-term developments".

Asked about the Pakistan Government claim that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had been taken to Dacca and that he had urged the people to cooperate with the Army, Mr. Ahmed said: "We do not know where exactly Sheikh Sahib has been detained by the Pakistan Government. But the claim that he has urged the people to co-operate with the Army of Pakistan should be rejected with utmost contempt." The claim is preposterous."

Mr. Ahmed said his Government was not aware if the Pakistan Government had approached the United States for intervening for a political settlement and to grant the Awami League's six points within the framework of Pakistan.

Asked what was his Government's feeling about the silence or ambivalence of Big Powers, especially the USA, the UK and the Soviet Union. Mr. Ahmed replied: "Our friendship for a policy shall continue to guide our foreign policy irrespective of the variations in the response of world powers to our present difficulties".

He said the work of the emissaries sent by his Government abroad was bearing fruit in creating favorably lobbies in these areas and in organizing public opinion in favor of Bangladesh.

Asked about the present functioning of his Government, Mr. Tajuddin said, it never lost contact with the vast rural areas of Bangladesh and "we are in contact with cities and towns in occupied areas through our local leadership cadres."

"We have set up an administrative machinery for the areas within our control as well as a centralized command for all operations aimed at driving the enemy out".

Questioned about the reported activities of the leftist forces in Bangladesh, Mr. Ahmed said as far as Bangladesh was concerned "We not know of any problem of leftist forces. Only the other day a nation-wide election has been held and the people of Bangladesh rose as one man in support of their demands. And today also all people irrespective of their political opinions, all patriotic elements are rallying together to give their unstinted support for the cause of the independence of Bangladesh."

He said, "Maulana Bhashani of the National Awami Party and other patriotic leaders and elements had already held out their unqualified support to the struggling people and the Bangladesh Government demanded its recognition by other countries."

PTI adds: Asked if he visualized the possibility of the Martial Law administration trying to set up a puppet government in Dacca, Mr. Tajuddin said that any such attempt, if made "would certainly be abortive for no collaboration between the killers and the quislings would be tolerated by the people of his country who are struggling for securing and protecting their independence."

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১১। স্টেটসম্যান পত্রিকার একটি সম্পাদকীয়	দি স্টেটসম্যান	৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JUNE 5, 1971*  
**KEEPING IT COOL**

When New Delhi decided that it had no alternative but to open India's borders to refugees from Bangladesh it did so on humanitarian grounds. This is a policy with which there can be no quarrel, especially since intractable circumstances dictated it. Yet such an indulgence in political generosity surely did not absolve it of the responsibility, in cooperation with the State Governments, of preparing for all foreseeable contingencies. The extent of the refugee influx, the hazards to health and security, the exploitation of these unfortunates by political parties, the limited capacity of the West Bengal administration, the strains on the economy both local and national, the dangers of communal tension and" the refugee invasion of Calcutta city—all these are matters that have not emerged overnight; they were and are inherent in the decision to throw open the borders and consequently could have been anticipated. On the question of whether or not the refugees should be dispersed outside the border States there has been a great deal of equivocation and a total absence, it would seem, of any coordination between the Centre and the West Bengal Government. All the circumstances combine to indicate that there is no alternative to dispersal but here again there is little evidence of a clear policy and a willingness to implement it. New Delhi's apparent reluctance to endorse dispersal is a reflection of its failure to persuade the States to extend the necessary hospitality. Thus we have in the border areas the ingredients of an explosive situation) with the West Bengal administration seemingly at the end of its short tether.

A declaration of its own inadequacy is presumably to be the main theme of its discussions with the Prime Minister today; and that is a point which few will be inclined to dispute. The crisis with ramifications that are national and international is properly the concern of New Delhi. There is little prospect of the flow of refugees abating, the logistical problems of dispersal are becoming daily more complicated and tensions can be expected to multiply. The case for direct Central supervision is compelling as also for a policy of containing an explosive situation for which immediate solutions are not available. The primary concern is to avoid the worst consequences of an unavoidable situation. The myth of an early settlement in the region of six months hence should be seen as what it is: a species of wishful thinking highly damaging in a context where the worst should be foreseen and insured against in good time. On the level of all that is implied by relief nothing more can be done beyond what resources permit and this is a point which India's envoys, have doubtless been making with all the force at their command. It is on the political level, where the frustrations bred by the present dilemma become more demanding, that there is a danger of New Delhi being pressurized into actions that may win popular acclaim or satisfy emotional needs or take the wind out of some parties' political sails but could be disastrous to the national interest. Whatever the

pressures and tensions generated by the refugee influx New Delhi owes it to the nation not to lose the cool it has so far admirably maintained. Islamabad is under increasing pressures of its own and although these will not yield early results they will ultimately be more fruitful than any overt move by India.

President Yahya Khan's admission that Pakistan's economy "is so bad that I cannot tell you" is the single decisive irrefutable truth in a barrage of falsehood and distortion. Mr. Swaran Singh's mission abroad will presumably be to persuade world opinion to increase economic pressure while clarifying his view, expressed recently in the Rajya Sabha, that the crisis in East Bengal is "essentially" a matter to be settled between the people of Bangladesh and West Pakistan. The point here is that the major powers need to be convinced that New Delhi has no intention of further complicating a situation which is already complex enough; and that in its view any intervention will be counterproductive in the larger context as well in the interests of Bangladesh. Already the scrupulous restraint with which New Delhi has conducted itself has begun to pay dividends. Pakistan's frantic attempts to cast India in the role of prime instigator have completely misfired is also its claims that normal conditions have been restored in East Bengal. The deep skepticism with which Islamabad's claims and statements are now internationally received can yet result in pressures which President Yahya will find irresistible. There can be no short cut to a solution and meanwhile New-Delhi's concern must be to preserve what stability it can in the border areas without surrendering to the irresponsible demands for "strong action".

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১২। চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় ভি,সি, কর্তৃক যুব শিবির উদ্বোধন	অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা	৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

*AM RITA BAZAR PATRIKA, JUNE 5, 1971*

**Bangladesh Students  
CHITTAGONG VC OPENS CAMP**

A two-week camp of Bangladesh students and youths was inaugurated in Calcutta on Wednesday last by the Vice Chancellor of the Chittagong University Dr. Azizur Rahman Mallick. Sixty two young boys and girls mostly from rural parts of Bangladesh would receive intensive training for two weeks in ideological and practical courses of democratic and secular living. Mr. Justice S.P. Mitra presided over the inaugural meeting of the camp which has been organized by Gandhi Peace Foundation.

The first of its kind the camp were the distinctiveness of the youth character of Bangladesh in pictorial representation of the repression and merciless exploitation of their homeland by Yahya Khan's military rule and a stainless camp life. Mr. Kshitish Roy Chowdhury, Chairman of the Foundation's West Bengal Committee extended a warm welcome to the campers while Mr. Sisir Sanyal, the Convener of the camp explained the objectives which were the boosting up of the morale and the background and practical knowledge for a free society from the grassroots.

**an achievement**

Earlier addressing the campers in their first orientation course Mr. R. R. Diwakar. Chairman of the Foundation remarked that the very togetherness of the Bangladesh youths to assess their struggle and formulate forward looking programmes for socio-economic reconstruction was an achievement.

Mr. Mallick trenchantly criticized the diabolical murders committed on the Bangladesh people by the West Pakistan rulers. We had splendidly followed Mahatma Gandhi but it was Yahya Khan who forced war on us and we had to accept the challenge in a way befitting an uncivilized Administration. Our cause is Truth and Justice, hence our victory is inevitable he said. Mr. Mitra advised the campers to work amongst the evacuees so that they possessed the requisite moral stamina to return to their homeland at the appropriate time.

The meeting ended by chorus singing of <sup>4</sup>'Amar Sonar Bangla' the National song of Bangladesh - (SPS).

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১৩। স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিন	যুগান্তর	৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

### স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিন

আজ শনিবার পাঁচই জুন। প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী আসবেন কলকাতায়। কি দেখবেন তিনি? সীমান্তে নেই তিল ধারণের স্থান। উপকণ্ঠে এসে পৌঁছেছে শরণার্থীর ঢেউ। পাক লুটেরা রাস্তায় কেড়ে নিয়েছে তাদের সর্বস্ব। প্রাণে মরেছে অনেকে। নিখোঁজ হয়েছে স্ত্রী-কন্যা। এপারে এসেও স্বস্তি নেই। মহামারীরূপে দেখা দিয়েছে কলেরা। রাজ্য সরকার দিশাহারা। শরণার্থীর সংখ্যা চার লক্ষ ছাপিয়ে উঠেছে। অন্যান্য রাজ্যে না পাঠালে বাঁচবে না এই হতভাগ্যের দল। দু'মাস অপেক্ষা করেছেন কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার। কি পেয়েছেন তাঁরা? বৃহৎ রাষ্ট্রগুলির চরম ঔদাসীন্য এবং রাষ্ট্রসঙ্ঘের অসহনীয় নীরবতা। ইয়াহিয়া আগের চেয়ে বেশী বেপরোয়া। বাংলাদেশে জ্বালাচ্ছেন তিনি সাম্প্রদায়িকতার আগুন। পুড়ছে অনেকে। যারা কোনমতে বেঁচেছে তারা আশ্রয় নিচ্ছে ভারতে। যত দিন যাবে শরণার্থীর সংখ্যা তত বাড়বে। ওদের ফেরার পথ বন্ধ। বন্দুক উঁচিয়ে আছে ইয়াহিয়ার বাহিনী। তাদের ইক্ষন জোগাচ্ছে স্থানীয় ধর্মাত্মকের দল। গোড়ার দিকে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে যদি স্বীকৃতি দিতেন নয়াদিল্লী তবে ঘটত না অবস্থার এমনিতর অবনতি। মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা পেতেন দ্বিগুণ মানসিক বল। বাড়ত সংগ্রামের তীব্রতা। গ্রামাঞ্চলে গড়ে উঠত প্রতিরোধ ব্যুহ। সাম্প্রদায়িক নেতাদের মধ্যে দেখা দিত সন্ত্রাস। কমত লুটপাটের ব্যাপকতা। বিপুল সংখ্যায় শরণার্থীরা হয়তো ভিড় করত না ভারতের সীমান্ত অঞ্চলগুলোতে। কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের “দেখি কি হয় নীতি” এনেছে নৈরাশ্য। বাড়িয়েছে ইয়াহিয়ার স্পর্ধা এবং ভারতকে নিয়েছে আর্থিক সঙ্কটের মুখে।

বন্ধ হবে না শরণার্থীর স্রোত। পূর্ব বাংলায় থাকতে পারবে না অসাম্প্রদায়িক সাধারণ মানুষ। কিসের আশায় দিন গুনছেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী? বৃহৎ শক্তিগুলো কি লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থীর হাত ধরে তাদের নিজেদের বাড়ীঘরে বসিয়ে দিয়ে আসবে? তারা কি এদের নিরাপত্তার গ্যারান্টি দেবে? আর্থিক চাপে ইয়াহিয়ার নাকে খত আদায় করবে? গত দুমাসের আমত্বর্জাতিক প্রতিক্রিয়ায় তিনি কি বুঝতে পারেননি জল কোথায় গড়াচ্ছে? জিইয়ে রাখবে তারা ইসলামাবাদকে। শক্তিসাম্য ভাঙতে দেবে না এশিয়ার এ অঞ্চলে। কিন্তু স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ বাস্তব। অখন্ড পাকিস্তানের অপমৃত্যু ঘটেছে। পূর্ব এবং পশ্চিমের বোঝাপড়া অসম্ভব। স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ ছাড়া শরণার্থীরা ফিরতে পারবে না নিজেদের বাড়ীঘরে। এই সহজ সত্য মেনে নিতে কর্তৃপক্ষের দ্বিধাগ্রস্ত মনোভাবই সৃষ্টি করছে যত জটিলতা। শ্রীমতি গান্ধী আশায় আশায় অনর্থক সময় কাটাচ্ছেন। এখন যে অবস্থা চলছে তার ব্যতিক্রম না ঘটলে ছ মাস কেন ছ বছরেও শরণার্থীরা ছাড়বে না ভারতের মাটি। পূর্ব বাংলায় শক্তি সংহত করবেন ইসলামাবাদ। মুক্তিসংগ্রামীরা পাবেন প্রচণ্ড বাধ। আর ক্রমবর্ধমান শরণার্থীর বোঝা নিয়ে ভারত খাবে হাবুডুবু। সমূহ বিপদ সামনে দেখেও মন স্থির করতে পারছেন না কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার। গোটা জাতিকে কোন অন্ধকার গুহায় টেনে নিচ্ছেন তারা?

বিভিন্ন রাজ্যে শরণার্থীদের অবিলম্বে সরিয়ে দেওয়া খুবই দরকার- সন্দেহ নেই। এ ব্যবস্থা অবশ্যই সাময়িক। তাতে পাওয়া যাবে না সমস্যার স্থায়ী সামাধান। পৌঁজামিল দিয়ে সয় কাটাবার পালার শেষ হয়েছে। দেশবাসীর ধৈর্যের সীমা ছাড়িয়ে যাচ্ছে। জবাব দিন নয়াদিল্লী- শরণার্থীদের নিয়ে তাঁরা কি করবেন? কি করে থামাবেন বন্যার স্রোত? কিভাবে পাঠাবেন তাঁদের বাংলাদেশে? বৃহৎ রাষ্ট্রগুলির কাছে নয়াদিল্লীর আকৃতি-মিনতি ব্যর্থ। প্রধানমন্ত্রীর ব্যক্তিগত পত্রে এবং কূটনৈতিক তৎপরতায় যাদের টনক নড়েনি পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী স্বরণ সিংয়ের সম্ভাব্য সফরে তাদের ঘুমের নেশা কাটবে না। লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থীকে বুকে ধরে অনন্তকাল বসে থাকতে পারে না ভারত। নিরাপত্তা এবং বাঁচার তাগিদেই কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারকে নিতে হবে নিজস্ব পরিকল্পনা। এই পরিকল্পনার

প্রাথমিক অঙ্গ-স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশকে কূটনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি দান। বাড়ান দরকার তাদের সংগ্রামী শক্তি।  
 ওঁদের জয় ত্বরান্বিত হলেই স্বদেশে ফিরবেন শরণার্থীরা। নইলে তাঁরা থাকবেন ভারতে। এ কথা সত্য, কোন  
 শান্তিবাদী রাষ্ট্র সহজে বলপ্রয়োগ করতে চান না। ইয়াহিয়া খান নয়াদিল্লীর ইচ্ছা-অনিচ্ছার উপর নির্ভর করছেন  
 না। বাংলাদেশের সমস্যার সঙ্গে ভারতকে তিনি জড়িয়ে ফেলেছেন। চারদিকে দেখা যাচ্ছে অশান্তির দুর্লক্ষণ।  
 মুখ বুঁজে থাকলেই বিপদ এড়ান যাবে না। বাস্তব অবস্থার মোকাবিলা করণ কর্তৃপক্ষ। অবিলম্বে স্বীকৃতি দিন  
 স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশকে। প্রশস্ত করুন ইয়াহিয়ার চরম পরাজয়ের পথ। এতেই আসবে পূর্ব বাংলার ভবিষ্যৎ  
 শান্তি। শরণার্থীরা পাবেন স্বদেশে প্রত্যাবর্তনের প্রেরণা।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১৪। মেহদী মাসুদের ওপর বিধিনিষেধ আরোপ আরোপঃ ভারত সরকারের কড়া ব্যবস্থা	কালান্তর	৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

### মেহদী মাসুদের ওপর বিধিনিষেধ আরোপ ভারত সরকারের কড়া ব্যবস্থা

নয়াদিল্লী, ৫ জুন (ইউএনআই) - কলকাতার পাকিস্তান ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনার মেহদী মাসুদ ও হাইকমিশনের অন্যান্য পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী কর্মচারীর গতিবিধির ওপর ভারত সরকার বিধিনিষেধ আরোপ করেছেন। প্রসঙ্গতঃ উল্লেখযোগ্য, ১ মে থেকে ঢাকার ভারতীয় কূটনৈতিক কর্মচারীদের ওপর পাকিস্তান সরকার অনুরূপ বিধিনিষেধ চাপিয়েছিলেন।

ভারতীয় সরকারী সূত্র থেকে বলা হয়েছে, ভিয়েনা সনদে প্রতিষ্ঠিত কূটনৈতিক সম্পর্কের রীতিনীতি ও মর্মবস্তু অগ্রাহ্য করে পাকিস্তান সরকার ঢাকায় অবস্থানকারী ভারতীয় ডেপুটি হাইকমিশনার শ্রী কিরণ চন্দ্র সেনগুপ্তকে অন্তরীণ করে এক অভূতপূর্ব নজির সৃষ্টি করেছেন। পাকিস্তান সরকার এই অবাস্তবিক বিধিনিষেধ প্রত্যাহার করে নিলে ভারত সরকারও কলকাতায় অবস্থানকারী পাকিস্তানী কূটনৈতিক কর্মীদের ক্ষেত্রেও অনুরূপ ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করবেন।

পাকিস্তান সরকার ঢাকার ভারতীয় কূটনৈতিক কর্মীদের বিনা অনুমতিতে নিজেদের মধ্যে বা বাইরের কারোর সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ রক্ষা করতে দেয়নি। শুধুমাত্র একটি ব্যবিতক্রমঃ শ্রী সেনগুপ্ত দিনে এক বা দু'বার ইসলামাবাদে ভারতীয় হাইকমিশনারকে টেলিফোনে যোগাযোগ করতে পারেন। ঢাকার প্রত্যেক ভারতীয় কূটনৈতিক কর্মীর বাসভবনের বাইরে সশস্ত্র মিলিটারী প্রহরা মোতায়ন আছে।

বিধিনিষেধ জারি হবার পর দু'দেশের মধ্যে দূত বিনিময় করার জন্য কয়েকটি বন্ধু রাষ্ট্র প্রচেষ্টা চালিয়েছিল। কিন্তু পাকিস্তান সরকার কোন পরামর্শেই কান দেননি। ভারতীয় সরকারী মহল থেকে বলা হয়েছে, এই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ভারত কলকাতায় অবস্থানকারী পাক কূটনৈতিক কর্মীদের গমনাগমনের ওপর বিধিনিষেধ চাপাতে বাধ্য হল।

প্রসঙ্গতঃ উল্লেখযোগ্য লোকসভায় ও রাজ্যসভায় কমিউনিষ্ট সদস্যরা বলেছিলেন, যেখানে ঢাকায় ভারতীয় কূটনৈতিক কর্মীদের অসম্মান ও অপমানের বোঝা মাথায় নিয়ে অন্তরীণ থাকতে হয়েছে সেখানে কলকাতার পাক কূটনৈতিক কর্মীদের 'রাজার হালে' কোন যুক্তি নেই।



শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১৫। বার্মিংহামে পাক ক্রিকেট দলের বিরুদ্ধে বৃহত্তম বিক্ষোভ সমাবেশ	কালান্তর	৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

## বার্মিংহামে পাক ক্রিকেট দলের বিরুদ্ধে বৃহত্তম বিক্ষোভ সমাবেশ

বার্মিংহাম (ইংল্যান্ড-), ৫ জুন (এপি)- ইংল্যান্ড-পাকিস্তান প্রথম টেস্টের ৩য় দিনে আজ ৩০০০ বাংলাদেশ সমর্থক বিক্ষোভ প্রদর্শন করে।

পাকিস্তানী ক্রিকেট দলকে চলতি সফরে এত বড়ো বিক্ষোভ মিছিলের সম্মুখীন হতে হয়নি। মিছিলে ৫০ জন পঙ্গু মহিলা পেরামুলেটরে চড়ে যোগ দেন।

মিছিলকারীরা এজবাস্টন মাঠের প্রধান প্রবেশ পথে রক্তাক্ত কুশপুতলিকা ও পূর্ববঙ্গে ইয়াহিয়া বাহিনীর গণহত্যার বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ জ্ঞাপন পোস্টার নিয়ে শান্তিপূর্ণ বিক্ষোভ দেখান। বার্মিংহাম বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রাম সহায়ক কমিটির সভাপতি জগলাল পাশা বলেন, পাকিস্তানী ক্রিকেট দলের বর্তমান সফর বাতিল করাই মিছিলে অংশগ্রহণকারীদের দাবি।

উল্লেখযোগ্য, পাঁচ সপ্তাহ পূর্বে পাক-ক্রিকেট দল ইংল্যান্ড- সফরে এলে প্রায় সমস্ত জায়গাতেই তাদের বাংলাদেশ সমর্থকদের বিক্ষোভের সম্মুখীন হতে হয়।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১৬। দায়িত্ব পালনে কেন্দ্রের গড়িমসি	কালান্তর	৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

## দায়িত্ব পালনে কেন্দ্রের গড়িমসি

লোকসভায় প্রতিরক্ষা মন্ত্রী শ্রী জগজীবন রাম বলেছেন যে, বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত শরণার্থীদের পূর্ণ দায়িত্ব কেন্দ্রের এবং সে দায়িত্ব তারা অস্বীকার করছেন না। কিন্তু দায়িত্ব স্বীকার ও দায়িত্ব পালন এক কথা নয়। শরণার্থীদের যে প্রবল চাপ পশ্চিমবঙ্গের উপর পড়েছে তার গুরুত্ব উপলব্ধি এ যাবত কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার করতে পেরেছেন বলে মনে হয় না। যদি উপলব্ধি করতেন তবে তাঁরা সমস্যাটা জরুরী বিবেচনায় সমাধানের পথে আরো দ্রুত অগ্রসর হতেন। আসলে গোড়ায় গলদ। কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের চূড়ামণিরা হয়তো ভেবেছিলেন দু'চার দশ লক্ষ শরণার্থী আসবে এবং তাদের সীমান্তবর্তী এলাকায় রেখে দিয়েই আবার স্বল্পকালের মধ্যে বাংলাদেশে ফিরিয়ে দেয়া যাবে। সমস্যাটা যে তার চেয়ে অনেক বেশী গুরুতর এবং দীর্ঘস্থায়ী হয়ে উঠতে পারে এমন দূরদৃষ্টি তাদের ছিল না বলেই মনে হয়।

কিন্তু অবিরাম শরণার্থীর স্রোতে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ প্লাবিত হতে চলেছে। বন্যার জল বিপদসীমা অতিক্রম করেছে। যে কোন সময় বাঁধ ভেঙ্গে প্লাবনের মত এই জলস্রোত পশ্চিমবঙ্গের চরম বিপর্যয় ঘটাতে পারে। তাই রাজ্য সরকার বিষম উদ্বিগ্ন হয়ে পড়েছেন। চল্লিশ লক্ষ শরণার্থীর মধ্যে অনুমান উনিশ লক্ষ ছাদের তলায় কোনরকমে মাথা গুঁজবার ঠাই পেয়েছে আর পাঁচ লক্ষাধিক শরণার্থী তাড়াহুড়ো করে তোলা চালায় আশ্রয় নিয়েছে। বাকী সব উন্মুক্ত আকাশ বা গাছের তলায়। প্রতিদিন জনস্রোতের মতো শরণার্থীর দল চলে আসছে এপারে। বর্ষা নেমেছে। নিচে জল-কাদা, উপরে বর্ষার ধারা। এই ছত্রহীন লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থীর কী দশা হবে এখন? মাথা গুঁজবার জন্যে তারা কোথায় যাবে? নাম তালিকাভুক্ত হবার পর চার দিনের মতো রেশন পায় তারা। সপ্তাহের বাকী ক'দিন কী দিয়ে উদরের জ্বালা নিবৃত্তি হবে তাদের?

তার উপর মহামারীর আকারে কলেরার প্রাদুর্ভাব। সর্বস্বান্ত হয়ে সূদূর পথ অতিক্রম করে যারা আসছে পথেই তারা প্রায় অর্ধমৃত হয়ে পড়ে। কোন প্রকারে মুমূর্ষ অবস্থায় এসে পৌঁছাবার পরেও যদি আবার তাদের চরম প্রতিকূল অবস্থারই মধ্যে পড়তে হয় তবে অবশিষ্ট প্রাণশক্তিটুকুও নিঃশেষ হতে দেরি হয় না। হচ্ছেও তাই। কলেরা রোগে আক্রান্ত হয়েই অনেকে আসছে এপারে; কিন্তু প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থা এতই অপ্রতুল যে তাদের মধ্যে অনেকেই প্রথমিক চিকিৎসা পাবার আগেই চোখ বুঁজে শেষ নিঃশ্বাস ত্যাগ করে। উপযুক্তসংখ্যক চিকিৎসক এবং শুশ্রূষাকারীরাও যেমন নেই তেমনি প্রয়োজনীয় ঔষধপত্রেরও অভাব।

এমন একটা গুরুতর পরিস্থিতিতে কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের তৎপরতার নমুনা দেখে অবাক হতে হয়। এ যাবৎ ত্রাণ কার্যের জন্য কেন্দ্রের কাছ থেকে এসেছে মাত্র ৩ কোটি ৫৭ লক্ষ টাকা। স্বাস্থ্য ও চিকিৎসা বাবদ চাওয়া হয়েছে ২ কোটি ৬০ লক্ষ টাকা; কিন্তু তা এখনো পর্যন্ত পৌঁছায়নি। আশ্রয়স্থল নির্মাণের জন্য ৩ কোটি টাকা চেয়ে পাওয়া গেছে মাত্র ১ কোটি টাকা। কলেরা মহামারী আকারে দেখা দেওয়ায় কলেরা ইনজেকশান ও স্যালাইন বোতল চেয়ে যা পাওয়া গেছে তা সমুদ্রে বারিবিন্দুবৎ। সুতরাং দায়িত্ব পালনে কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার এ যাবত যে কৃতিত্ব দেখিয়েছে তাতে কৃতার্থ না হয়ে পারা যায় না।

মুখে শরণার্থীদের জন্য দরদের অন্ত নেই। কিন্তু কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের অমার্জনীয় ঔদাসীণ্যের ফলে হতভাগ্য শরণার্থী ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গের নিরুপায় মানুষ উভয় কুলই যে ডুবতে বসেছে সেদিকে নজর আছে কার? কানে জল ঢুকলে টাকা হয়তো তারা কিছু দেবেন। কিন্তু টাকা দিলেই জিনিস মিলবে এমন নিশ্চয়তা কোথায়? রেশন দিলেও তো তা রুঁধে খেতে হবে। শরণার্থীরা জ্বালানীর জন্য কার কাছে যাবে? সীমান্তবর্তী এলাকার যেসব

শিক্ষায়তনে শরণার্থীদের ঠাঁই দেয়া হয়েছে দেয়া হয়েছে দু'তিন সপ্তাহ বাদে গ্রীষ্মের ছুটি অন্তে যখন বিদ্যালয় খুলবে তখন এরা যাবে কোথায়? অন্যত্র না সরালে জেলার বহু ছাত্র-ছাত্রীর পড়াশুনা বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে। সুতরাং তাদের জন্যও নতুন আশ্রয় শিবির নির্মাণ করা দরকার। তাছাড়া যে বহু লক্ষ শরণার্থী বাতাবরণহীন অবস্থায় দিন কাটাচ্ছে অবিলম্বে তাদের জন্য তাঁবুর ছাউনী না করলে দারুণ বর্ষায় কী করে বাঁচবে তারা? সুতরাং আশ্রয় শিবির নির্মাণের জন্য চাই তাঁবু, করোগেটের শীট, অ্যাসেবেস্টেস শীট, খুঁটি, নাটবলটু, দড়ি-দড়া ইত্যাদি।

আমলাতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতিতে টিলেঢালাভাবে করার কাজ নয় এটা। জরুরী প্রয়োজন বোধে যুদ্ধকালীন তৎপরতায় অতি দ্রুত সারতে হবে এসব কাজ। তার জন্যে চাই একটি সার্বিক পরিকল্পনা ও সেই পরিকল্পনা তড়িৎগতিতে রূপায়ণের জন্যে চাই একটা উপযুক্ত পরিচালনায়ন্ত্র। বর্তমান অবস্থায় ত্রাণকার্যে সামরিক ব্যাপ্ত রাখা হয়তো সম্ভব হবে না, কিন্তু সে ধরনের দক্ষতাসম্পন্ন একটা বিশেষ 'কোর' গঠন করে এই জরুরী কাজ দ্রুত নিষ্পন্ন না করলে রাজ্য সরকারের একার পক্ষে সম্ভব নয় এত বড়ো দায়িত্ব বহন করা। অতএব কেবল অর্থ দিয়ে সাহায্য করলেই চলবে না, প্রয়োজনীয় সামগ্রীও কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারকেই সরবরাহ করতে হবে এবং শরণার্থীদের রক্ষণাবেক্ষণের দায়িত্বও মুরত তাকেই নিতে হবে।

সম্পাদকীয়ঃ কালান্তর, ৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১৭। বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে শুধু বিশ্ববিবেক নয় দেশের বিবেকও জাগাতে হবে	যুগান্তর	৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

## বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে শুধু বিশ্ববিবেক নয়, দেশের বিবেকও জাগাতে হবে

গত সোমবার কল্যাণসুন্দরম লোকসভায় মন্তব্য করেন- ভারত সরকার পাকিস্তানকে তুষ্ট করে চলেছে। এ কথায় শ্রীমতি গান্ধী খুবই মর্মাহত হয়েছেন। একজন সিপিআই নেতা চেমবারলিনের কুখ্যাত মিউনিখ নীতির সঙ্গে ভারত সরকারের পাকিস্তান নীতির তুলনা টানবেন- এমন কথা প্রধানমন্ত্রী বোধহয় কল্পনাও করেননি। তিনি খুব জোরের সঙ্গে এই মারাত্মক অভিযোগ অস্বীকার করেছেন। তবে, “আমরা বাংলাদেশের ঘটনাবলী সম্পর্কে বিশ্বের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণে তৎপর রয়েছি”- এর চেয়ে বড় কোন আশ্বাসও প্রধানমন্ত্রী সেদিন দিতে পারেননি।

মে মাসের মাঝামাঝি প্রধানমন্ত্রী ঘোষণা করেছিলেন- নীতি সংক্রান্ত ব্যাপারে ভারত অন্যান্য দেশের মনোভাবের উপর নির্ভরশীল নয়; সে নিজেই নিজের নীতি স্থির করে থাকে। কিন্তু তবু বাংলাদেশে ইয়াহিয়ার বর্বর অত্যাচার শুরু হওয়ার পর থেকে আমাদের সরকার যে কূটনৈতিক স্তরে খুবই তৎপর হয়ে ওঠেনি- এমন কথা কেউ বলতে পারবেন না। বিভিন্ন দেশের রাজধানীর সঙ্গে নয়াদিল্লী নিয়ত সংযোগ রক্ষা করে চলেছে। অন্যান্য দেশের সরকারের সঙ্গে ‘নোট’ বিনিময় করাও হয়েছে। ইয়াহিয়া ভারতের উপর কী বিপুল সমস্যা চাপিয়ে দিয়েছেন, তার ফল কী দারুণ বিপজ্জনক হয়ে দাঁড়াতে পারে- আমরা এ সব দেশকে সে কথা বোঝাবার চেষ্টা করেছি।

আমরা আমাদের পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রীকে বিদেশে পাঠিয়েছি। তিনি কয়েকটি দেশে গিয়ে বাংলাদেশের সমস্যা বুঝিয়ে বলবেন। শিল্পোন্নয়ন মন্ত্রী শ্রী মঙ্গনুল হক চৌধুরী ইতিপূর্বেই এ কাজ কিছুটা সেরে এসেছেন। একই কাজে আত্মনিয়োগ করেছেন শ্রম ও পুনর্বাসন মন্ত্রী শ্রী খাদিলকর। কূটনৈতিক কাজে তিনি এত ব্যস্ত যে শরণার্থীদের দেখাশোনার কাজটা তিনি তার অধস্তনদের হাতেই ছেড়ে দিয়েছেন। বাংলাদেশের বিষয়ে নয়াদিল্লীর বক্তব্য দক্ষিণ পূর্ব এশিয়ার দেশগুলিকে বুঝিয়ে দিয়ে তাদের আমাদের পক্ষে নিয়ে আসার দায়িত্ব নিজের কাঁধে তুলে নিয়েছেন শিক্ষামন্ত্রী শ্রী সিদ্ধার্থ শংকর রায়।

বাংলাদেশ নিয়ে আমরা যে প্রবল কূটনৈতিক অভিযান শুরু করেছি, তা আগে আর কখনো দেখা যায়নি। যে সব দেশে আমাদের প্রতিনিধিরা যাচ্ছেন, তাদের প্রত্যেকের সঙ্গেই পাকিস্তান কূটনৈতিক সম্পর্ক আছে। তাদের নিজস্ব গোয়েন্দা বিভাগও আছে; এবং আছে, তাদের নিজস্ব অর্থ। আড়াই মাস ওদের লোকেরাও ইয়াহিয়ার রক্ত ক্ষুধার তাণ্ডব স্বচক্ষে দেখেছেন। তবু আমাদের সরকার অতি আশায় বোধ হয় ভাবছেন- ভারত গিয়ে ওদের ব্যাপারটা ঠিকমত বুঝিয়ে দিলেই ওদের বিবেক একেবারে পরিষ্কার হয়ে যাবে এবং ওরা ভারতের পক্ষে চলে আসবে।

ফল যা-ই দাঁড়াক বিশ্ব-বিবেক জাগ্রত করার এই প্রয়াসের জন্য ভারত সরকারের সাধুবাদ অবশ্য প্রাপ্য। কিন্তু ভারতের যে সব রাজ্য সরাসরি শরণার্থী সমস্যা দ্বারা পীড়িত হচ্ছে না, তাদের বিবেক জাগানোর চেষ্টা যথেষ্ট রকম হয়েছে কি? শ্রীমতি গান্ধী তার সহযোগী মন্ত্রীদের কিংবা সর্বশক্তিমান রাজনীতি বিষয়ক কমিটির বিবেকই কি জাগাতে পেরেছিল?

শরণার্থীদের ঠাঁই দেওয়ার ব্যাপারে অধিকাংশ রাজ্যের যা মনোভাব তাতে মনে হয় বিদেশে দূত না পাঠিয়ে ভারতের বিভিন্ন রাজ্যের বিবেক জাগ্রত করা এবং পশ্চিমবঙ্গ, আসাম, ত্রিপুরা ও মেঘালয় রাজ্যে লক্ষ লক্ষ উদ্বাস্তু সমাবেশ ভারতের পক্ষে কী সংকট ডেকে এনেছে তা বুঝিয়ে বলার জন্য বিভিন্ন রাজ্যে দূত পাঠালেই ভাল হতো।

এপ্রিলের প্রথম সপ্তাহে নয়াদিল্লী যখন সিদ্ধান্ত নেয় যে শরণার্থীদের সীমান্তের কাছাকাছিই রেখে দেওয়া হবে, তখন তাছাড়া অন্য তেমন কিছু করারও ছিলনা। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের উদ্বাস্তুদের যত্ন-আত্তি করার জন্য গড়ে তোলা কেন্দ্রীয় পুনর্বাসন দফতর পূর্বাঞ্চলের উদ্বাস্তু সমস্যার প্রকৃত অবস্থা পরিমাপ করে তদনুযায়ী পরিকল্পনা তৈরি করবে- এমন আশাও দূরাশা। সীমান্তের দূরবর্তী কোন রাজ্যকে একজন শরণার্থীকে ঠাঁই দেওয়ার জন্যও রাজি করানো যায়নি। শরণার্থীদের অন্যত্র নিয়ে যাওয়া সম্পর্কে কলকাতায় বসে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর দ্বিধাগ্রস্ত ঘোষণা থেকেই বোঝা যায় যে, তিনি অন্যান্য রাজ্যের মনোভাব পাল্টাতে সক্ষম হননি।

পশ্চিমবঙ্গের প্রাণান্তকর সমস্যা সম্পর্কে ভারত সরকার কী করতে চান- গত সপ্তাহে রাজনীতি বিষয়ক কমিটির একজন সদস্যকে এ প্রশ্ন করেছিলাম। উনি বললেন, কিসের সমস্যা? ভারত সরকার তো উদ্বাস্তুদের সব ব্যয় বহন করছে, সুতরাং পশ্চিমবঙ্গের কোন অভিযোগ থাকার কথা নয়। মোট শরণার্থীর মাত্র এক-তৃতীয়াংশ সরকারী সাহায্য নিচ্ছে, অন্যেরা পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সাধারণ মানুষের গলগ্রহ হতে বাধ্য হয়েছে- এ কথা তিনি মানতে নারাজ। উনি বললেন- পশ্চিমবঙ্গ যদি মনে করে যে বোঝা খুব ভারী হয়ে পড়ছে, তাহলে সীমান্ত পুনরায় বন্ধ করে দেয়া যেতে পারে; কিন্তু পশ্চিমবঙ্গ কি তা মেনে নেবে? ওঁর কথায় মনে হয়, সমস্যা যেন পশ্চিমবঙ্গেরই। ওঁর বক্তব্যের সঙ্গে ভারত সরকার যে ‘স্ট্যান্ড’ নিয়েছেন তার সঙ্গতি আছে কিনা সেটা তিনি তলিয়ে দেখেননি। রাজনীতি বিষয়ক কমিটিতে এ বিষয়ে শুধু ওঁর একারই মনোভাব নয়।

এই উপমহাদেশে রাজীনিতিক মন্ত্বনের ফলে অমৃত এবং বিষ- দুইই উঠছে; পশ্চিমবঙ্গের ভাগ্যে শুধু বিষটাই জুটছে। সামাজিক ও আর্থিক বিপর্যয়েও রাজ্য ক্ষয়ের মুখে; হাঁড় পাঁজরা যে কথানা আছে তা বোধ হয় মহামারীর জন্যই রেখে দেওয়া হয়েছে। পশ্চিমবঙ্গ একেবারে নিঃশেষ হয়ে গিয়ে বিদেশে চা-পাট পাঠানো বন্ধ করে দেশের জন্য বিদেশী মুদ্রা নিয়ে আসা বন্ধ না করা পর্যন্ত বোধ হয় কেন্দ্র বা স্বচ্ছল রাজ্যগুলির হুঁস হবে না।

শরণার্থী সমস্যা নিয়ে যেসব রাজ্যের গায়ে আঁচড় লাগছে না তাদের বড় চিন্তা পশ্চিমবঙ্গের ভরাডুবি নয়; তাদের চিন্তা শরণার্থীদের জন্য অনেক টাকা খরচ করতে হলে চতুর্থ যোজনার কাজ বানচাল হবে এবং তার ফরে তাদের উন্নতি শ্লথ হয়ে পড়বে। আন্তর্জাতিক সমস্যাদির ব্যাপারে প্রত্যেক রাষ্ট্রই নিজস্ব স্বার্থের দিকটি বজায় রেখে অগ্রসর হয়; তেমনি বাংলাদেশের সমস্যার মত অবস্থায় ভারতের রাজ্যগুলিও নিজেদের স্বার্থের কথাটাই আগে ভাবছে। শ্রী সিদ্ধার্থশংকর রায় কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রিসভায় পশ্চিমবঙ্গের প্রতিনিধি। তিনি বোধ হয় বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে বিদেশে না গিয়ে ভারতের বিভিন্ন রাজধানীতে একবার ঘুরে এলে ভালো করতেন। তিনি মন্ত্রিসভায় তাঁর সহকর্মীদের সঙ্গে আলোচনায়ও তাঁর সময়টা কাজে লাগাতে পারতেন। স্বদেশে অনেকের মত পাল্টাবার প্রয়োজন রয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশের রাজনীতি সমস্যার ব্যাপারেও আমরা বোধ হয় উলটপুরাণ গাইছি। শ্রীমতি গান্ধী কলকাতায় বলেছেন, পাকিস্তান ভেঙ্গে যাক ভারত তা চায় না। ২৫ মার্চের আগে পর্যন্ত এটাই ছিল ভারতের মনোভাব। কারণ বাংলাদেশ বিচ্ছিন্ন হলে ভারতের ছদুসামন্ততান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থাপনায় গভীর প্রতিক্রিয়া দেখা দিতে পারে বলে ভারত ভীত ছিল। যাই হোক, ইয়াহিয়া আক্রমণ শুরু করার পর ভারতের মনোভাবে মৌলিক পরিবর্তন এসেছে বলে মনে হয়েছিল। বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামের যথার্থতা অন্যদের বুঝিয়ে দেওয়ার পরিবর্তে যাদের উপর আমরা নির্ভর করে চলি আমরা কি তাদেরই চিন্তাভঙ্গি গ্রহণ করে বসে আছি?

ভারত সরকারের বিশ্বাস আর মাস তিনেকের মধ্যে পাকিস্তান আপনা থেকে ধসে পড়বে। এক দিকে যুদ্ধের বিপুল ব্যয়, অন্যদিকে বাংলাদেশের পাট-চা বিক্রি করে বিদেশী মুদ্রা ঘরে আনা বন্ধ- এই দুইয়ে মিলেই পাকিস্তানের ধ্বংস অনিবার্য করে তুলবে বলে বলা হচ্ছে। তা যদি হয়, তাহলে ভারতকেও শুধু দেখতে হবে যে পাকিস্তান যেন বিদেশী সাহায্যের দ্বারা আর্থিক সংকট কাটিয়ে উঠতে না পারে। ভারতের দূরদেশ বিদেশ পরিক্রমার সেটাও অন্যতম লক্ষ্য।

নিরাপদে শরণার্থীদের বাংলাদেশে ফেরৎ পাঠাবার ব্যাপারে ভারত কী করতে পারবে তা বোঝা যাচ্ছে না। বাংলাদেশের মুখপাত্রদের বক্তব্যঃ আগামী মাস তিনেকের মধ্যে পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের বাংলাদেশ থেকে হটিয়ে দিতে না পারলে ওদের বোধ হয় আর কখনোই ইটানো যাবে না। তার অর্থ-শরণার্থীদেরও ঘরে ফেরা হবে না।

এটা হয়ত মুক্তি ফৌজের অনেকের সাময়িক আশাভঙ্গ জনিত বক্তব্য; কিন্তু তবু এ বক্তব্যের দিকে ভারতকে কান দিতেই হবে।

তাছাড়া নয়াদিল্লীকে হয়ত পশ্চিমবঙ্গের ধ্বংস দেখতে হবে। তা যদি হয়, তাহলে দেশের অর্থনীতিতে তার ধাক্কা পড়বে প্রচণ্ডভাবেই। শ্রী অজয় মুখোপাধ্যায় ওয়ারনিং দিয়েছেন যে, তিনি হয়ত পদত্যাগ করতে বাধ্য হবেন। তিনি যাতে তাড়াছড়ো করে কিছু না করে বসেন সে ব্যাপারে ভারত সরকার কী করেন বা না করেন, তার উপরেই পশ্চিমবঙ্গ সরকার শেষ পর্যন্ত কী করবেন বা না করবেন তা নির্ভর করবে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১৮। সোয়েলের কাছে বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতি প্রশ্নটি ভাবাবেগজাতঃ সংখ্যালঘুদের জাতীয় কনভেনশনে বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গ।	কালান্তর	৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

## সোয়েলের কাছে বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতি প্রশ্নটি ভাবাবেগজাত সংখ্যালঘুদের জাতীয় কনভেনশনে বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গ।

লক্ষৌ, ৬ জুন (ইউএনআই) - কাওয়াস বাগ বারাদরীতে বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গে ভারতের সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়গুলির জাতীয় কনভেনশনের আজ সকালে উদ্বোধন হয়। লোকসভার সহকারী অধ্যক্ষ জি এস সোয়েল বলেন, বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়াটাই শেষ কথা নয়। যদিও সম্মেলনের উদ্যোক্তাদের অন্যতম দাবি হলো অবিলম্বে স্বীকৃতি দান।

কনভেনশনের কাছে যারা শুভেচ্ছা বাণী পাঠিয়েছেন, প্রধানমন্ত্রী তাদের অন্যতম। তিনি ঐ প্রশ্নের সরাসরি জবাব এড়িয়ে বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে ভারত সরকারের সিদ্ধান্তগুলি সমর্থন করে সরকারের হাত শক্ত করার আহবান জানিয়েছেন।

সহকারী অধ্যক্ষ শ্রী সোয়েল অবশ্য এ রকম একটা আভাস দিয়েছেন যে পররাষ্ট্র বিষয়ক মন্ত্রী শরণ সিং-এর প্রত্যাবর্তনের পর বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতি দান সম্পর্কে একটা সিদ্ধান্ত হতে পারে। শ্রী সিং বিশ্বের বিভিন্ন রাজধানীতে ভারতের অভিমত জানাতে ও জানতে গেছেন।

বক্তৃতা প্রসঙ্গে সোয়েল বলেছেন বাংলাদেশ সরকারের স্বীকৃতির প্রশ্নটি একটি ভাবাবেগজাত। তার ধারণা এর দ্বারা ভারত পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের সামরিক জুন্টার ফাঁদে পা দেবে। কারণ পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান সমগ্র বিষয়টি সাম্প্রদায়িক রূপ দিতে চায়। সে জন্য শ্রী সোয়েলের পরামর্শ হলো “বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতি” যা আদৌ শেষ কথা নয় তার জন্য উন্মুখ হয়ে না থেকে চরম লক্ষ্যে সার্বভৌমতা, শান্তি ও সমৃদ্ধি কিভাবে অর্জন করা যায় সেজন্য কাজ করা।

কনভেনশনের উদ্বোধন করে কেন্দ্রীয় খাদ্য ও কৃষিমন্ত্রী ফখরুদ্দিন আলী আমেদ বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে ভারত সরকারের নীতি ব্যাখ্যা করে বলেন, এ লাড়াই অবাঙ্গালী বা অমুসলমানদের বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম নয়। একটা সামরিক রাজত্বের বিরুদ্ধে সমগ্র জনতার সংগ্রাম।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১৯। রাজনৈতিক সামাধানের জন্য বাংলাদেশ সরকারের অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপ্রধানের চাদফা পূর্বশর্ত	কালান্তর	৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

## রাজনৈতিক সামাধানের জন্য বাংলাদেশ সরকারের অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপ্রধানের চাদফা পূর্বশর্ত

॥স্টাফ রিপোর্টার॥

কলকাতা, ৬ জুন- আজ স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ সরকারের অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্র প্রধান সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলাম চার দফা নূন্যতম পূর্বশর্ত উপস্থাপিত করে জানিয়েছেন, ইয়াহিয়া সরকার ঐ শর্তাবলী মেনে নিলেই বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সামাধান সম্ভব।

এই শর্তগুলি হলঃ (১) বাংলাদেশের অবিসংবাদিত নেতা শেখ মুজিবুর রহমান এবং কারান্তরালে নির্বাসিত অপরাপর গণপ্রতিনিধিদের বিনাশর্তে মুক্তিদান; (২) অবিলম্বে পাক হানাদার বাহিনীর বাংলাদেশ ত্যাগ; (৩) বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীন, গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী সরকারের স্বীকৃতি; (৪) বাংলাদেশে সামরিক তাড়বের ফলে লুপ্তিত সম্পদ ও ক্ষয়ক্ষতির পরিমাণ কোন আন্তর্জাতিক সংস্থা কর্তৃক নিরূপণ করে উপযুক্ত ক্ষতিপূরণ দান।

আজ ‘স্বাধীন বাংলা বেতার কেন্দ্র’ কর্তৃক প্রচারিত সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলামের দেশবাসীর উদ্দেশ্যে এক বেতার ভাষণে ঐ শর্তগুলি তুলে ধরা হয়েছে।

সৈয়দ ইসলাম পুনরায় ঘোষণা করেন, যদি কেউ রাজনৈতিক সমাধান বলতে ঐক্যবদ্ধ পাকিস্তানের পুনর্জীবনের কথা মনে করেন তাহলে তিনি মূর্খের স্বর্গে বাস করেন। “লাখো শহীদের রক্তে ঐক্যবদ্ধ পাকিস্তান মরে গেছে, তাকে আর বাঁচানো যাবে না। সাড়ে সাত কোটি বাঙ্গালী কোন গোঁজামিলের সমস্যা সমাধান মনে নেবে না।”

### সাম্প্রদায়িকতা আর মাথাচাড়া দিয়ে শঠতে পারবে না

তিনি বাংলাদেশের জনগনকে সতর্ক করে দিয়ে বলেন, “যে অস্ত্রকে সম্বল করে পশ্চিমা শাসকরা আপনাদের ২৩ বছর ধরে শোষণ করেছে, সেই সাম্প্রদায়িকতার অস্ত্র তারা আবার শাণাচ্ছে।

তিনি দৃষ্টকণ্ঠে ঘোষণা করেন, “বাংলাদেশে সাম্প্রদায়িকতা আর মাথাচাড়া দিয়ে উঠতে পারবে না।”

তিনি জানান, ২৩ বছর ধরে আমরা বাংলাদেশের হিন্দু-মুসলমান-খৃষ্টান, বৌদ্ধ একসঙ্গে শোষিত হয়েছি আবার এখন একসঙ্গে লড়াই করছি। “জঙ্গীশাহী মসজিদ, মন্দির, গির্জা, প্যাগোডা ধ্বংস করেছে, খুন করেছে ডঃ গোবিন্দ চন্দ্র দেবকে, ডাঃ ফজলুর রহমানকে, ক্যাথলিক ফাদার তিনজনকে, বৌদ্ধ ভিক্ষুদের।:

‘একশ্রেণীর ভাড়াটিয়া দালাল’ বাংলাদেশে যে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার বিষ ছড়াচ্ছে তার উল্লেখ করে তিনি দৃঢ়ভাবে জানান, “কোন দৃষ্টকারী যদি মানুষে মানুষে বিভেদ ও শাস্তিপ্রিয় জনগণের প্রাণ বিপন্ন করে তাহলে তখনই খবর দেবেন- আমাদের মুক্তিবাহিনীর ছেলেরা যথোপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা নেবেন, ঐ সকল দৃষ্টকারীদের দেখামাত্র কঠোর সাজা দেওয়ার নির্দেশ দেওয়া হয়েছে।”



বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

### ভারত ও ব্রহ্মদেশ সরকারকে অভিনন্দন

বাংলাদেশের ৪০ লক্ষ শরণার্থীকে ভারতে এবং ৫০,০০০ শরণার্থীকে ব্রহ্মদেশে আশ্রয়দানের জন্য তিনি ভারতের “জনগণ, রাজনৈতিক জনগণ ও সরকারকে” এবং ব্রহ্মদেশ সরকারকে অভিনন্দন জানান।

তিনি বাস্তুচ্যুত শরণার্থীদের প্রতি ঐকান্তিক সমবেদনা জানিয়ে বলেন, হানাদারদের হটিয়ে দিয়ে বাংলাদেশ সরকার সসম্মানে দেশত্যাগী বাস্তুহারাদের ফিরিয়ে আনতে দৃঢ়প্রতিজ্ঞ। “আপনারা বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীন নাগরিক হিসেবে আপনাদের বাড়ি-ঘর সম্পত্তি ফিরে পাবেন।”

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২০। অনাহারে পথশ্রমে অবসন্ন মৃতপ্রায় শরণার্থী দল	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

## অনাহারে পথশ্রমে অবসন্ন মৃতপ্রায় শরণার্থী দল (বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি)

- স্যার, একবার বলে দিন, এই স্লিপ নিয়ে কোথায় গেলে রেশন পাব?

কলকাতা থেকে টাকি, টাকি থেকে হাসনাবাদ, হাসনাবাদ থেকে বসিরহাট, বসিরহাট থেকে বারাসাত, বারাসাত থেকে দমদম, তার পর লবণ হ্রদ, তারপর-? শত শত লোক, বৃদ্ধা বৃদ্ধা, যুবক যুবতী, কিশোর কিশোরী এবং শিশু এই একটি প্রশ্ন মুখে নিয়ে পায়ে পায়ে ঘুরে বেড়াচ্ছে। বিভিন্ন শিবিরে এরা যাচ্ছে, প্রত্যাখ্যাত হচ্ছে, আবার হাটছে, হাটছে মাইলের পর মাইল, হাটছে দিন রাত। তারপর অনাহারে পথশ্রম, যারা অপেক্ষাকৃত দুর্বল, অবসন্ন তারা বসে পড়ছে পথের ধারে। মরছে।

কলকাতার প্রবেশদ্বারেই, সাহারা আশ্রয় শিবিরের সামনে অস্থিচর্মসার এক বৃদ্ধ একটি ভাঙ্গা বাড়ির হাড় পাঁজর বের করা দেওয়ালে হেলান দিয়ে নিষ্পলক চেয়ে আছেন আশ্রয় শিবিরের দিকে। না, এখন তার কোনও চাহিদা নেই, কারণ তিনি মৃত।

রবিবার কলকাতা ন্যাশনাল মেডিকেল কলেজের কয়েকজন চিকিৎসক ডেকে আমাকে দৃশ্যটা দেখালেন। জানা গেল, ওই বৃদ্ধার পদযাত্রা শুরু হয়েছিল খুলনার এক গ্রাম থেকে, আর যাত্রা শেষ হল এই সাহারায়, কলকাতার দ্বারপ্রান্তে।

এ দৃশ্য আজ পশ্চিমবঙ্গের কোথায় নয়? এরা, এই আর্ত, ক্ষুধিত, সাজানো সংসার থেকে উন্মুক্ত লোকগুলো এইরকম দিশাহীন ঘুরছে কেন? মাড়োয়ারি রিলিফ সোসাইটির একজন মুখপাত্র বললেন, কী করব? আমাদের শিবিরগুলোর আর কাউকে আশ্রয় দেবার সামর্থ্য নেই। আমরা তাই নতুন লোককে ফিরিয়ে দিতে বাধ্য হচ্ছি। আবার ঠিক কোথায় পাঠালে যে ওরা আশ্রয় পাবে, তাও জানিনে। তাই আমরা কোথাও পাঠাতেও পারছি নে।

মাড়োয়ারি রিলিফ সোসাইটি বসিরহাট মহকুমার দশটা আশ্রয় শিবির পরিচালনা করেছেন। রবিবার এই দশটা শিবিরে আশ্রয়প্রার্থীর মোট সংখ্যা দাঁড়িয়েছে ২ লক্ষ ৮৮ হাজার ৭৩ জন।

ওঁরা যা হিসেব দিলেন তাতে জানা গেল, হাসনাবাদ শিবিরে ৩৫ হাজার, টাকি সৈন্যের বাগানে ৩০ হাজার, গোলপুকুরে ২৫ হাজার, বসিরহাট মেলাখোলায় ১৫ হাজার, মৈত্র বাগানে ৩৫ হাজার, মোগলপাড়ায় ১৫ হাজার, স্বরূপনগরে ৫০ হাজার, নির্মানে ১৬ হাজার, তেঁতুলিয়ায় ১০ হাজার, কাটিয়াহাটে ১৫ হাজার। একুনে আড়াই লক্ষ। এর উপর আরও ৩৮ হাজার আশ্রয়প্রার্থীর ভার এদের নিতে হয়েছে সরকারের অনুরোধে।

ওঁরা জানালেন, ওঁদের উপর এত চাপ পড়েছে যে, ওঁদের ব্যবস্থা চাপের চোটে ভেঙ্গে পড়ার উপক্রম হয়েছে। ওরা বেশ চিন্তিত। মাড়োয়ারি রিলিফ সোসাইটি কয়েকটা নির্ধারিত কেন্দ্র থেকে আশ্রয়প্রার্থীদের মধ্যে সরকারী বরাদ্দ অনুসারে রেশন বিলি করেন। সরকারের বরাদ্দ দৈনিক মাথাপিছু ৪০০ গ্রাম চাল, ১০০ গ্রাম ডাল, ১৫০ গ্রাম আলু, ১৫০ গ্রাম পিয়াজ, ১৫০ গ্রাম লবণ। আশ্রয়প্রার্থীদের সপ্তাহে ছয় দিনের রেশন দেওয়া হয়। বিতরণের সুবিধার জন্য সোসাইটি নিয়ম করেছেন সপ্তাহে একদিন নির্দিষ্ট এলাকার আশ্রয়প্রার্থীর মধ্যে রেশন দেওয়া হবে। এতে বিশৃঙ্খলা কমেছে কিন্তু মানুষের দুর্দশা কমানো যায়নি। টাকির এক রেশন বিতরণ কেন্দ্রে বিকালের মুখে গিয়ে দেখি হাজার হাজার লোক রেশনের লাইনে দাঁড়িয়ে বৃষ্টিতে ভিজছেন।

মাড়োয়ারি রিলিফ সোসাইটির পক্ষ থেকে এ পর্যন্ত ৫ হাজার পরিবারকে বাসনপত্র দেওয়া হয়েছে এবং এছাড়া অনেককে কাপড় জামা ইত্যাদি। এছাড়া ওরা সীমান্ত অঞ্চলে ৫০ বেডের একটা হাসপাতালও খুলবেন।

বর্ষা শুরু হওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তিনটি সমস্যা প্রকট হয়েছে। যথাঃ (১) জ্বালানী, (২) শৌচাগার এবং (৩) পানীয় জল।

সরকার রেশন দেবার মালিক, জ্বালানী দেবার কেউ নয়। ফলে এতদিন আশ্রয়প্রার্থীরা নিজেরাই এপাশ ওপাশ থেকে তা সংগ্রহ করে নিচ্ছিলেন। এদিকে জঙ্গল নেই। অতএব স্থানীয় গৃহস্থদের জিনিসেই হাত পড়ছিল। এবং পশ্চিমবঙ্গের লোক শত অসুবিধা সহ্য করেও শরণার্থীদের সাহায্য করে অতিথিবৎসলতার প্রশংসনীয় দৃষ্টান্ত স্থাপন করেছেন। কিন্তু এখন, এই বর্ষায় কী হবে? গৃহস্থরা নিজেরাই তো জ্বালানীর অভিযোগে ভুগবেন। এই অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সরকারের উচিত অবিলম্বে শরণার্থীদের জন্য জ্বালানীর ব্যবস্থা করা। নাহলে ক্রমে জ্বালানীর অভাবে শরণার্থীদের হাঁড়িই যে চড়বে না, তাই নয়, আইন-শৃঙ্খলাগত শোচনীয় অবস্থারও সৃষ্টি হবে।

রবিবার শিবিরের পর শিবির গিয়ে দেখেছি, ন্যূনতম স্বাস্থ্যরক্ষার কোনও ব্যবস্থাই নেই। একে এইসব শিবিরে লোক সংখ্যার তুলনায় পায়খানার সংখ্যা শোচনীয়ভাবে কম, (আবরণ রক্ষার প্রশ্ন তুলছিই না) তারপর উপর বৃষ্টির জলে সেগুলো এখন থৈ থৈ, একেবারে অব্যবহার্য হয়ে উঠেছে। মাঠগুলোও ভেসে উঠছে, জেগে আছে শুধু পাকা সড়ক। অতএব কিছুদিন পরে অবস্থা কী দাঁড়াবে, তা সহজেই অনুমেয়। এর পরে দুর্গন্ধে ওদিকে তিষ্ঠানো যাবে না।

এরই সঙ্গে যুক্ত হয়েছে পানীয় জল সরবরাহের সংকট। এমন শিবিরও আছে যার লোকসংখ্যা ১৫ হাজারেরও উপর, কিন্তু মাত্র একটি টিউবওয়েল কাজ করছে। বাকিগুলো বিকল। পরিশ্রুত পানীয় জলের অভাব, শিবিরে সাধারণ স্বাস্থ্যবিধি রক্ষার অব্যবস্থা মারাত্মক সব রোগের সৃষ্টি করতে এবং সকলের জীবন বিপন্ন করে তুলবে।

ন্যাশনাল মেডিকেল কলেজের কয়েকজন চিকিৎসক গত কয়েকদিন ধরে যাহারা শিবিরে দল বেঁধে আসছেন এবং প্রাণপণে চেষ্টা করছেন। সেবা করতে দেখে ভাল লাগল। ওদের মধ্যে দু'জন, ডঃ বিমল বসু এবং ডঃ নন্দ সরকার জানালেন। সাহারা শিবিরে (কাশী বিশ্বনাথ সেবা সমিতি শিবির পরিচালনা করছেন) গত সপ্তাহ থেকে তারা মহামারীর আকারে যে উদরাময়, চোখের রোগ, ব্রংকাইটিস, বসন্ত, হাম, এমনকি যক্ষ্মা রোগ দেখা দিয়েছে, তার চিকিৎসা করছেন। তারা রেডক্রস, ক্যালকাটা কেমিক্যালস, হাওড়া লায়নস ক্লাব, দেজ মেডিক্যাল, ষ্ট্যাডমেড, ইস্ট ইনডিয়া ফারমাসিউটিক্যালস প্রভৃতি সংস্থার কাছ থেকে কিছু ওষুধপত্র পেয়েছেন তবে তাতে প্রয়োজন মিটেছে না। সরকারের কাছে আবেদন নিবেদন করেও এ পর্যন্ত তারা কোনও সাহায্য পাননি। সময়মত সাহায্য পেলে তারা অনেক জীবন বাঁচাতে পারতেন।

বর্ষা শুরু হতে না হতেই সমস্যার তীব্রতা এবং ব্যাপকতা এইভাবে বেড়ে চলেছে। যার পরিণতি লক্ষ লক্ষ ঘরছাড়া শরণার্থীদের ঠেলে নিয়ে চলেছে একটি মাত্র লক্ষ মৃত্যুর দুয়ারে।

এর বিকল্প কী? বিভিন্ন শরণার্থীকে সারাদিন ধরে জিজ্ঞাসা করেছি। ওরা বলেছে দেশে ফিরে যাওয়া। ওরা বলেছে, আমরা ঘরে ফিরতে প্রস্তুত, আপনারা আমাদের নিরাপত্তার ব্যবস্থা করে দিন।

নিরাপত্তার ব্যবস্থা বলতে কী বোঝাতে চান? কী চান আপনারা? রামপালের ছাত্র কালিদাস রায়, শিক্ষক বিকাশ চন্দ্র সরদার, গ্রামের মাতববর বিজয়কৃষ্ণ মন্ডল- সারাদিন তারা রেশন নেয়ার জন্য লাইনে দাঁড়িয়ে আছেন, সারাদিন ধরে বৃষ্টিতে ভিজছেন, ক্লান্ত তারা, অবসন্ন একবাক্যে বললেন, মুজিবের সরকার, একমাত্র মুজিবের সরকার হলেই বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীন হলেই আমরা নিরাপদ হব। ঘরে ফিরে যাব।”

এর জন্য প্রয়োজন তারা অস্ত্র ধরবেন। যদি তাদের এ কাজে লাগানো হয়, তবে এই দন্ডেই তারা রেশনের লাইন ছেড়ে চলে যাবেন। প্রাণ বলি দিতে তারা প্রস্তুত।

প্রশ্ন এই, এ ব্যবস্থা কে করবেন? আগে করা হবে কি? হলে এই তো সময়, কেননা জীবনীশক্তি কিছু এখনও অবশিষ্ট আছে। যত দেরি হবে, মৃতের স্তুপে ভারত ততই ভরে যাবে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২১। চিকিৎসা সামগ্রী প্রেরণের জন্য জরুরি বিমান	হিন্দুস্তান স্টান্ডার্ড	৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

**"HINDUSTAN STANDARD, JUNE 8, 1971  
EMERGENCY AIRLIFE OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES**

Geneva: June 7. - The world Health Organization (WHO) announced today an emergency airlift of medical supplies to India to, help fight the cholera epidemic among refugees from East Bengal, " report foreign and Indian news agencies.

An initial load of 2-i tons of vaccine and other supplies left Geneva at the weekend, WHO said. The total airlift schedule is for 30 to 40 tons of material a week for the next 8 to 10 weeks, it said.

According to the BBC, WHO has, in a statement' from Geneva says that "3,000 East Pakistani refugees in India have died so far of cholera and gastroenteritis". The report adds that 10,000 refugees have been affected.

The Director General of the U.N. Food and Agriculture organization said today the 121-nation body could not fully meet requests for emergency food aid for Pakistan and India. Mr. Addeke H. Boerma of the Netherlands said the requests were "beyond the resources of FAO.

Britain, today began organizing a massive airlift of medicine and food supplies for the East Bengal cholera victims in India. RAF planes will be leaving immediately with free supplies of cholera vaccine syringes and other material, to combat the cholera epidemic raging among the East Bengal refugees.

The Foreign' Office said this was in addition to the £1 million already contributed to the U.N. appeal fund and 750,000 worth of food aid announced yesterday.

The first of four RAF planes is due to arrive in Calcutta early on Tuesday bringing these supplies Equipment from War on Want for a mobile hospital will be flown in on Tuesday together with 6 tons of medical supplies from OXFAM. Charities personnel and doctors and nurses are expected on Wednesday.

The Japanese Government tonight decided to contribute \$3 million in aid for the relief of East Bengal refugees In India. The amount would be used for purchasing rice from Japan. The Japanese gesture is in response to an appeal by the Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

President Ferdinand Marcos said today the Philippine Foreign Ministry was studying a letter from Mrs. Gandhi on the problem of millions of East Bengal refugees in India.

The West German Red Cross said today it is sending a relief consignment of 1.000 tents, 15 tons of baby food, medical supplies and eating utensils valued at 13,000 marks (about £35,630) to Calcutta by air tomorrow for the East Pakistan refugees.

Air India today brought in Calcutta 236 packages of relief materials containing

Cholera vaccines, syringes medicines and powder milk for the Bangladesh evacuees. The consignment, of milk powder came Australia while the other materials were from the USA it is learnt.

A UNICEF chartered Boeing 707 flight from Copenhagen will arrive tomorrow afternoon at Calcutta airport with 32 tons of emergency medical supplies for East Bengal refugees. The medical supplies include drugs, adhesive plaster, gauze bandages, syringes and needles.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২২। আই,পি, আই বৈঠকে বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্ন উঠতে পারে	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, JUNE 8, 1971*

# **BANG LA ISSUE MAY COME UP BEFORE IPI ASSEMBLY**

*From Tarapadu Basil*

Helsinki, June 7. - Though it appears that the Singapore Press affair will dominate the 20th International Press Institute's General Assembly, which started this morning, there is no doubt that Indo-Pakistani relations over the present situation in East Bengal will also come up as they have already been talked about informally by delegates and others after the long dispatches with distressing pictures published in the Sunday Times yesterday and the arrival here of Indian and Pakistani delegations.

The opening ceremony denoted the significance of this annual gathering of publishers and others, which provides exchange of views and takes notes on the present situation of mass media outside the Communist countries. The Prime Minister, Mr. Alvi Karjalainen of Finland, who is also the acting President of the country gave the opening speech.

Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore is due to speak on June 9 on "the mass media as seen by the world policy makers" and animated discussions are expected as a large section of delegates is already critical of his action.

Mr. Asoke Kumar Sarkar and other Indian delegates have been repeatedly asked in informal talks of the present state of affairs of Indo-Pakistani relations and Bangladesh.

IPI circles generally seem convinced on two points; (1) that a reign of terror exists in East Bengal forcing refugees to take shelters in India, and (2) they will not return to East Bengal so long she remains in control of the Pakistani armed forces.

It is gathered that some Pakistani delegates are planning to charge the Indian Press alleging that they have been largely responsible for the present situation in East Bengal. Such an attempt will not go unchallenged not only by the Indian Press delegates but also by others who like the reporters of the Sunday Times have no doubt that the Yahya Khan military regime is solely responsible for what has happened.

Reports on Foreign Ministers, Mr. Swaran Singh's arrival yesterday in Moscow and his proposed visits to Bonn, Paris, Ottawa, Washington and London have been published here and mentioned on television programme in Helsinki and other Scandinavian capitals. The seriousness of the situation in East Bengal is gradually realized abroad. So the likely attempt by some Pakistani Press representatives at the IPI General Assembly is obviously intended to mislead the world Press and divert their attention from East Bengal. Some delegates have already been poisoned by Pakistani propaganda. Some members of the Pakistani Press have also privately admitted that their attempt here may prove abortive. If the private talks do not convince the Pakistanis not to make such an attempt they will be responsible for the consequences at the General Assembly.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২০। বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক সমাধান	কালান্তর	৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

সম্পাদকীয়

### বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক সমাধান

বাংলাদেশের সমস্যার একটা সমাধান রাজনৈতিক সমাধান হোক এ ইচ্ছা পৃথিবীর কোন কোন রাষ্ট্র এবং রাষ্ট্রনায়করা প্রকাশ করেছেন। ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রীও বিভিন্ন বক্তৃতায় এর একটা শান্তিপূর্ণ সমাধানের কামনা ব্যক্ত করেছেন। সীমান্ত গান্ধী খান আবদুল গফফার খান মীমাংসায় পৌঁছানোর জন্য পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের জঙ্গীশাহী ও বাংলাদেশের নেতাদের মধ্যে মধ্যস্থতার প্রস্তাবও করেছিলেন। পাকিস্তানের জঙ্গীশাহী মেনে না নেওয়ার ঐ প্রস্তাবের অপমৃত্যু ঘটেছে। তা সত্ত্বেও পাকিস্তানের নজীরবিহীন ঘটনার কোন রাজনৈতিক সমাধান সম্ভব কিনা এ নিয়ে বিভিন্ন মহলে আজও গবেষণার শেষ নেই। রবিবার স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ সরকারের অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপ্রধান সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলাম এক বেতার ভাষণে এই সমাধানের ভিত্তি সম্পর্কে ঐ সরকারের মনোভাব ব্যক্ত করেছেন।

এ পর্যন্ত যারাই রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের কথা ভেবেছেন তারা প্রত্যেকেই পাকিস্তানের ঐক্য অক্ষুণ্ণ রেখে সমাধানের কথা হয়ত চিন্তা করছিলেন। বাংলাদেশের অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপ্রধান তাদের এই চিন্তাকে অবাস্তব এবং ভ্রান্ত বলে উল্লেখ করেছেন। “লাখো শহীদের রক্তে ঐক্যবদ্ধ পাকিস্তান মরে গেছে, তাকে আর বাঁচানো যাবে না”। সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলামের এই মর্মান্তিক উক্তির মধ্যে থেকে ভাবপ্রবণতার প্রাবল্য থাকতে পারে কিন্তু এটাই আজ বাংলাদেশের কাছে বস্তব ঘটনা। একই রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে থেকে যে পূর্ববাংলা ভৌগোলিক দিক থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন ছিল জঙ্গী রাষ্ট্র নায়করা শহীদের রক্তের নদী সৃষ্টি করে সবদিক থেকে তাকেই আজ সম্পূর্ণ পৃথক করে দিয়েছে। একে গোঁজামিল দিয়ে ঐক্যবদ্ধ রাখার কোন প্রয়াসই আর সফল হতে পারে না। অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপ্রধান অত্যন্ত দৃঢ়তার সঙ্গে এবং সুস্পষ্ট ভাষায় সেই ঘোষণা করেছেন।

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশকে ভিত্তি করে সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলাম সমস্যার সমাধানের যে চারটি পূর্ব শর্ত দিয়েছেন তার কোন একটিকে বাদ দিয়ে বাংলাদেশের সমস্যার সমাধান করা যায় না। মুজিবুর রহমান সমেত অন্যান্য গণপ্রতিনিধিদের মুক্তি, হানাদার বাহিনীর বাংলাদেশ ত্যাগ, স্বাধীন, গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী সরকারের স্বীকৃতি এবং বাংলাদেশের ক্ষয়ক্ষতির ক্ষতিপূরণ ছাড়া বাংলাদেশে কোন শান্তি প্রতিষ্ঠার চিন্তা প্রকৃতই অবাস্তব।

এই উপমহাদেশে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা এবং সংগ্রামী জনসাধারণ স্বাধিকার ও স্বায়ত্ত্বশাসনের জন্যে যে আন্দোলন শুরু করেছিলেন পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের একচেটিয়া পুঁজি, সামন্ততান্ত্রিক স্বার্থ এবং সামরিক জুগুটার মিলিত আক্রমণ তাকে রক্তের বন্যায় ডুবিয়ে দিতে চেয়েছিলো। বর্ষার প্রবল জলরাশিকে শুধু বাঁধ দিয়ে ঠেকানো যায় না। তার অবাধ প্রবাহের পথ করে না দিলে সে বাঁধ ভাঙ্গে। ইয়হিয়ার বর্বর সৈন্যদের নিষ্ঠুরতা সেই বাঁধ আজ বাংলাদেশের জনতা ভেঙ্গে গুঁড়িয়ে এগিয়ে চলেছে। স্বাধিকার থেকে স্বাধীনতা, স্বায়ত্ত্ব শাসন থেকে সার্বভৌমত্ব, পশ্চিমী পুঁজির নাগ পাশের বাঁধন শিথিল নয়; একেবারে ছিন্ন করার শপথে বাংলাদেশের জনতা আজ সোচ্চার হয়ে উঠেছেন। জনতার সেই দুরন্ত আবেগকেই সমাধানের শর্তরূপে বিশ্বের রাষ্ট্রনায়কদের কাছে হাজির করেছেন বাংলাদেশ সরকারের অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপ্রধান।

বাংলাদেশের সমস্যা অনেকদিন আগেই পাকিস্তান রাষ্ট্রের “অভ্যন্তরীণ বিষয়”- এর গভী ছাড়িয়েছে। একটা সামরিক চক্রকে সামনে রেখে বাঙালী জাতিকে (ধর্মের ভিত্তিতে নয়) এবং বাংলাদেশকে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের ঐ একচেটিয়া পুঁজির ঔপনিবেশিক শোষণের ক্ষেত্র হিসেবে ব্যবহার করার নীতি যেদিন থেকে গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে সেদিন থেকেই বাঙালী জাতির স্বাধিকার ও আত্মনিয়ন্ত্রণের সংগ্রাম ঘরোয়া আন্দোলনের সীমা অতিক্রম করেছে।

আজ বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা রক্ষার সংগ্রামের সঙ্গে পরাধীন জাতিগুলির মুক্তির আন্দোলন প্রায় একাকার হয়ে গেছে। বাংলাদেশের কোন সামাধানের কথা যারা চিন্তা করছেন তাদের দৃষ্টি যেন বাঙালী জাতির মুক্তি আন্দোলনের এই দিকটা থেকে সরে না যায়-সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলাম সেই জন্যই তাঁর সরকারের পক্ষ থেকে ঐ পূর্ব শর্তগুলি আরোপ করেছেন।

একটা স্থায়ী রাজনীতিক সমাধানের জন্য বাংলাদেশের বাঙালীরা ত প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় অনেক বেশি দাম দিয়েছেন। চার পাঁচ লক্ষ বাঙালী রক্ত ঢেলেছেন, অর্থ কোটি নর-নারী-শিশু সর্বস্ব ত্যাগ করে দেশের মাটির বাইরে দাঁড়িয়ে শত্রুকে ধিক্কার দিচ্ছেন -যদি প্রয়োজন হয় আরও মূল্য দিতে তাঁরা প্রস্তুত কিন্তু বিনিময়ে তাঁরা চান মুক্তি, স্বাধীনতা। বাংলাদেশের স্থায়ী রাজনীতিক সমাধান মাত্র ঐ একটিই। বাংলাদেশ সরকার অবিচল নিষ্ঠার সঙ্গে একমাত্র শর্তই আরোপ করেছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২৪। কলকাতার দূতাবাসগুলিতে বদলী ও নতুন নিয়োগের হিড়িক, কারণ রাজনৈতিক?	দর্পণ	১১ জুন, ১৯৭১

### কলকাতার দূতাবাসগুলিতে বদলী ও নতুন নিয়োগের হিড়িক

#### কারণ রাজনৈতিক?

(দর্পণ সংবাদদাতা)

হঠাৎ কি যেন একটা ঘটেছে বা ঘটতে যাচ্ছে। মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রদূত ছুটে কলকাতা এলেন। দূতাবাসে দূতাবাসে গুঞ্জন, ফিসফিসানী। বাংলাদেশ? ভারত -পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধ? পঞ্চাশ লক্ষ নবাগত শরণার্থীর চাপ? পশ্চিমবঙ্গে ধুমায়িত অসন্তোষ?

এলেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী ইন্দিরা গান্ধি। “যুদ্ধ না শান্তি- প্রধান প্রশ্ন প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে?

খবর নয়, খবর তৈরী করার চেষ্টাও আনন্দবাজারের কল্যাণে খবর হয়ে উঠলো। খবরের কাগজ পুরোপুরি “দাবীদিবসের” হ্যাণ্ডবিল হয়ে উঠেছে।

তাই বোধ হয় দূতাবাসের অফিসগুলোতে বদলীর পালা চলেছে। সোভিয়েত, মার্কিন, পশ্চিম জার্মানী, পূর্ব জার্মানী, উত্তর কোরিয়া, ইন্দোনেশিয়া, ফ্রান্স এবং মধ্য এশিয়ার কয়েকটি দেশ নিয়ে প্রায় সবকটি দেশের কলকাতা দূতাবাসে নতুন নতুন লোকের আমদানী হচ্ছে।

সবাই জানেন (সেলার ও কানের সোভিয়েতবিরোধী চক্রান্তের ইতিহাস, রবিন্স, সিডনী রিলিদের পরিচয় আজ অনেকেরই অজানা নেই) যে বৈদেশিক দূতাবাসে সংস্কৃতি, বার্তা বিভাগ, সাহায্য বিনিময় বিভাগ ও রেডক্রস জাতীয় প্রতিষ্ঠানের ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্মচারীদের অনেকেই স্ব স্ব দেশের রাজনৈতিক গুণ্ডচরের কাজ নিয়ে আসেন।

সুতরাং হঠাৎ কলকাতার দূতাবাসগুলির এই সব বিভাগের প্রধানদের পাইকারী বদলী এবং নতুন লোকের আগমন ওয়াকিবহাল মহলে বিস্ময় ও ঔৎসুক্যের সৃষ্টি করেছে।

পশ্চিমবঙ্গে হত্যা খুনোখুনির রাজনীতি আমদানী এবং তা অবলীলাক্রমে বিনা বাধায় চালিয়ে যাওয়ার পেছনে বৈদেশিক যে গুণ্ডচর চক্র সক্রিয় তার মধ্যে পৃথিবীর দুটি বৃহত্তম শক্তি নাকি অবতীর্ণ। আটষষ্টি সাল মার্কিন গুণ্ডচর বিভাগের বড় কর্তারা লালবাজারে পর্যন্ত ঘুরে গিয়েছেন।....

তাই এবার ছোট ছোট রাজনৈতিক দল এবং বিচ্ছিন্ন, হাতাশাগ্রস্ত রাজনৈতিক সম্পর্কযুক্ত লোক দিয়ে ঘটনাগুলোর নতুন আবরণ সৃষ্টি করা দরকার। আমরা দেখেছি উনিশশো আঠারো-তেইশ সালের সোভিয়েত দেশেও বিভিন্ন বিপ্লব বিরোধী ও প্রতিবিপ্লবী ছোট ছোট রাজনৈতিক দলগুলিকে বৃটিশ, ফ্রান্স, মার্কিন গোয়েন্দা চক্র শিশু সোভিয়েত রাষ্ট্র ও প্রায় অনভিজ্ঞ বলশেভিক পার্টির ধ্বংস করার চক্রান্তে নিযুক্ত করতে পেরেছিল।

ভারতবর্ষের ওপর সোভিয়েত এবং মার্কিন খবরদারী প্রায় সমান। বর্তমান সোভিয়েত রাষ্ট্রও পুরোপুরি রেনিনের স্তালিনের আদর্শ মেনে চলে না। বরং দুনিয়ার ভাগবাটোয়ারায় তারা মার্কিনীদের প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বী এবং বোঝাপড়ায় আগ্রহী মিত্রও বটে।

ইন্দিরা সরকারের প্রতি সোভিয়েত মার্কিন যতখানি অনাগ্রহশীল, পাকিস্তানের ইয়াহিয়া খানের প্রাতিও তাঁরা অন্তত: ততখানিই সদয়। বৃটেন, ফ্রান্স পশ্চিম ও পূর্ব জার্মানী, কোরিয়া প্রভৃতি কমবেশী এই দুটি বৃহত্তম শক্তিরই অনুসরণকারী মাত্র যদিও তাদের নিজ নিজ দেশের বিশেষ স্বার্থও তারা দেখেন।.....

পশ্চিমবঙ্গে বিভিন্ন দেশের কূটনীতিক তৎপরতা বড় বেশি রকম দৃষ্টিকটুভাবে শুরু হয়েছে। এই কলকাতা শহরে আনাগোনা, ব্যস্ততা, সংবাদ চয়নেন নানা অলিগলিতে ভীড় জমে উঠেছে। ছোট ছোট রাজনৈতিকদের, দলছুট রাজনৈতিক ব্যক্তি ও খবরের কাগজের লোকদের দিকে নজর রাখলেই ডালহৌসী আর লালবাজার থেকে উড স্ট্রিট হ্যারিংটন স্ট্রিটের আনাগোনা ব্যস্ততা চোখে পড়বে। চোখ কান খোলা রাখলে সুতারকিনী-মার্কিনী এবং বাগবাজারের দু'চারটে বৈষ্ণব বাবাজীর দেখাও এখানে মিলে যাবে।

তাতেই আপনার মনে হবে কি যেন ঘটছে বা ঘটতে যাচ্ছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২৫। সাহায্যদাতাদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশের আবেদন	টাইমস অফ ইন্ডিয়া	১২ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE TIMES OF INDIA, JUNE 12, 1971*  
**BANGLADESH PLEA TO THOSE  
 GIVING RELIEF**

*"The Times of India" News Service*

New Delhi, June 11. Mr. M.A. Samad roving ambassador of Bangladesh today urged the world community to ensure that the relief it was providing for the suffering millions in Bangladesh reached the people rather than the West Pakistani war machine. In a statement here he said that the only effective way of doing this was to channelize the relief supplies through the Bangladesh Government which commands the full confidence and unqualified allegiance of the people.

If this course of action was not acceptable to the relief-givers supplies should be distributed by international organizations themselves or by neutral countries. Mr. Samad again appealed to U Thant, the U.N. Secretary General to allow the Bangladesh representatives to place their case before the U.N., particularly the Security Council.

He was concerned over the failure of the international community to do anything particular for the people inside Bangladesh who were being ruthlessly massacred, maimed and uprooted from their hearths and homes by the occupation force of Gen. Yahya Khan. "The world should not sit idle when democracy is chained and throttled in Bangladesh."

All Governments and the U.N. should use sanctions against Islamabad to end genocide and planned starvation of the people of Bangladesh, secure immediate withdrawal of the occupation army from Bangladesh and bring about the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Mr. Samad, who recently attended the Budapest peace conference and visited several European capitals, said that according to the information with his Government people in Bangladesh were dying in large numbers of famine and epidemics. The monsoon was adding to their misery as the occupation army had made many of them homeless. The bulk of relief supplies the Islamabad Government had received for the victims of the cyclone of November last are being used by the West Pakistani army to massacre the innocent and unarmed people of Bangladesh."

The West Pakistani troops must be withdrawn from cantonments to ensure effective distribution of relief.

Mr. Samad was confident that the international community which was aware of Islamabad's perfidy would compel Gen. Yahya Khan to allow proper distribution of relief.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২৬। ভারত ডুবতে বসেছে	কম্পাস	১২ জুন, ১৯৭১

সম্পাদকীয়

**ভারত ডুবতে বসেছে**

কত দ্রুত গতিতে ভারতের অর্থনীতি সমাজ ও রাজনীতি গভীর সঙ্কটের মধ্যে ঢুকে যাচ্ছে। পাকিস্তান ও বাংলাদেশের সমস্যা নিয়ে, তা আজও কূপমুখক ভারতীয়দের চেতনাতে আসেনি। ভারত সরকারের সত্যিই কোন নীতি আছে কি না সন্দেহ। অবস্থার চাপে পড়ে ব্যবস্থা করা যাবে, এর চেয়ে পরিস্কার কোন দৃষ্টি তাদের ছিল না। কিন্তু অবস্থা যা ঘনিয়ে উঠেছে তাদের এখন এই নেতৃত্ব হাবুডুবু খাবে মাত্র। নেতৃত্ব হাবুডুবু খাক বা যাক সেটা সবচেয়ে বড় কথা নয়, সবচেয়ে ভাবনার বিষয় হলো এই যে এবারে বুঝি ভারতই (এঁদেরই হাতে অবশ্য ) ডুবতে বসেছে।

বাংলাদেশে অনতিবিলম্বে ইয়াহিয়া বর্ষার জলকাদায় ও অর্থনৈতিক বিপর্যয়ে ডুবে যাবে, এ জাতীয় অতি সরল হিসেবে মূর্খতার সাফাল্য থেকেই অমন সহজাত স্ট্রাটেজী রূপে এদেশে চালু হয়েছে। দিতে পাকিস্তানের এক কোটি করে নাকি টাকা খরচ হচ্ছে, কিন্তু এক শরণার্থীদের ভাত কাপড় দিতেই কি ভারতের সৈনিক দুই কোটি টাকার ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে না? এখন স্বীকার করা হচ্ছে যে ইতিমধ্যেই শরণার্থীর সংখ্যা পঞ্চাশ লক্ষ্যে দাঁড়িয়েছে। আর শরণার্থীর আগমনী স্রোত সহসা দ্বিগুণ বেগে বৃদ্ধি পাচ্ছে। মাঝখানে কয়েকদিনের জন্য এই স্রোতটা কিছু কম ছিল। অমনি কর্তৃপক্ষ যেন একটু আশ্বস্ত বোধ করছিল। কিনউত হয় আজ কয়েকদিন ধরে এই দৈনিক গড়ের হার লক্ষাধিক হয়েছে। কেউ বলেছেন এক লক্ষ, কেউ বলেছেন এক লক্ষ বিশ হাজার করে দৈনিক এই আমদানী।

আসলে এই জনস্রোতের বৃদ্ধিটা বুঝতে হবে বাংলাদেশের ভিতরকার অবস্থা থেকে। পাকবাহিনীর আক্রমণের মুখে শহর বন্দর ছেড়ে বহু লোক প্রথমেই ভারতের দিকে ছুটে আসেনি, তারা দূর দূর গ্রামে গিয়ে আশ্রয় নেয়। এদিকে মুক্তিফৌজ পাকসামরিক বাহিনীর আক্রমণের উত্তরোত্তর বৃদ্ধির সাথে সাথে ভারতের সীমান্তের দিকে চলে আসতে বাধ্য হয়, ভিতরকার প্রতিরোধ ভেঙ্গে পড়ে, জনসাধারণের উপর নির্মম অত্যাচার ও হত্যার বিভীষিকা ও তাড়ন সৃষ্টি করা হয়, রাস্তার ধারে ধারে গ্রামগুলি জুলিয়ে পুড়িয়ে দেওয়া হয়। সীমান্ত বরাবর পাক বাহিনীর অগ্রগতির ফলে প্রথমটায় সীমান্ত বরাবর জেলাগুলি থেকেই ভারতে লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থী প্রাণ ভয়ে এক বস্ত্রে চলে আসতে থাকে- রাত্রির অন্ধকারে সীমান্ত পার হতে থাকে। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশের ভিতরকার জেলাগুলি থেকে প্রথমে অত শরণার্থীর স্রোত সৃষ্টি হয়নি। তারা অপেক্ষা করছিল দেখতে শেষ পর্যন্ত কী হয়। শেষ পর্যন্ত কিছুই হলো না, ভারত প্রত্যক্ষভাবে হস্তক্ষেপ করলোই না, বলে মৌখিক আশ্বাস দিতে ছাড়ে না। এদিক পাক নির্যাতন উৎপীড়ন ও নিধন যন্ত্রের নিষ্পেষণ পূর্ববাংলার দূরতম পল্লীতেও গুন্ডাশ্রেণীর লোকদের সহায়তায় বিস্তৃত হলে লাগলো। এখন তো আর থাকা যায় না, এই প্রত্যয় ও ভয় দৃঢ় হবার সাথে যে যেখান থেকে পারে, যত দূর থেকেই হোক, সীমান্তের দিকেচলতে শুরু করলে। গোটা বাংলাদেশ দেশত্যাগ করতে শুরু করেছে এবার।

এবার বরিশাল, ফরিদপুর, ঢাকা প্রভৃতি দূরবর্তী জেলার গ্রাম থেকে লক্ষ লক্ষ নরনারী, শিশু ভারতের দিকে ক্রমবর্ধমান স্রোত ধারায় আসছে। দৈনিক গড় তাই লক্ষাধিক হয়েছে।

প্রথমে যারা নিকটবর্তী অঞ্চল থেকে এসেছিল, তারা অন্তত শক্ত সমর্থন দেহগুলি হেঁটে হোক, ট্রাকে, গাড়ীতে, নৌকাতে, রিক্সাতে এসে পৌঁছতে পেরেছিল, এবং যতটা আশ্রয় শিবির তৈরী ছিল তাতে এসে মাথা গুঁজতে পেরেছিল। আজ যারা আসছে, বহু দূর দূর প্রান্ত থেকে ২/৩ সপ্তাহ ধরে পায়ে হেঁটে অর্ধভুক্ত অভক্ষ্যদ্রব্য খেতে খেতে, ক্লান্ত শান্ত অবসন্ন দেহে এসে পড়েছে, তাদের ক্লিন, অবসন্ন, শূন্যদৃষ্টি চেহারাগুলি দেখতে পারা

যায় না, মন বিষন্ন হয়ে যায়। তাদের পশুবৎ জীবন অবর্ণনীয় দুঃখে শোকে ভয়ে ক্লান্তিতে একদম ভেঙ্গে পড়েছে। কে তাদের আজ মনে বল দেয়, কে তাদের আজ বোঝাতে পারে যে তাদের ভবিষ্যৎ আছে, দেশ আছে কোথাও? ‘বাংলাদেশ’- সে আজ কোথায় কতদূরে? বুঝি মৃত্যুর অপর পারে।

এদিকে কলেরা মহামারীরূপে উপস্থিত! হাজার করেক প্রাণ ইতিমধ্যেই তার শিকার হয়েছে। হু হু করে এর সংক্রমণ আগুনের মত ছড়িয়ে পড়ছে। সমস্ত শরণার্থী ও পার্শ্ববর্তী গ্রাম ও জনপদবাসীরা ভয়ানক এক আতঙ্কগ্রস্ত-এই শীতল মৃত্যু গুলীগুলার মৃত্যুর চেয়ে অনেক বেশী ভয়াবহ ত্রাস সৃষ্টি করেছে। কলেরা নিয়েই অনেক শরণার্থী ঢুকছে, কেননা অভুক্ত অবস্থায় যা তা খেয়েছে, বিষাক্ত জল পান করেছে, নদী নালা বিলে মৃতদেহগুলি পচছে, ভাসছে- সেই জলই খেতে হয়েছে। আর এপারেও যে স্বাস্থ্যসম্মত ব্যবস্থাপনা, বিশুদ্ধ পানীয় ও খাদ্য মিলছে, তাও তো খুবই কম ছিল। এখানেও কলেরা মহামারী, বসন্ত প্রভৃতি রোগের ক্ষেত্র তৈরী ছিল। আজ মৃতদেহ এখানেও সংকারের কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই, এমনকি মাটিতে কবর দেবার জন্য যথেষ্ট কোদাল পর্যন্ত নেই। জীবিতদের দায়িত্বই কেউ নিতে নই, মৃতদেহের দায়িত্ব নেবে কে, বিশেষ করে সংক্রামক রোগে মৃত ব্যক্তিদের? ফলে এখানেও নদীতে মৃতদেহ নিক্ষেপ করা ছাড়া উপায় নেই।

সীমান্ত- বিশেষ করে ২৪ পরগণা, নদীয়া, মুর্শিদাবাদে যে সব শিবির করা হয়েছিল সেগুলির স্থান নির্ণয়ে কোন দূরদৃষ্টি ছিল না, মনে করা হয়েছিল দুদিনের তো ব্যাপার, বাংলাদেশ শীঘ্রই মুক্ত হয়ে যাচ্ছে, ভারত সরকার নিশ্চয়ই শেষ পর্যন্ত হাত লাগাবে (নইলে এত সৈন্য সামন্ত এধার ওধার করেছে কেন! আসবে সৈন্যরা নিষ্ক্রিয় নয়, এমনি একটি ভয় দেখাতে ভাগ করছিল মাত্র কিন্তু ইয়াহিয়া খান আমাদের এই ভানটা ধরে ফেলে- তার যা করার তা করেই যাচ্ছে। কোন দিকে ঝঞ্জেপ না করে)। তাই যেখানে সেখানে শিবির করা হয়, যার প্রায় সবগুলিই খোলা মাঠের নীচু জমিতে। এদিকে বর্ষা এসে গেছে। ক্যাম্পগুলির অধিকাংশই জলে ডুবে যাবে শীঘ্রই! কী বীভৎস নোংরা অমানুষিক অবস্থায় পড়বে এই হতভাগ্য মানুষগুলি! মহামারী ও মৃত্যুর মহা ভোজ উপস্থিত।

এদিকে নতুন করে লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থী আসতে শুরু করেছে। সীমান্তের শিবিরে মাথা গুঁজবার কোন ঠাঁই নেই। তাদের সংখ্যা গুনবার জন্যও কোন লোক নেই। পশ্চিম বঙ্গের পুনর্বাসন ব্যবস্থা শক্তির বাইরে চলে গেছে। সমগ্র প্রশাসন ব্যবস্থা ভেঙ্গে পড়েছে। ডাক্তার নেই, সেবক নেই, নার্স নেই, এত স্বেচ্ছাসেবক নেই কোন স্বেচ্ছাসেবক সংস্থার এর কোন কূল কিনারা করতে পারে। শরণার্থীরা ক্ষুধায়, অনাহারে, মহামারীর ভয়ে হাজারে হাজারে কোলকাতার দিকে অগ্রসর হচ্ছে। এ এক অদ্ভুত মার্চ, পৃথিবীতে যা কেউ কোথাও দেখেনি। প্রাণ ভয়ে ভীত লক্ষ পশুবৎ মানুষের মার্চ। কোকাতাবাসীরা এবারে আতঙ্কিত, তাদের সুখের নীড় (যদি কিছু সেখানে আজও থেকে থাকে) বুঝি এই আর্ত মানুষদের বন্যায় ও সামাজিক ঝড়ে ভেঙ্গেচুরে যায়। পশ্চিমবঙ্গের মুখ্যমন্ত্রী ও অন্য কেউ কেউ সন্দেহ প্রকাশ করছেন বুঝি তা তাদের মন্ত্রীত্ব খতম করার জন্য কোন রাজনৈতিক মতলববাজ দল শরণার্থীদের কোলকাতায় আসতে পথ দেখিয়েছে। কী অদ্ভুত আত্মপ্রতারণা। তাদের মন্ত্রীত্ব তারা এমনিতেই রাখতে পারবেন আর কতদিন সে সন্দেহ তাদের নিজেদেরই আছে। কেন আবার একটা মিথ্যা অভিসন্ধি আরোপ করা! অন্যরা এই শরণার্থীদের ক্রমবর্ধমান স্রোতকে নিজেদের রাজনীতির স্বার্থে লাগাচ্ছে, না ঐঁরাই লাগাতে চাইছে! কিন্তু হায়, এতে কোন দলেরই কোন রাজনীতি হবে না, কোন লাভ হবে না- গোটা দেশের সব রাজনীতিই এই আর্তজনপ্লাবনে ডুবে যাবে, যাচ্ছেও।

পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে গোপন ষড়যন্ত্রে লিপ্ত সন্দেহে কতিপয় নেতৃস্থানীয় লোকদের ধরা হয়েছে। জানি না এই অভিযোগ কতটা সত্য। পাকিস্তানী চর গুপ্তাভাবে নানাদিকে কাজ করছে, করবে এতে আর আশ্চর্য কি, তার জন্য যাকে পাও, দোষী বলে জানো ধরো, বিচার করো। কিন্তু আজ তো পাকিস্তান শুধু গোপন ষড়যন্ত্র করছে না, খোলা ষড়যন্ত্র করে কোটিখানেক লোক বারতের ঘাড়ে ফেলে দিচ্ছে- এই অঘোষিত যুদ্ধের জন্য ভারত সরকার অথবা রাজ্যসরকারগুলি কী করছেন? পাকিস্তানের গায়ে হাত দিতে ভয় লাগছে, তাই নয়?

আজ ভারত সরকারকে পৃথিবীর কাছে এস ও এস বা রক্ষা কোর রক্ষা কেঁরা বলে আর্তনাদ করতে বাকী। বাংলাদেশকে রক্ষা করো এই আবেদন আজ তার কাছ থেকে শোনার কোন তাৎপর্য নেই। বাংলাদেশের জন্য

আর উকীল মোক্তার রাষ্ট্রদূত পৃথিবীর দুয়ারে পাঠাতে হবে না, নিজেকে রক্ষা কেমন করে করবে সে কথাই ভাবুক!

আহা পৃথিবীর বিবেক! পৃথিবীর বিবেকের রক্ষাকর্তা যারা তাদের একটি হলো আমেরিকা - জাপানে হিরোসিমা ও নাগাসাকীতে পারমানবিক বোমা অকারনেই নিষ্ক্ষেপ করে লক্ষ লক্ষ প্রাণ যারা মূহুর্তে ধ্বংস করেছিল। ভিয়েতনামে তার কীর্তি তো ঐতিহাসিক। ব্রিটেন আর এক ঐতিহাসিক বিবেকের মূর্তি- আহা কী তার ইতিহাস ও ঐতিহ্য। এসব বৃহৎ শক্তির ঘরের খবর কি; ইতিহাস কি? আজ উ থান্ট বলছেন পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসে পূর্ববঙ্গে যা হয়েছে সে জাতীয় ট্রাজেডী নাকি বিরল ! আহা কত দেৱীতে এই পরপদলেহী মোটা বেতনভুক্ত কর্মচারীটির ঐতিহাসিক বিবেকজ্ঞান উপস্থিত হলো ! কয়েক কোটি টাকার আশ্বাস পাওয়া গেছে- পৃথিবীর রাজ দরবারগুলো থেকে- ভারত তাই আকাশবাণী মারফৎ এদেশ ও বাংলাদেশের লোককে শুনাচ্ছে। এই কয়েক কোটি টাকার সাহায্য, আসলে ভস্মে ঘি ঢাকার মতও হবে না, উপরন্তু এর বিনিময়ে সাহায্যদাতারা ভারত যাতে কোন কারণেই পাকিস্তানের “অভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপারে” হস্তক্ষেপ না করে সে মুচলেকা বা বাধ্যবাধকতা আদায় করে নিচ্ছে।

এদিকে ভারতের প্রতিরক্ষা দফতরের ভণিতার অন্ত নেই। ভি সি শুল্লা জানাচ্ছেন, ভারত শীঘ্রই চার দফায় ক্রিয় ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র (ফোর স্টেজ রকেট) তৈরী করতে যাচ্ছে- ভারতের আকাশের উপর দিয়ে ভারত মহাসাগরে ! এই সময়ে এই তথ্যটি পরিবেশন করার একটা মতলব আছে। পাছে ভারতবাসীরা বাংলাদেশের জন্য পাকিস্তানী বর্বতার বিরুদ্ধে হস্তক্ষেপ করতে বলে, দরকার মত যুদ্ধের দায়িত্ব নেবার দাবী করে- যে দাবী উত্তরোত্তর বৃদ্ধি পেতে বাধ্য। সেই জন্যই আমাদের ভোলাবার চেষ্টা করা হচ্ছে এই বলে যে আসল শত্রুতা চীন, তার সঙ্গে যুদ্ধের কথাটা না ভেবে কি পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে যুদ্ধ করতে যাবো ? পাকিস্তান থেকে দেশের দৃষ্টি অন্যত্র ঘুরিয়ে দেবার জন্যই পার্লামেন্টে এই বীরত্বব্যঞ্জক ঘোষণা রকেট বানাবার (পারমানবিক বোমার রকেট নয়- সাধারণ বোমাই) ইচ্ছা প্রকাশ করা হয়। ভারত সরকার আমাদের সত্যিই আহম্মক মনে করেন।

এদিকে প্রতিরক্ষা বাজেটের বরাদ্দ ১১৫০ কোটি টাকা থেকে ১২৫০ কোটিতে টেনে আনা হলো। এত টাকা খরচ করা হচ্ছে কেন, যদি আজ পাকিস্তানের এমন বর্বর আক্রমণের জবাব দিতেও না যাই? আমাদের নাকি বহু অস্ত্রসম্পন্ন ও বহু সৈন্যসামন্ত হয়েছে, এমনকি একসঙ্গে ২/৩টি দেশের বিরুদ্ধেও যুদ্ধ করতে পারি বলে মাঝে মাঝে বলা হতো। এখন আর ওসব উচ্চারণও হয় না। ভারত আজ সত্যিই নার্ভাস। যদি এমন দিনেও আমাদের প্রতিরক্ষা ব্যবস্থা কোন কাজে না আসে, তবে এত খরচ করা কেন? সৈন্যবাহিনীকে দিয়ে যখন যুদ্ধ করানো হচ্ছে না, তখন শরণার্থীদের রক্ষণাবেক্ষণের ভারটাই তাদের তাদর দেওয়া হোক না কেন? তারপর ভারতকে একটি ‘খোলাদেশ’ বা ‘ওপেন কান্ট্রি’ বলেই ঘোষণা করা হোক না কেন? ভারতের চতুর্দিকে যে সব বৃহৎ শক্তি আছে- রুশ, চীন, আমেরিকা, প্রভৃতি তারাই আমাদের ডিফেন্সের ভার নিন, তারা ভাগাভাগি করে নিজেদের শক্তি সাম্যের খাতিরেই হয়তো ভারতকে রক্ষা করে যাবে- যদিও ভারতের তাতে কোন স্বাধীনতা থাকবে না ইজ্জতও থাকবে না, বৃহৎ শক্তিগুলির দাস হয়ে বেশ “সুখের সংসার” নিরাপদে চালাতে থাকবে। হায় জয় হিন্দু, হায় জয় ভারত।

কিন্তু আমরা এভাবে পরিপূর্ণ স্বাধীনতার বদলে পরিপূর্ণ আত্মসমর্পণের পথও বোধ হয় গ্রহণ করতে পারবো না। ছোট বড় নানা অহঙ্কারও তো আছে। আপাতত আমরা অর্থনৈতিক সামাজিক সাম্প্রদায়িক রাজনৈতিক সব রকমের এক নারকীয় দুর্গতির মধ্যে প্রবেশ করতে যাচ্ছে। এত বড় দেশের মালিক হতে চাই, অথচ এক ফোঁটা সাহস আমাদের নেই। এই নির্লজ্জ ভীৰুতাকে ঐতিহাসিক বিজ্ঞতা বলে দার্শনিক আত্মপ্রতারণায় নিমগ্ন আছি। ভারতের ইতিহাসে এতবড় লজ্জা ও এত বড় ট্রাজেডী পূর্বে কখনো ঘটেনি। আমরা ডুবে যাচ্ছি।

সম্পাদকীয়- কম্পাসঃ ১২ জুন, ১৯৭১

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২৭। শরণার্থীদের চিকিৎসায় সরকারী ও বেসরকারী সংস্থার সমন্বয় দরকার	কালান্তর	১৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

## শরণার্থীদের চিকিৎসায় সরকারী ও বেসরকারী সংস্থার সমন্বয় দরকারঃ চিকিৎসক সমিতির অভিমত

(স্টাফ রিপোর্ট)

কলকাতা ১২ জুন- বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত শরণার্থীদের মধ্যে চিকিৎসা সংক্রান্ত ত্রাণের কাজে অবিলম্বে সমন্বয় দরকার।

বিশেষভাবে বেসরকারী সংস্থাগুলির সঙ্গে ৮১৩ সরকারী কাজের সমন্বয়ের অভাবে ও বেসরকারী সংস্থাগুলির ওষুধপত্রের অভাবে শরণার্থীদের চিকিৎসা ভীষণভাবে ব্যাহত হচ্ছে।

আজ এক সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে আইএম-এর পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজ্য কমিটির সম্পাদক ডাঃ দেবেন ঘোষ এ কথা বলেন। এই সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে সর্বশ্রী এ কে রায়, শিশির সেনগুপ্ত, নরেশ ব্যানার্জী, মৃণাল নন্দী ও সমর রায় চৌধুরী প্রমুখ বেঙ্গল মেডিকেল রিলিফ কমিটির ডাক্তারগণ উপস্থিত ছিলেন।

আই এস-এর কাজে সরকারী সহযোগিতা সম্পর্কে তারা বলেন- আইএসএ চেষ্টা করেও রাজ্য সরকারের কাছ থেকে কোন প্রকার সাহায্য বা সহযোগিতা পায়নি। পক্ষান্তরে নদীয়া জেলা শাসকের অনুরোধে চিকিৎসক দল নদীয়ায় গিয়ে সহযোগিতার অভাবে ফিরে আসতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন।

গত ৮ জুন রাজ্য স্বাস্থ্যমন্ত্রী আইএম-এর সহযোগিতা চেয়ে চিঠি দিয়েছেন। আইএম-এ মনে করে রাজ্য সরকার চিকিৎসা সংক্রান্ত প্রশ্নে আইএম-এর আগের প্রস্তাব মত কাজে সমন্বয় ও যোগ্যতার ভিত্তিতে সরকারী বেসরকারী সংস্থার দায়িত্ব বন্টনের নীতি গ্রহণ না করলে সহযোগিতা হতে পারে না।

আইএমএ নিজেদের সদস্য ও শাখাগুলি ছাড়াও বহুসংখ্যক সংস্থার কাছ থেকে ছোট বড় দান পেয়েছে। কিন্তু তা প্রয়োজনের তুলনায় নিতান্তই কম। বাংলাদেশ মুক্তি সংগ্রাম সহায়ক সমিতির (সভাপতি অজয় কুমার মুখার্জী) কাছ থেকে ১০ হাজার টাকা সাহায্য পেয়েছে। ডাঃ ত্রিগুণা সেনের সভাপতিত্বে গঠিত কমিটির সাহায্য করেছে। শ্রী জ্যোতি বসুর সভাপতিত্বে গঠিত কমিটি কোন সাহায্য করেছে কিনা জানতে চাইলে তারা বলেন, সংবাদপত্রের সাধারণ আবেদন ছাড়া বিশেষভাবে কোন সাহায্য করিনি। ঐ সংস্থার কাছে সাহায্য করার জন্য আবেদন করা হবে কিনা তা এখনও সিদ্ধান্ত করা হয়নি।

ডাক্তারগণ কলেরার প্রকোপের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ডিপথেরিয়া আক্রমণের আশঙ্কা প্রকাশ করেন। মহামারী প্রতিরোধে সামরিক বাহিনীর সাহায্য গ্রহণ করার জন্যও তারা দাবি করেন।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২৮। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি আন্দোলনকে সমর্থন করুন। ভারতীয় মুসলমান ভাইদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধিদের আহবান	কালান্তর	১৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

**বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি আন্দোলনকে সমর্থন করুন**  
**ভারতীয় মুসলমান ভাইদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ**  
**সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধিদের আহবান**

বোম্বাই ১৪ জুন (ইউএনআই)- শ্রী ফণী মজুমদারের নেতৃত্বে ৪ জন সদস্যবিশিষ্ট বাংলাদেশ সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধিদল আজ এখানে ভারতের মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের প্রতি বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি আন্দোলনকে সমর্থন দানের আহবান জানান।

বোম্বাই প্রদেশ ইন্দিরা কংগ্রেস কমিটির আয়োজিত এক সম্মেলনে সভায় তারা বলেন যে, পাক ফৌজ মসজিদগুলি ধ্বংস করে এবং পবিত্র কোরান পুড়িয়ে ইয়াহিয়া সরকার বিশ্বের সমস্ত মুসলমানদের কাছে চ্যালেঞ্জের সম্মুখীন হয়েছে।

প্রতিনিধিদলের সদস্য শ্রী ও রেহমান বলেন যে, তিনি ইয়াহিয়া সরকারের গণহত্যা ও বর্বরতার প্রমাণ দেওয়ার জন্য যে কোন ভারতীয় মুসলমান ভাইকে পাকিস্তানে নিয়ে যেতে প্রস্তুত আছেন।

অন্যান্য সদস্যরা শ্রী ফণী মজুমদার, শ্রী শাহ মোয়াজ্জেম হোসেন ও শ্রীমতী নূরজাহান মুরশেদ প্রমুখ সভায় ভাষণ দেন।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২৯। ভারত সরকারের অনুরোধে বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের জন্য সেভিয়েত বিমানের আগমন	কালান্তর	১৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

## ভারত সরকারের অনুরোধে বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের জন্য সেভিয়েত বিমানের আগমন

(স্টাফ রিপোর্টার)

কলকাতা, ১৪ জুন- সেভিয়েত সরকার বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের স্থানান্তর করার কাজে সাহায্যের জন্য ভারত সরকারের অনুরোধে আজ দু'টি বৃহদাকার এ এন ১২ পরিবহন বিমান পাঠিয়ে দিয়েছেন।

বিমান দু'টি আজ বিকালে মস্কো থেকে দিল্লী হয়ে দমদম বিমান বন্দরে পৌঁছায়। মঙ্গলবার সকালে ঐ বিমান শরণার্থীদের নিয়ে নানা শিবিরে রওয়ানা হবে।

স্মরণযোগ্য যে, পাক জঙ্গীচক্রের বর্বরতম ফৌজী আক্রমণের ফলে লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থী বাংলাদেশ থেকে সীমান্ত পেরিয়ে নিরাপত্তা ও আশ্রয়ের জন্য পশ্চিমবঙ্গ ও সংলগ্ন ভারতের রাজ্যসমূহে চলে আসেন। সীমান্ত রাজ্যগুলি থেকে অত্যধিক শরণার্থী চাপ সরাতে তাদের অধিকতর সুষ্ঠু আশ্রয় ব্যবস্থার জন্যে ভারতের অন্যত্র উদ্ধাস্ত শিবিরে স্থানান্তরিত করার পরিকল্পনা নিয়ে ভারত সরকার এই কাজে সাহায্যের জন্য সেভিয়েত সরকারকে অনুরোধ জানান। সেই অনুরোধে সাড়া দিয়ে সেভিয়েত সরকার প্রথম দফায় এই ২টি বৃহৎ পরিবহন বিমান পাঠালেন।

এ এন ১২ প্রথম বিমানটির বৈমানিক দলটিকে বিমান বন্দরে অভ্যর্থনা করেন সেভিয়েত দূতস্থানের কূটনীতিবিদ এবং পশ্চিম বঙ্গ ও ভারত সরকারের উদ্ধাস্ত ত্রাণ বিভাগের উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারীরা। দিল্লী থেকে বিমানে তাদের সঙ্গে কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের ত্রাণ বিভাগের অফিসার শ্রী ভিপি বাইদাকোভ কলকাতায় আসেন।

বিমানবন্দরে স্বাগত জ্ঞাপনকারীদের মধ্যে ছিলেন কলকাতাস্থ সেভিয়েত কন্সাল শ্রী ভি ডিউলিনসহ কন্সাল শ্রী ভি গুর্গেনভ, সেভিয়েত এয়ারোফ্লোতেস্ক ক্যাপ্টেন সেজকুলোভ এবং পশ্চিমবঙ্গ সরকারের ত্রাণ ও পুনর্বাসন দফতরের জয়েন্ট সেক্রেটারী শ্রী এস সি রায় ও অন্যান্য কর্মকর্তারা।

সেভিয়েত ঔষধ ও অন্যান্য সাহায্য নিয়ে আরও বিমান দু'এক দিনের মধ্যে এসে পৌঁছবে বলে আশা করা হচ্ছে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩০। ইসলামী দেশ বিপন্ন বলে বাংলাদেশে জাতি হত্যা চাপা দেয়া যাবে না।	কালান্তর	১৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

**ঐশ্রামিক দেশ বিপন্ন বলে বাংলাদেশে জাতি হত্যা চাপা দেওয়া যাবে না**  
**ইয়াহিয়া সামরিক সরকারের ঘৃণ্য অপরাধের প্রতিবাদে**  
**আরবের ৫টি যুব সংস্থার বিবৃতি**  
**(বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি)**

বার্লিন, ১৫ জুন- পাক সামরিক চক্র বাংলাদেশে জাতি হত্যার ঘৃণ্য অপরাধ চাপা দেওয়ার জন্য ঐশ্রামিক দেশ বিপন্ন বলে যে ধুষ্টো তুলেছে তা আরব দেশের জনগণকে প্রতারিত করতে পারবে না বলে এখানে আরব দেশের ৫টি যুব সংস্থা এক যুক্ত বিবৃতি প্রচার করেছে।

আরব দুনিয়া থেকে বাংলাদেশের জনগণের ওপর ইয়াহিয়া আক্রমণের প্রতিবাদে এই প্রথম বিবৃতি।

নির্বাচনে আওয়ামী লীগের চমকপ্রদ জয় বর্ণনা করে বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে যে, নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের হাতে প্রশাসনিক দায়িত্ব তুলে দেবার এবং জনগণের রায়ের প্রতি সম্মান প্রদর্শনের পরিবর্তে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের একচেটিয়া পুঁজিপতিদের অনুরোধে ইয়াহিয়া বাংলাদেশের ওপর জাতি হত্যা শুরু করেছে। বাংলাদেশের জনগণের ওপর গণহত্যা এবং ইয়াহিয়া ফৌজের সামরিক বর্বরতা দেশের ঐক্য ওপর প্রচণ্ড আঘাত হেনেছে।

বিবৃতিতে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের সংগ্রামরত যুবকদের প্রতি সমর্থন জানানোর জন্য সংহতিমূলক প্রচার সংগঠিত করার এবং সামরিক শাসকের জাতি হত্যার মুখোশ খুলে দেওয়ার উদ্দেশ্যে আরব দেশের যুবকদের প্রতি আহবান জানানো হয়েছে। পূর্ববঙ্গের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের হাতে প্রশাসনিক দায়িত্ব অর্পণ করার জন্য আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে চাপ সৃষ্টি করতে হবে বলে বিবৃতিতে উল্লেখ করা হয়েছে।

বিবৃতিতে সিরিয়ার ডেমোক্র্যাটিক ইয়ুথ ইউনিয়ন, ইরাকের ডেমোক্র্যাটিক ইয়ুথ ইউনিয়ন, ইয়েমেন গণতান্ত্রিক প্রজাতন্ত্রের আসসালাফি যুব আন্দোলন, সুদানের যুব ইউনিয়ন, লেবানন ডেমোক্র্যাটিক ইয়ুথ ইউনিয়নের নেতৃবৃন্দ স্বাক্ষর করেছেন। জানা গেছে যে জার্মান গণতান্ত্রিক প্রজাতন্ত্রের যুব সংস্থার সম্প্রতি অনুষ্ঠিত কংগ্রেসে যোগদানের উদ্দেশ্যে আগত উপরোক্ত আরব যুব সংস্থার নেতৃবৃন্দের সঙ্গে ভারতীয় যুব ফেডারেশন ও যুব কংগ্রেসের সর্বশ্রী যোগিন্দর সিং দয়াল ও জনার্দন সিং আলোচনার ফলশ্রুতি হিসেবেই বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে আরব দেশের যুব সমাজের পক্ষ থেকে ঐ মর্মে বিবৃতি দেওয়া হয়েছে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩১। হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড পত্রিকার একটি সম্পাদকীয়	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	১৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, JUNE 16, 1971*

**Editorial**

**THE TRAGEDY OF ITALL**

Days roll by, weeks pass. And with time mounts the plight of the peace and freedom- loving people of. Bangladesh. The distress of those who have taken refuge in India to escape the barbarous hordes of General Yahya Khan is indeed too deep for words. Yet, the Prime Minister of the Bangladesh Government, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, has sought for the umpteenth time to bring home to the Big Powers and not so big powers, the tragic truth about the refugees. In the course of his recent broadcast to the world, he spoke feelingly about the problems facing the uprooted masses arid their host country. He also underlined the sad fact that the so-called world conscience seemed to have taken a holiday.

The Prime Minister of Bangladesh has thanked India for standing by his people in times of great calamity. This, India has of course done -this, one might say, was expected of this country with its policy of friendship and understanding and solid opposition 10 forces of tyranny. The influx of refugees no doubt has put a tremendous strain 011 India's limited resources. Still the guests from the other side of the border have been received as guests. With no immediate promise that other nations would share the bill or that the refugees would soon safely return from where they bad originated. It is indeed a great pity that the Arab countries for whom India had always spoken up, have not thought it fil to utter one word of condemnation. Their ominous silence gives Islamabad the benefit of which certainly is not in doubt.

What is more painful is that the great powers of the world are quite reluctant 10 condemn openly and unequivocally the brutalities perpetrated by Islamabad which, in the first place, destroyed so many homes and lives. They have not yet told Yahya that no arms or economic aid could be given him, for the simple reason that any such would inevitably be converted into instruments of persecution. Mr. Ahmed knows from experience how cruel this could be. And he is fully eligible to hold that any country which now will come to the aid of the tottering regime of Yahya Khan will forfeit the right to make pious noises in the name of democracy, peace, human rights and the like. Those who will extend helping hands towards Islamabad's military clique are to he dubbed for what they are-accessories to genocide.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩২। ১৯ জুন 'বাংলাদেশ' দিবস পালন করুন	কালান্তর	১৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

## ১৯ জুন 'বাংলাদেশ' দিবস পালন করুন

(স্টাফ রিপোর্টার)

কলকাতা, ১৬ জুন- পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের একনায়কতন্ত্র ও সামরিক বর্বরতার বিরুদ্ধে গণতন্ত্র এবং সার্বভৌমত্বের জন্য যারা লড়াই করছে সেই 'বাংলাদেশের' জনগণের প্রতি সংহতি জানানোর জন্য ১৯ জুন এই রাজ্যের শ্রমজীবী মানুষ 'বাংলাদেশ' দিবস পালন করবেন। আজ শ্রী শিশির কুমার গাঙ্গুলী (আইএনইউসি), শ্রী মাখন চ্যাটার্জী (এইচ এম এস), শ্রী যতীন চক্রবর্তী (ইউটিএউসি) এবং শ্রী ফটিক ঘোষ (ইউটিইউসি) আজ এক বিবৃতিতে বলেছেন, বাংলাদেশের সংহতির জন্য ভারতীয় ট্রেড ইউনিয়নসমূহের জাতীয় কমিটির সিদ্ধান্ত অনুযায়ী ১৯ জুন 'বাংলাদেশের' জন্য সর্বত্র সভা সমাবেশ হবে।

বিবৃতিতে বল হয়েছে, ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন প্রতিনিধিদের নিয়ে ১৯ জুন কেন্দ্রীয়ভাবে ভারত সভা হলে সমাবেশ অনুষ্ঠিত হবে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩৩। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সমর্থনে বনগাঁও সুবৃহৎ সমাবেশ	কালান্তর	১৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

### মহিলা ফেডারেশন ও মহিলা সমিতির উদ্যোগে বাংলাদেশ মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সমর্থনে বনগাঁও সুবৃহৎ সমাবেশ

বনগাঁও, ১৬ জুন (সংবাদদাতা)- বাংলাদেশ মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সমর্থনে ভারতীয় মহিলা ফেডারেশন ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গ মহিলা সমিতির আহবানে বনগাঁওর রেল স্কুল ময়দানে গত ১৪ জুন দশ হাজার মানুষের একটি সভা অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। উল্লেখযোগ্য, বনগাঁও আশ্রিত বাংলাদেশ শরণার্থীদের একাংশ এই সভায় যোগদান করেন।

সভায় সভাপতিত্ব করেন শ্রীমতী রেণু চক্রবর্তী, সর্বভারতীয় বিশিষ্ট মহিলা নেত্রীরা ভাষণ দেন। স্থানীয় জননেতা শ্রী অজিত গাঙ্গুলী এম এল এ মহিলা নেত্রীদের স্বাগত জানিয়ে ভাষণ দেন। শ্রী গাঙ্গুলী বলেন, সমস্যাজর্জরিত সীমান্ত শহর বনগাঁও লক্ষাধিক শরণার্থীকে সাহায্যের জন্য এগিয়ে এসেছে এবং এগিয়েই থাকবে।

বিশিষ্ট মহিলা নেত্রী শ্রীমতি বিমলা ফারুকী বলেন, জঙ্গীনাযক ইয়াহিয়া বাংলাদেশের মানুষের উপর নিষ্ঠুরতম সন্ত্রাস চাপিয়ে দিয়েছে। যার ফলে লাখো লাখো মানুষ এ দেশে চলে আসতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন।

তিনি বলেন, শুধুমাত্র মানবিক কর্তব্য সম্পাদনের জন্যই আমরা তাদের আশ্রয় দিচ্ছি না, তাদের স্বাধীনতা ও গণতন্ত্রের সংগ্রামকে সাহায্য করাও আমাদের উদ্দেশ্য, কারণ আমরাও গণতন্ত্রে বিশ্বাসী।

তিনি জানান যে, বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত ভাই-বোনদের সাহায্য এবং মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সমর্থনে জনমত সৃষ্টির জন্য জাতীয় ফেডারেশন ভারতজুড়ে প্রচারাভিযান চালাবার সিদ্ধান্ত করেছে।

বাংলাদেশ মহিলা পরিষদের নেত্রী মালেকা বেগম এপার বাংলার মানুষের কাছে বক্তব্য রাখার সুযোগ দেবার জন্য অভিনন্দন জানান। তিনি বলেন, অনেক কষ্টে ও দুর্ভোগে আমরা এ দেশে আশ্রয় নিয়েছি। অন্য দেশে চিরকাল আমরা থাকব না। আমরা এখানে নিজেদের সংগঠিত করে সংগ্রাম তীব্রতর করার প্রস্তুতি নিচ্ছি।

শ্রীমতি বেগম বলেন, ২৩ বছরেও বাংলার মানুষ স্বাধীনতা ও গণতন্ত্রের স্বাদ পায়নি। তাই তারা আজ স্বাধীনতা অর্জনের লাড়াইয়ে নেমেছে।

তিনি ইয়াহিয়ার ক্রুরতা হিটলারকে হার মানিয়েছে বলে মন্তব্য করেন। শেষত: তিনি ঘোষণা করেন, জঙ্গীশাহীর অত্যাচারে আর নিষ্ঠুরতায় আমাদের চোখের পানি শুকিয়েছে, কিন্তু মনের আগুন নেভেনি। এই অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে হিন্দু-মুসলমানকে এক হয়ে লড়তে হবে।

জননেত্রী শ্রীমতি অরুণা আসফ আলী বলেন, পৃথিবীর অন্যান্য দেশও এখন বুঝতে পারছে, এটা গৃহযুদ্ধ নয়। ভিয়েতনামের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের পাশে আমরা দাঁড়িয়েছি, বাংলাদেশের পাশেও দাঁড়াতে হবে।

তিনি বলেন, বাংলাদেশকে স্বাধীন করার দায়িত্ব শরণার্থীদেরও আছে, আমরা তাদের সাহায্য করব।

পশ্চিম বাংলার জননেত্রী শ্রীমতি গীতা মুখার্জি ইয়াহিয়ার চক্রান্তের স্বরূপ বিশ্লেষণ করেন। তিনি বলেন, ইয়াহিয়া এক বেয়নেট দিয়ে মুক্তিকামী বাঙ্গালী তরুণদের হত্যা করছে আর এক বেয়নেট দিয়ে হিন্দুদের এ বাংলায় তাড়িয়ে দিচ্ছে। বাংলাদেশের সব সম্প্রদায়ের মিলিত সংগ্রাম এই চক্রান্তকে ব্যর্থ করাতে পারে বলে তিনি মন্তব্য করেন।

সভাপতি শ্রীমতি রেণু চক্রবর্তী বলেন, তিন মাস চেষ্টা করেও ইয়াহিয়া বাংলাদেশে একটা কাঠের পুতুল সরকারকে দাঁড় করাতে পারেনি। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের জঙ্গী চক্রের বিরুদ্ধে বাঙ্গালী জাতিকে হয়ে স্বাধীনতার লাড়াই চালাচ্ছে।

তিনি বলেন, বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে চূড়ান্ত বিজয় অর্জনের জন্য হিন্দু মুসলমান শরণার্থীদেরও হাতিয়ার তুলে নিতে হবে।

সভায় সঙ্গীত পরিবেশন করেন শ্রী দেবনাথ চক্রবর্তী ও ওপার বাংলার শিল্পীরা।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩৪। মুক্তির দূত মুক্তিফৌজ	কালান্তর	১৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

## মুক্তির দূত মুক্তিফৌজ

বাংলাদেশ থেকে লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থী ভারতে এসেছেন, আজও আসছেন। তারা পীড়িত, আর্ত, অসহায়, আশ্রয়প্রার্থী। অতিশয় স্পষ্ট ও অত্যন্ত প্রকাশ্য এই ঘটনা, ফলে সাদা চোখেই মানুষ তা দেখেন। কিন্তু সাধারণের দৃষ্টির অগোচরে বাংলাদেশের যৌবন। বিভিন্ন শিক্ষা-শিবিরে স্বদেশের পীড়া, দুঃসময় ও অসহায়তার সঙ্গে মোকাবিলার জন্য যে মুক্তিফৌজের অঙ্কুরের মধ্যে জমেছে এবং ইয়াহিয়ার ফৌজের সঙ্গে লড়াই করে ঐ অঙ্কুর যে চাড়াগাছ হয়ে উঠেছে, তা কজনে দেখেছেন? এই পত্রিকার বুধবারের সংখ্যায় কমিউনিষ্ট নেতা শ্রী বর্ধনের দেখা ঐ রূপ কয়েকটি শিবিরের বর্ণনা রয়েছে। হিন্দু ও মুসলমান ছেলেরা একত্রে হাতেনাতে লড়াই-এর শিক্ষা নিচ্ছেন। শিক্ষার্থীদের মধ্যে রয়েছে ১৩ বছরের কিশোর। শিক্ষকদের মধ্যে রয়েছেন ফৌজী ক্রিয়াকর্মে অভিজ্ঞ ৫০ বছরের প্রৌঢ় শত্রুকে ঘায়েল করার বহু সাফল্যে মুক্তিফৌজের রেকর্ডও তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ।

এই মুক্তিফৌজই হল বাংলাদেশের ভবিষ্যৎ। ভারতে আগত অসহায় শরণার্থী এবং বাংলাদেশের ভিতরেও অসহায় কোটি কোটি মানুষের মধ্যে যোগসূত্র হলে এই মুক্তিফৌজ। ভারতে আগত ছিন্নমূল যারা, শুধু তারাই ছিন্নমূল নন; বাংলাদেশের ভিতর যারা আছেন তাঁরাও ছিন্নমূল। বাংলাদেশের ভিতরে কোন একটি কল কিংবা কারখানায় আজ ধোঁয় ওড়ে না। ৪০ লক্ষ শ্রমিক একটানা ধর্মঘটে লিপ্ত। সেখানেও সমাজের চাকা স্তব্ধ। বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের, তারা ভারতে রয়েছেন কিংবা বাংলাদেশে আছেন, সকলেই পুনর্বাসন চাই। বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের সমাজ ও সভ্যতাকেই ইয়াহিয়া খাঁ চুরমার করেছে। তাদের এক সপ্তমাংশ যদি ভারতে উৎক্ষিপ্ত, তবে ছয়-সপ্তমাংশ বাংলাদেশেই আছেন। মুক্তিফৌজ হল কারিগর, যারা এই ভাঙ্গা মানুষকে জোড়া দেবে, ভাঙ্গা দেশকে পুনরায় গড়বে।

বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিবাহিনীর এই খবরই বিশ্ব বিবেককে চাঙ্গা করে তুলছে এবং তুলবে। পাঁচটি আরব রাজ্যের যুবসংস্থাগুলির একটি যৌথ ঘোষণা হল তারাই চিহ্ন। ইস্রায়েলের দস্যু আক্রমণে প্যালেস্টাইনের ছিন্নমূল শরণার্থীদের জন্য বিশ্ব সমাজতন্ত্র ও গণতন্ত্রের সাহায্যের মানে যারা বোঝেন, কতদিন তারা বাংলাদেশের ছিন্নমূলদের প্রতি নিজেদের আন্তর্জাতিক দায়িত্বের কথা ভুলে থাকতে পারেন? বয়োবৃদ্ধ রাজনীতিক ও রাষ্ট্রনীতিকদের দৃষ্টির ঘোর কাটার জন্য কিছু বেশী সময় লাগতে পারে। কিন্তু আরব দেশগুলির যুব সংস্থাগুলির যৌথ ঘোষণাই হল প্রমাণ যে, অঙ্কুর ওখানেও ডালপাড়া মেলতে শুরু করেছে।

ভারতে আগন্তুক শরণার্থীদের কাছে, বিশেষ করে শরণার্থী শিবিরের যুবকদের কাছে আজ মাত্র একটি ডাক-তোমরা মুক্তিফৌজে যোগ দাও। স্বদেশের মুক্তির জন্য তোমাদের সংগ্রাম বিশ্ব মানবতাকে তোমাদের পাশে দাঁড় করিয়ে দিচ্ছে এবং দেবে। তোমাদের সংগ্রামই বাংলাদেশ থেকে ভারতে আগমনকারী ছিন্নমূলদের যেমন একমাত্র ভরসা, তেমনি বাংলাদেশের ভিতরে অবস্থানকারী ছিন্নমূলদেরও পুনর্বাসন ও পুনর্জীবনের একমাত্র সহায়। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি অর্জন এবং স্বাধীনতাই হল একমাত্র ধ্রুব লক্ষ্য। সেই লক্ষ্য থেকে বিচ্যুত করার জন্যে এ দেশেরও কোন কোন দল ও ব্যক্তি, যারা ভারতেই শরণার্থীদের পুনর্বাসন চাই বলে প্রচার করছে, তারা জ্ঞাতসারে কিংবা অজ্ঞাতসারে ইয়াহিয়ার চর।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩৫। বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদের জন্য ‘মাষ্টার প্ল্যান’ চাই	কম্পাস	১৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

সম্পাদকীয়

## বাংলাদেশ শরণার্থীদের জন্য ‘মাষ্টার প্ল্যান’ চাই

বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থীদের মধ্যে শুধু ত্রাণসামগ্রী পৌঁছে দিলেই আমাদের কর্তব্য শেষ হয়ে যায় না, দায়িত্ব লাঘবও হয় না। এদের সুসংগঠিত একটি ফলপ্রসূ শক্তিতে পরিণত করার জন্য আমাদের একটি সুনির্দিষ্ট পরিকল্পনা প্রয়োজন এবং অনতিবিলম্বে সে পরিকল্পনাকে বাস্তবে পরিণত করাও অত্যন্ত আবশ্যিক। বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত তরুণ ছাত্র, বুদ্ধিজীবী, আইন ব্যবসায়ী, চিকিৎসক, ইঞ্জিনিয়ার প্রত্যেকেই এই অবশ্য কর্তব্য সম্পর্কে সচেতন হতে হবে এবং এই বাংলার মানুষের উদ্যোগী হতে হবে। এই পরিকল্পনা রূপায়ণে পশ্চিম বাংলা সরকারও বাংলাদেশ সরকারের যৌথ দায়িত্ব রয়েছে। তাদের পক্ষ থেকে কতকগুলি বাধ্যতামূলক নির্দেশ জারী করতে হবে।

গেরিলা যুদ্ধের জন্য ভারত সরকারের সহযোগিতায় বাংলাদেশের তরুণদের বিশেষ ট্রেনিং দান করা এবং এই রণকৌশলে তাদের সুদক্ষ ও সুশিক্ষিত করে তোলা বাংলাদেশ সরকারের কর্মসূচির অন্যতম গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়। কিন্তু এখন পর্যন্ত স্বেচ্ছাসেবকদের সংখ্যাগত এবং গণগুণত পরিস্থিতি কিছুমাত্র সন্তোষজনক নয়। গেরিলা যুদ্ধের প্রাথমিক কর্মপন্থার জন্যই এখন পর্যন্ত সম্ভবত সাত থেকে আট হাজারের বেশী তরুণ তালিকাভুক্ত হনি। প্রকৃত ট্রেনিং কতটা দেওয়া হচ্ছে সে সম্পর্কে অবশ্য আমরা কিছু জানি না, কারণ স্বাভাবিকভাবেই তা গোপন সামরিক দপ্তরের বিষয়।

কতসংখ্যক তরুণকে এ কাজে পাওয়া যেতে পারে সে সম্পর্কে বহু পরস্পরবিরোধী রিপোর্ট আসছে। তবে প্রায় ষাট লক্ষ উদ্ধাস্তদের মধ্যে ১৮ থেকে ৩০ বছর বয়সের অন্তত পাঁচ ছয় লক্ষ তরুণের নাম রেজিস্ট্রারে থাকা উচিত। ভারত সরকার এবং অন্যান্য স্বেচ্ছাসেবী সংস্থা শরণার্থীদের মধ্যে ছড়িয়ে থাকা এই যুবকদেরও অল্পবস্ত্রদান এবং রক্ষণাবেক্ষণের দিকে লক্ষ্য রাখছেন। কিন্তু কেন এই পাঁচ ছয় লক্ষ তরুণকে বাধ্যতামূলক ভাবে প্রাথমিক সামরিক শিক্ষার জন্য তালিকাভুক্ত করা হচ্ছে না? এনসিসি পদ্ধতির ট্রেনিং (পিটি, প্যারেড, বন্দুক চালনা, ফার্স্ট এইড, সমাজ কল্যাণ ও রাজনীতি সম্পর্কে প্রাথমিক জ্ঞান, ক্যাম্পের শরণার্থী সেবার মধ্য দিয়ে বাস্তব অভিজ্ঞতা সবই এই শিক্ষণ সূচীর মধ্যে পড়বে) দেওয়াটা তো বিপজ্জনক কিছু নয় ভারতীয়। ছাত্রদের জন্য এনসিসি বাধ্যতামূলক, কিন্তু তার সঙ্গে ছাত্রদের রাজনৈতিক মতপথ জড়িয়ে তো কেউ দুশ্চিন্তা করে না।

কোনো শত্রু পক্ষীয় লোক যাতে এই বিশেষ ট্রেনিং-এর সময় শিক্ষণকারী তরুণদের মধ্যে অনুপ্রবেশ করে আত্মগোপন করে থাকতে না পারে তার জন্য স্ক্রুটিনী ও স্ক্রীনিং করার পরে এই সুশিক্ষিত ও সুসংহত বিশাল যুব বাহিনী থেকে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিবাহিনী এবং কম্যান্ডো ও গেরিলা গ্রুপের জন্য নিরবচ্ছিন্নভাবে দীর্ঘদিন সৈন্য জোগানে সম্ভব। সমস্ত তরুণদের যদি আলাদাভাবে একটি সুশৃঙ্খল সংগঠনের মধ্যে সতর্ক বিধিনিষেধের নিয়ন্ত্রণে রাখা যায় তাহলে স্ক্রুটিনী ও স্ক্রীনিং-এর কাজ অনেকটা সহজ হয়ে যাবে।

এই অজস্র শরণার্থীদের শৃঙ্খলাবদ্ধ করা একটি বিরাট দায়িত্ব এবং প্রচণ্ড সমস্যা। পশ্চিমবাংলার আইন-শৃঙ্খলা ব্যবস্থাটাই এতে দিশাহারা হয়ে পড়তে পারে। উপরন্তু এই হত দরিদ্র, শৃঙ্খলাহীন ভারতে এই দেশত্যাগী হতসর্বস্ব মানুষের স্রোত যে অর্থনৈতিক ও সামাজিক সংকট সৃষ্টি করবে সেই পরিস্থিতিতে শত্রুপক্ষের ষড়যন্ত্রকারীরা ধুমায়িত সাম্প্রদায়িক সুযোগ নিতে চেষ্টা করবে। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশের সমস্ত শরণার্থী যুবকদেরই

যদি নিয়মশৃঙ্খলার আওতায় আনা যায় তবে তার প্রভাবে সমগ্র শরণার্থী শ্রোতাই নিয়ন্ত্রিত হবে। এই তরুণেরা শরণার্থীদের শারীরিক ও মানসিক স্বাস্থ্যের দিকে লক্ষ্য রাখবেন। অতএব, সর্বাগ্রে বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত যুবশক্তিকে পূর্ণত শৃঙ্খলাবদ্ধ করার মধ্যেই রয়েছে এই বিপর্যস্ত পরিস্থিতিতে সুনিয়ন্ত্রিত করার চাবিকাঠি।

প্রত্যেক কর্মী ও সংগঠককে ট্রেনিং দিয়ে শরণার্থী যুবশক্তিকে সুসংগঠিত করা ও সুনিপুণভাবে যুবশিবিরগুলি পরিচালনা করা নিঃসন্দেহে একটি অত্যন্ত কঠিন কাজ। তবে অজস্র কর্মী পাওয়া সম্ভব। বহু শিক্ষিত ব্যক্তি, নানাবিধ কাজে যুক্ত মধ্যবিত্ত সাধারণ মানুষ, যথা, অধ্যাপক, শিক্ষক, আইন ব্যবসায়ী, সাহিত্যিক, ডাক্তার ও ইঞ্জিনিয়াররা আজ বাংলাদেশ থেকে পশ্চিম বাংলায় আশ্রয় গ্রহণ করেছেন। তাদের সকলকে এই উদ্দেশ্যে সজ্জবদ্ধ করা প্রয়োজন। চাকুরীর সন্ধান, আশ্রয়ের সন্ধান, উদ্দেশ্যহীনভাবে বৃথা ঘুরে তাঁদের লাভ নেই। স্বদেশীয় মানুষ ও যুবকদের পক্ষ থেকে এ সম্পর্কে আদেশ জারি করা উচিত। আমরা আশা রাখি যে, যদি জাতীয় স্বার্থে একটি বিরাট ফলশ্রুতিপূর্ণ পরিকল্পনার আয়ত্তে এঁদের নিয়ে আসা যায় তাহলে এঁদের অধিকাংশই জীবনের বিভ্রান্ত লক্ষ্যকে পুনরায় ফিরিয়ে পাবেন। ইতিহাস, জনস্বাস্থ্য, ভূগোল, অক্ষর পরিচয়, ব্যবস্থাপনা, রাজনীতিজ্ঞান, সহায়হীন শরণার্থী সেবায় আত্মনিয়োগ সমস্তই এই পরিকল্পনার বিষয়ীভূত হবে। যদি টেকনিক্যাল ট্রেনিংয়ের জন্য যথেষ্ট লোক না পাওয়া যায় তাহলে ভারতীয়দের মধ্যে থেকে কর্মী সংগ্রহ করে শূণ্যস্থান পূর্ণ করা যাবে।

এটা স্বাভাবিক যে মুসলমান শরণার্থীদের চেয়ে হিন্দু শরণার্থীরা সংখ্যায় বেশী হবেন। এই হিন্দু শরণার্থীদের মনোবলই সবচেয়ে বেশী বিধ্বস্ত দেখা যাবে এবং বেশির ভাগ হিন্দু যুবকেরা বাংলাদেশে আর ফিরে যাবার ইচ্ছা পোষণ করবে না। কিন্তু যদি বাংলাদেশ এবং ভারতের সর্বস্তরের নেতারা একযোগে এদের মধ্যে ব্যাপক, গভীর এবং সুশৃঙ্খলভাবে রাজনৈতিক কাজ করে যান তাহলে বাংলাদেশের প্রতি তাদের আস্থা ও বিশ্বাস আবার ফিরে আসবে। শরণার্থীদের মধ্যে বহু হিন্দু তরুণ সবকিছু সত্ত্বেও এখনো মুক্তি সংগ্রামে যোগ দিতে ইচ্ছুক। ট্রেনিং, অস্ত্রশস্ত্র, পরিকল্পনা ইত্যাদি সহযোগে এদের সুশিক্ষিত করে তুললে বাংলাদেশে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সামরিক চক্রকে সার্বিভাবে প্রত্যাঘাত করার মুহূর্তে এঁরা এগিয়ে যাবেন।

এ কাজে প্রচুর টাকা দরকার এতে কোন সন্দেহ নেই। কিন্তু শরণার্থীদের ভরণপোষণের জন্য টাকা আমাদের জোগাড় করতেই হবে। বিক্ষিপ্ত বা আধাখোঁচড়াভাবে নয়, এত বড় একটা যুবশক্তিকে প্রকৃত ট্রেনিং দিতে হলে যে আরো কিছু বেশি টাকা দরকার তা সত্য। কিন্তু এই অর্থব্যয় পরিণামে উভয়ত লাভজনক হবে। শরণার্থীদের ব্যবস্থাপনা এবং বাংলাদেশ মুক্তিসংগ্রামের জন্যে এক বিরাট শক্তিকে গড়ে তোলা দু'টি কাজই এতে সার্থক হবে। তবে পরিচ্ছন্ন শৌচাগার, পানীয়জল, পোষাক-পরিচ্ছদ, বৈদ্যুতিক ব্যবস্থা, গ্রন্থাগার, চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থা এই সমস্ত প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিস ছাড়া যুব-শিবিরগুলির কাজ আরম্ভ করা ঠিক নয়। যাতে অতি প্রয়োজনীয় সাধারণ জিনিসগুলোর অভাবে তাদের মধ্যে অসন্তোষ ও বিরক্তি দেখা না দেয় সেদিকে আমাদের লক্ষ্য রাখতেই হবে।

যদি ভারত আজ এ দায়িত্ব যোগ্যভাবে গ্রহণ ও পালন করতে পারে তবে একদিন স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ এজন্য ভারতকে আন্তরিক প্রীতি ও সৌহার্দ্য জ্ঞাপন করবে- আর অদূরভবিষ্যতে বাংলাদেশকে পুনর্গঠিত করার কাজে স্বাধীন বাঙালিরা এই লক্ষ লক্ষ সুশিক্ষিত সুনিয়ন্ত্রিত যুবকদের নিয়োগ করতে পারবেন। আজ যা অসহনীয় বোঝা মনে হচ্ছে, ভবিষ্যতে তা-ই এক বিশাল সজীব সোনার খনি বলে পরিগণিত হবে। চূড়ান্ত দুঃখজনক পরিস্থিতিতেও পরম মঙ্গলের প্রতি পরিচালিত করার এটাই একমাত্র পথ।

কিন্তু কে এই বিরাট পরিকল্পনার দায়িত্ব নেবেন এবং তা কার্যকরী করবেন? আজ অত্যন্ত তীক্ষ্ণ এবং দ্ব্যর্থহীন পদ্ধতিতে প্রত্যেকের দায়িত্ব প্রত্যেকের সামনে পরিস্কারভাবে তুলে ধরতে হবে। বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রতিনিধি, এবং ভারত ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারের সামরিক কর্মচারীদের নিয়ে একটি উচ্চ ক্ষমতাসালী সংস্থা গঠন



করতে হবে। প্রখ্যাত অর্থনীতিবিদ, সমাজতত্ত্ববিদ, মনস্তত্ত্ববিদ ও সমাজকর্মীদের উপদেষ্টা হিসেবে নিতে হবে। দু'টি দেশের যৌথ ভবিষ্যতের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সকলকে আমরা প্রস্তাবটি ভেবে দেখতে অনুরোধ করছি। ক্ষিপ্ত সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ না করলে পরিস্থিতি আয়ত্তের বাইরে চলে যাবে। মনে রাখা দরকার 'শরণার্থীদের ফিরে যাওয়ার ব্যবস্থা করতে হবে' বিশ্বের দরবারে এটা কাতরকণ্ঠে বলে বেড়ালেও দায়িত্বটা 'বিশ্ববিবেক' বা 'বিশ্বমানবতার' নয়, তাদের দোষারোপ করার চেয়ে নিজেদের কতকগুলি কমিটমেন্ট এ আসা বেশি প্রয়োজন। এক্ষুণি শরণার্থীরা ফিরতে পারবেন না। সম্মুখে দীর্ঘদিন এবং দীর্ঘপথ। উভয় দেশকেই এই মহান দুঃখ বহন করার শক্তি অন্তর থেকে অর্জন করতে হবে। বলহীনের কাছে কিছুই লভ্য নয়।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩৬। ফুলবাড়ী সীমান্তে পাকবাহিনীর গোলাবর্ষণ	দি স্টেটম্যান	১৯ জুন, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JUNE 19, 1971*  
**PAK ARMY SHELLS PHULBARI OUTPOST:  
 3 INDIANS HURT**

Krishnagar, June 18-Three Indian villagers and a Bangladesh evacuee were injured today in one of the longest shelling by Pakistani troops at the Indian-border outpost of Phulbari, about 90 kilometers from here, report agencies.

The Pakistanis used light machineguns, mortars and 25 pounders in their attack which lasted for over seven hours from 4 this morning.

There was no casualty on the Indian side.

The injured were admitted to hospital here.

Pakistani shells also landed at Gede, Dahokula and Sikarpur.

The Indian Border Security Force returned the fire at all the places and the exchange was continuing tonight.

A Pakistani observation plane was seen circling over the Kushtia region close to the border, Indian air space, however, was not violated.

Meanwhile, Bangladesh liberation forces who were in control of Koripara outpost in Kushtia sector of south-western Bangladesh which they wrested on June 16 today withdrew from the area this morning towards Tentulbaria as the Pakistanis brought in reinforcements in battalion strength. The Mukti Foj had taken up fresh defensive positions in Tentulbaria.

Kadipara outpost is opposite to Fulbari (Nadia district of West Bengal).

Our Karimganj correspondent adds: The Mukti Foj is advancing steadily in Bangladesh opposite Karimganj and sounds of mortars and light machine guns were heard by the people of Karimganj on Wednesday morning.

The Mukti Foj has blown up Dolney Bridge between Latu and Barlekha.

Shilua tea garden authorities were working as Pak Army agents, so the Mukti Foj has blown up the factory of the aforesaid tea garden. Two Muslim League leaders were proceeding in a motor car to the Pak Army camp to give this information when a guerilla party blew up the motor car killing both the Leaders.

Muktibahini activities have also been reported from opposite the Sutarkandi sector on the Karimganj border.

On June 15 the Pak Army killed three Hindus and molested two women at Balaut near Karimganj town in Bangladesh.

Tetulia is now under control of liberation forces who are fiercely fighting Pak troops in Pachagarh and Thakurgaon sectors of Dinajpur and inflicting heavy casualties on them, our Raiganj correspondent adds.

Bodies of many Pak troops bearing bullet injuries are floating down river Tangon to Bangshihari of West Dinajpur.

Our Agartala Office adds: In a fierce battle for three continuous days since June 9 at Karerhat in Ramgarh sector Bangladesh forces killed 200 Pak troops according to a delayed report received from across the border. One hundred fifty dead bodies of Pak soldiers were on exhibition on June 11 at Karerhat. On June 12, however, the Bangladesh forces had to retreat from Karerhat when the reinforced Pak Army launched attacks on the former.

Nearly 20,000, men, women and children-mostly Muslims -crossed the border on Wednesday at Mohanpur alone following Pak Army's indiscriminate shelling throughout the whole night on Tuesday in an area of 20 sq miles in the southernmost part of Sylhet district opposite to Mohanpur and Sidhan.

Streams of evacuees were seen moving in foot towards Agartala in the entire eight mile route from Sidhan to Mohanpur. The evacuees said the shelling was so heavy that about 30 villages had been burnt in one night rendering 50,000 villagers homeless and killing many.

For the first time foreign aid for Bangladesh evacuees sheltered in Tripura were received yesterday. A Canadian Air Force Hercules aircraft delivered 49,000 pounds of Australian aid today at Agartala. The consignment included polythene sheets, tarpaulins, anti-biotic medicines and food-stuffs valued at Rs. eight lakhs. The aircraft has been chartered by the Australian Government to carry aid materials to India and Nepal. Graeme K. E. Noonan, Second Secretary and Consul, Australian High Commission in New Delhi who delivered the aid Tripura Government told Hindustan Standard that for a week from June 19 one aircraft each day will be carrying shelter materials for Bangladesh evacuees direct from Australia to Agartala.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩৭। মার্কিন অস্ত্রে বাংলাদেশে রক্ত ঝরানো চলবে না	কালান্তর	২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

### মার্কিন অস্ত্রে বাংলাদেশে রক্ত ঝরানো চলবে না

#### ৮টি শরণার্থী শিবিরে কেলোগের সামনে মার্কিন বিরোধী বিক্ষোভ

বনগাঁ, ২৪ জুন- মার্কিন সরকারের শরণার্থী দপ্তরের প্রতিনিধি শ্রী ফ্রাঙ্ক কেলোগ আজ সীমান্ত অঞ্চলের শরণার্থী শিবিরগুলি পরিদর্শন করতে এলে কমপক্ষে ৮টি স্থানে মার্কিন অস্ত্র সাহায্যের প্রতিবাদে এক বিরাট সংখ্যক জনতার বিক্ষোভের সম্মুখীন হন।

বিক্ষোভকারীরা তাঁর সামনে ‘খুনী ইয়াহিয়াকে অস্ত্র সরবরাহ বন্ধ কর’, ‘দ্বি-মুখী নীতি বন্ধ কর’ ও ‘মার্কিন অস্ত্রে বাংলাদেশে রক্ত ঝরানো চলবে না’ প্রভৃতি শ্লোগানসহ বিক্ষোভ প্রকাশ করেন বলে ইউএনআই জানিয়েছেন।

যশোহর রোড ও বাগদা রোডের বিভিন্ন স্থানে, বনগাঁ সদর হাসপাতালে ও মালঞ্চ শরণার্থী শিবিরে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের বিরুদ্ধে প্রচণ্ড বিক্ষোভ দেখানো হয়।

মালঞ্চ শিবিরে শ্রী কেলোগ উপস্থিত হওয়া মাত্র শরণার্থীরা তাঁকে বিভিন্ন ধরনের প্রশ্নে জর্জরিত করে তোলেন। দু’জন শরণার্থী তাঁকে সরাসরি প্রশ্ন করে জানতে চান, -তাঁর এখানে আসার উদ্দেশ্য কি। শরণার্থী দু’জন বলেন, যখন তোমার দেশ পাকিস্তানে অস্ত্র সরবরাহ করেছে তখন তুমি এখানে কোন উদ্দেশ্যে এসেছো?

প্রশ্নের জবাবে শ্রী কেলোগের সহযোগী মার্কিন কনসাল জেনারেল হার্বার্ট বলেন যে, তাঁরা শরণার্থীদের জন্য আরও বেশী পরিমাণ সাহায্য দানের উদ্দেশ্যেই এখানে এসেছেন।

শ্রী কেলোগ বনগাঁ সদর হাসপাতালে পৌঁছুলে সেখানেও তাঁকে সৈন্যদের গুলিতে আহত শরণার্থীরা রয়েছে।

প্রসঙ্গতঃ উল্লেখযোগ্য যে, এই হাসপাতালে ইয়াহিয়ার সৈন্যদের গুলিতে আহত শরণার্থীরা রয়েছেন।

চট্টগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের বাংলা বিভাগের প্রধান অধ্যাপক সৈয়দ আলী আহসান বাংলাদেশের বুদ্ধিজীবীদের পক্ষ থেকে তাঁর কাছে এক স্মারকলিপি পেশ করেন।

ঢাকা মেডিকেল কলেজ হাসপাতালের সার্জেন ডঃ টি হোসেন শ্রী কেলোগের সামনে ৪টি অল্পবয়স্ক ছেলে মেয়ে হাজির করিয়ে তাদের অবস্থা দেখান।

এই ছেলেমেয়েদের চোখগুলি ইয়াহিয়ার সৈন্যের আক্রমণে নষ্ট হয়ে গেছে বলে তিনি উল্লেখ করেন।

পরিশেষে শ্রী কেলোগের স্বীকার করতে হয়েছে যে, পূর্ববঙ্গের অভ্যন্তরে সাংঘাতিক কিছু একটা ঘটে গেছে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩৮। মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদের অপকৌশল ও বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রাম	কালান্তর	২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

(সম্পাদকীয়)

## মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদের অপকৌশল ও বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রাম

জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রামের বিরুদ্ধে সাম্রাজ্যবাদের বিশেষতঃ মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদের প্রত্যক্ষ সামরিক অভিযান ও পরোক্ষ সাহায্য আজ আর গোপন নয়। বিশ্বে এমন কোন দেশ নেই যেখানে স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রামকে দমন করার জন্য মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ সামরিক সাহায্য করছে না। এটাই হচ্ছে সাম্রাজ্যবাদের ধর্ম। বাংলাদেশের ক্ষেত্রেও তার ব্যতিক্রম হয়নি।

এতদিন যাবৎ মার্কিন সরকার বাংলাদেশে পাকিস্তান সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষের অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে কুস্তিরাশি বিসর্জন করে বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক মহলে বিভ্রান্তির সৃষ্টির কৌশল গ্রহণ করেছিল। এখন তারা প্রতারকের মুখোশ ফেলে দিয়ে সরাসরি পাকিস্তানী জাহাজ বোঝাই করে অস্ত্র প্রেরণ করেছে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামকে ধ্বংস করার জন্য। পেন্টাগন থেকে স্বীকার করা হয়েছে যে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের দেয়া অস্ত্র বোঝাই জাহাজ করাচী অভিমুখে রওনা হয়েছে। সারা বিশ্বের মানুষ যখন ইয়াহিয়া খানের জাতিহত্যার বিরুদ্ধে নিন্দা ও প্রতিবাদে সোচ্চার, যখন বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামের প্রতি আন্তর্জাতিক সমর্থন ক্রমেই ব্যাপক হয়ে উঠেছে, তখনই মার্কিন সরকার তার ভেক পরিবর্তন করে পাকিস্তানকে সরাসরি সামরিক সাহায্য দানে অগ্রসর হয়েছে। তার চায় পাক-ভারত উপমহাদেশের দ্বিতীয় ভিয়েতনাম সৃষ্টি করতে। সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামকে ধ্বংস করাই মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদের বিশ্বরণনীতির অংশ। পাকিস্তানের সামরিক শাসনের পেছনে যে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদের দৃঢ় সমর্থন রয়েছে এবং মার্কিন সহায়্যপুষ্ট হয়েই যে বাংলার মানুষের বিরুদ্ধে ইয়াহিয়ার জাতিহত্যা অভিযান চলেছে তা আজ দিবালোকের মতো পরিষ্কার। অতএব, এই সত্যের সম্যক উপলব্ধি না হলে, মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ সম্পর্কে সর্বপ্রকার প্রত্যাশা পরিত্যাগ না করলে জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রামের শক্তিসমূহ ঐক্যবদ্ধ হতে পারে না। এটা যেমন সার্বজনীন সত্য, তেমনই বাংলাদেশের পক্ষেও সত্য এবং বাস্তব। রক্তের বিনিময়ে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিকামী মানুষকে এ সত্য উপলব্ধির পরীক্ষা দিতে হচ্ছে।

বাংলাদেশের আওয়ামী লীগ নেতাদের একাংশ পাকিস্তানের সামরিক শাসনের বিরুদ্ধে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ থেকে রাজনৈতিক ও নৈতিক সমর্থন প্রত্যাশা করছেন বলেই এখনও বাংলার জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামে সংহতি বা ঐক্য সৃষ্টি হয়নি। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি-সংগ্রামের বিরুদ্ধে পাকিস্তান সরকারকে মার্কিনী সামরিক সাহায্যদান নিশ্চয় আওয়ামী লীগ নেতাদের মোহমুক্ত করবে। বাংলাদেশে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ ও তাদেরই ভৃত্য ইয়াহিয়ার বিরুদ্ধে সার্বিক জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠন যে অপরিহার্য এই সত্যটিকে আর অস্বীকার করার উপায় নেই। দলমত নির্বিশেষে যাঁরাই মুক্তিসংগ্রামে অত্নিনিয়োগ করেছে তাঁদের ঐক্যের মধ্যেই সংগ্রামের দুর্বীর শক্তি নিহিত রয়েছে। এটাই হল এশিয়া ও আফ্রিকার বিভিন্ন দেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামের অভিজ্ঞতা। এই মূল্যবান অভিজ্ঞতা বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামীদের জন্য অমূল্য সম্পদ। আধুনিক মারণাস্ত্রে সুসজ্জিত শত্রুর বিরুদ্ধে সার্বিক জাতীয় ঐক্য ব্যতীত অপর কোন পথ নেই। একমাত্র এই পথেই বাংলার শ্রমিক, কৃষক মধ্যবিত্ত এবং জাতীয় বুর্জোয়ারা ঐক্যবদ্ধ হতে পারে। একমাত্র এই পথেই বাংলাদেশের মানুষ ইয়াহিয়ার বিরুদ্ধে সশস্ত্র প্রতিরোধ গড়ে তুলতে পারে।

সার্বিক জাতীয় মুক্তি ফ্রন্টের যে সশস্ত্র বাহিনী সৃষ্টি হবে সেই বাহিনী সাধারণ মানুষের সাহায্যপুষ্ট হয়ে বাংলার স্বাধীনতার পথ উন্মুক্ত করবে, শত্রুকে নিধন করে মুক্ত অঞ্চল গঠনের মাধ্যমেই স্বাধীন বাংলা প্রতিষ্ঠিত করবে। এই সার্বিক ঐক্যের পথ হল গণতন্ত্র বিকাশের ঐতিহাসিক পথ। এই ঐক্যের বিনাশ নেই, পরাজয় নেই। একমাত্র এই পথেই বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রাম জয়যুক্ত হতে পারে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩৯। মার্কিন সরকারকে সাফ জবাব দেওয়ার সাহস ভারত সরকারের নেই	কালান্তর	২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

### রাজ্য সভায় ভূপেশ গুপ্তর অভিযোগ

## মার্কিন সরকারকে সাফ জবাব দেওয়ার সাহস ভারত সরকারের নেই পাকিস্তানকে মার্কিন অস্ত্র সরবরাহ নিয়ে তীব্র উত্তেজনা

নয়াদিল্লী, ২৪ জুন-মার্কিন সমরাস্ত্র বোঝাই দুই পাকিস্তানী জাহাজকে কেন্দ্র করে আজ রাজ্যসভায় এক দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণী প্রস্তাবে আলোচনাকালে পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী শরণ সিং অত্যন্ত বেকায়দায় পড়েন।

ইউএনআই জানাচ্ছে, এক সময়ে কামিউনিষ্ট সদস্য শ্রী ভূপেশ গুপ্তর সঙ্গে শরণ সিং এর তীব্র কথা কাটাকাটি হয়। শ্রী গুপ্ত অভিযোগ করেন, মার্কিন সরকারকে স্পষ্ট ভাষায় নিন্দা করার সাহস, ইচ্ছা এবং সিদ্ধান্ত এই সরকারের নেই।

দৃঢ়তার সঙ্গে তিনি দাবী করেন, পাকিস্তানকে অস্ত্র সরবরাহ না করার প্রতিশ্রুতি যে মার্কিন সরকার ভঙ্গ করেছে তার উপযুক্ত জবাব দেওয়ার জন্য ভারত আমেরিকার তেল এবং অন্যান্য ব্যবসায়িক স্বার্থ বাজেয়াপ্ত করা হোক।

শ্রী গুপ্ত বলেন, মার্কিন সরকার এই ভাষাই বোঝে।

শ্রী শরণ সিং সদস্যদের কাছে মার্কিন সরকারের যে অভিমত ভারত সরকার জেনেছে তার এক বিস্তৃত বিবরণ দেন।

দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণীয় প্রস্তাবটি ছিল, ফরোয়ার্ড ব্লক সদস্য চিত্ত বসুর।

পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী শরণ সিং সদস্যদের কাছে এক বিবৃতিতে বলেন যে, দু'টি জাহাজ মার্কিন অস্ত্রশস্ত্র নিয়ে পাকিস্তানের পথে রওয়ানা হয়েছে সেই সমরাস্ত্র সরবরাহ বন্ধ করার জন্যে মার্কিন সরকারের কাছে দাবী করা হয়েছে। এবং সঙ্গে সঙ্গে অতীত চুক্তির দোহাই দিয়ে আর নতুন কোন অস্ত্র সরবরাহ করা হবে না এই প্রতিশ্রুতি চাওয়া হয়েছে। শ্রী সিং এও জানান, মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র এই বিষয়ে জরুরী দৃষ্টি দেওয়ার প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছেন, ‘আমরা ওদের কাছে থেকে জবাবের প্রতীক্ষায় আছি।’

শ্রী সিং সদস্যদের উদ্বেগকে শ্রদ্ধা জানিয়ে বলেন, ২২ জুন, নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস যে সংবাদ দিয়েছে তা সঠিক। গত ৮ মে এবং সর্বশেষ ১১ জুন ‘সুন্দর বন’ আর ‘পদ্মা’ পাকিস্তানী পতাকা উড়িয়ে নিউইয়র্ক থেকে রওনা হয়েছে এবং তাতে মার্কিন সমরাস্ত্র আছে।

তিনি জানান, ২২ জুন সন্ধ্যায় ওয়াশিংটনে ভারতের রাষ্ট্রদূত মার্কিন স্বরাষ্ট্র দপ্তরের আন্ডার সেক্রেটারির সঙ্গে বিষয়টি নিয়ে কথা বলেন। নয়াদিল্লীর মার্কিন দূতাবাসেও বিষয়টি জানানো হয়।

শ্রী সিং বলেন, মার্কিন সরকারের বক্তব্য হলো ২৫ মার্চ এর পর পাকিস্তানকে কোন সমরাস্ত্র সরবরাহের অনুমতি বা রপ্তানি লাইসেন্স দেওয়া হয়নি। ঐ জাহাজের মালগুলি আগের অর্ডার অনুযায়ী সরবরাহ হয়ে থাকতে পারে এবং এতে হয়ত এমন কিছু আছে যার জন্য রপ্তানি লাইসেন্সের প্রয়োজন হয় না। জাহাজে ৮টি বিমান থাকার কথা মার্কিন সরকার অস্বীকার করেছে। আর কোন নতুন জাহাজ যাবে কি-না সে সম্পর্কে সরকারের কাছে কোন তথ্য নেই বলে জানিয়েছেন তবে তাঁরা খোঁজ করে দেখেছেন। মার্কিন স্বরাষ্ট্র দপ্তরের আন্ডার সেক্রেটারী জানিয়েছেন এতে কিছু সমরাস্ত্র থাকতে পারে।

শ্রী সিং এর জবাবে অসম্ভব সদস্যদের কেউ কেউ দাবি করেন ভারতের উচিত মাঝ দরিয়ায় জাহাজ দু'টির পথ আটকানো। জবাবে শ্রী সিং বলেন ঐ কর্মধারা হবে একটি সুচিন্তিত পরিকল্পনার ফল। সাধারণতঃ সংঘর্ষে লিপ্ত দুই দেশের মধ্যে যুদ্ধ সম্প্রসারণের সময়ে ঐ ধরনের পদক্ষেপ নেওয়া হয়। অতএব সেকথা চিন্তা করেই এই কাজে হাত দেওয়া উচিত।

অন্য কয়েকজন সদস্য দাবি করেন এই কাজকে ভারত সরকার 'অবন্ধু জনোচিত শত্রুতামূলক কাজ' বলে ঘোষণা করুক এবং উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের অধিকার সরকারের আছে এ কথা জানিয়ে দেওয়া হোক।

জবাবে শ্রী সিং বলেন, সভার সঙ্গে সরকারও উদ্বিগ্ন এবং দৃঢ়ভাবে মনে করে আরও সরবরাহ বন্ধ করা মার্কিন সরকারের কর্তব্য। সেক্ষেত্রে মার্কিন সরকার যে প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছিল তা সম্পূর্ণ নাকচ করা হবে এবং বাংলাদেশে ইয়াহিয়া খান যে বর্বতার অপরাধ করেছে তা মার্জনা করা হবে। তছাড়া 'অবন্ধুজনোচিত এবং শত্রুতামূলক কাজ' এই কথাটা আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে অন্য অর্থ বহন করে।

কমিউনিস্ট নেতা ভূপেশ গুপ্ত অভিযোগ করেন ভারত সরকারের সাহস, সমাধান ও সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণের অভাব রয়েছে। পালাম বিমান ঘাঁটিতে শরণ সিং-এর মন্তব্য প্রসঙ্গে জিজ্ঞাসা করেন যে, নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস-এর সংবাদ ভুল হতে পারে শ্রী সিং-এর এ কথা চিন্তা করার কারণ কি হতে পারে। মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র বাংলাদেশে ইয়াহিয়া বাহিনীর গণহত্যা ঢাকা দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করেছে এ কথা মার্কিন সরকারকে ভারতের জানিয়ে দেওয়া উচিত।

এছাড়াও শ্রী গুপ্ত দাবি করেন যে, তেল ব্যবসা সহ সমস্ত মার্কিনী ব্যবসায়িক স্বার্থের বিরুদ্ধে ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে হবে। এই ভাষাই মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র বোঝে, 'আপনাদের ভাষা' নয়।

তিনি আরও অভিযোগ করেন, নিউইয়র্কস্থিত ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত এল কে বা ভারতের মনোভাব সঠিকভাবে পাদপ্রদীপের আলোকে তুলে ধরতে ব্যর্থ হয়েছেন।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪০। বিক্ষুব্ধ ভারতের দাবি: মার্কিন অস্ত্র বোঝাই পাক জাহাজ আর যেন না এগোয়	যুগান্তর	২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

**বিক্ষুব্ধ ভারতের দাবি :**  
**মার্কিন অস্ত্র বোঝাই পাক জাহাজ আর যেন না এগোয়**  
 (দিল্লী অফিস থেকে)

২৪শে জুন- মার্কিন অস্ত্রশস্ত্রসহ যে দু'টি পাকিস্তানী জাহাজ নিউইয়র্ক থেকে করাচীর পথে রওনা হয়ে গেছে তাদের মাঝপথে থামিয়ে দিয়ে পাকিস্তানকে এই অস্ত্রশস্ত্র না দিবার জন্য ভারত মার্কিন সরকারকে আহবান জানিয়েছেন। পাকিস্তানকে মার্কিন অস্ত্রশস্ত্র দেওয়া সম্পর্কে এক দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণী নোটিশের জবাবে পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রী সর্দার স্বরণ সিং আজ সংসদে বলেন যে, মার্কিন সরকার জানিয়েছে যে, এই মাসে দু'টি পাকিস্তানী জাহাজ সামরিক সাজ-সরঞ্জাম নিয়ে নিউইয়র্ক ত্যাগ করেছে এবং ২৫ মার্চের আগে প্রদত্ত অনুমতি অনুসারেই এই সব অস্ত্রশস্ত্র ও সাজ-সরঞ্জাম পাকিস্তানকে দেওয়া হয়েছে।

এই অস্ত্রশস্ত্র পাকিস্তান যাতে না পায় সে জন্য মার্কিন সরকারকে চেষ্টা করতে বলা হয়েছে।

সর্দার স্বরণ সিং রাজ্যসভার সদস্যদের জানান যে, পূর্বে অনুমতি অনুসারেও পাকিস্তানকে যাতে আর কোন অস্ত্রশস্ত্র এখন না দেওয়া হয় সেজন্য ভারত সরকার মার্কিন কর্তৃপক্ষের নিকট থেকে আশ্বাস চেয়েছেন।

মার্কিন সরকার বিষয়টি বিবেচনা করে দেখছেন এবং আমরাও ওয়াশিংটন থেকে উত্তরের জন্য অপেক্ষা করছি।

পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রী আরও বলেন যে, ভারত সরকার মার্কিন কর্তৃপক্ষকে জানিয়েছেন যে, বর্তমানে যখন পাক সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষ বাংলাদেশের নিরীহ নিরস্ত্র জনতার ওপর নির্যাতন চালাচ্ছে তখন পাকিস্তানের সামরিক শক্তি বৃদ্ধিতে শুধু এই উপমহাদেশেরই নয়, সমগ্র অঞ্চলের শান্তি বিঘ্নিত হবে।

তছাড়াও এতে শুধু পাকিস্তানের প্রতি ক্ষমা দেখানো হবে না, আরও নির্যাতন চালিয়ে যাওয়ার উৎসাহ দান করা হবে।

তিনি বলেন, আমরা জানিয়েছি যে, এটা নিছক টেকনিক্যাল ব্যাপার নয়। একটি বিরাট অঞ্চলের সামাজিক, অর্থনৈতিক ও রাজনৈতিক নিরাপত্তার প্রশ্নও এটির সঙ্গে জড়িত।

পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী জানান, বাংলাদেশে গণতন্ত্রের ওপর যে বলাৎকার চলছে স্বাধীনতা ও গণতন্ত্রে বিশ্বাসী মার্কিন সরকার পাক কর্তৃপক্ষের কোন প্রকার অস্ত্রশস্ত্র সামরিক সাজ-সরঞ্জাম দিয়ে তাতে সাহায্য করবেন না বলে ভারত আশা করে। যতদিন না ইসলামাবাদ কর্তৃপক্ষ বাংলাদেশের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের হাতে ক্ষমতা ছেড়ে দিয়ে শরণার্থীদের আগমন রোধ করে ভারত থেকে শরণার্থীদের দেশে ফেরার ব্যবস্থা করেন ততদিন যেন মার্কিন সরকার ইসলামাবাদকে সাহায্য দানে বিরত থাকেন।

সভার সকল শ্রেণীর সদস্যদের উদ্বেগে সম-অংশীদার হয়ে পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রী বলেন যে, গত ৮ই ও ২১শে মে পদ্মা ও সুন্দরবন নামক দু'টি পাক জাহাজ মার্কিন অস্ত্রশস্ত্র নিয়ে করাচীর পথে রওনা হয়ে গেছে বলে নিউইয়র্ক টাইমসে যে সংবাদ প্রকাশিত হয়েছে তা মোটামুটি ঠিক।



চিভ বসু এবং ২০ জন সদস্য দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণী প্রস্তাব পেশ করেছিলেন। পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী আরও জানান যে, ওয়াশিংটনস্থ ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত সংবাদ পাবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই ২২শে জুন মার্কিন পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তরের সহকারী সচিবের সঙ্গে বিষয়টি নিয়ে আলোচনা করেন। ২৩শে জুন নয়াদিল্লীতে মার্কিন দূতাবাসের সঙ্গে বিষয়টি আলোচিত হয়।

মার্কিন সরকার জানিয়েছেন ২৫শে মার্চের পর পাকিস্তানকে অস্ত্রশস্ত্র প্রদানের কোন অনুমতি দেওয়া হয়নি বা ব্যবসায়িক ভিত্তিতে অস্ত্রশস্ত্র ক্রয় সংক্রান্ত কোন চুক্তি অনুমোদন করা হয়নি, অথবা এই দিনের পর পুরনো কোন লাইসেন্সের মেয়াদ বৃদ্ধি করা হয়নি।

### ভারতের অনুরোধে বিবেচনা করা হচ্ছে

নয়াদিল্লী, ২৪ শে জুন (ইউএন আই)-ভয়েস অব আমেরিকার এক রিপোর্টে জানা গিয়েছে যে, সামরিক সরঞ্জাম নিয়ে দু'টি পাকিস্তানী জাহাজ করাচীর পথে রওনা হয়েছে তাদের যাত্রা বন্ধ করার জন্য ভারতের অনুরোধ মার্কিন সরকার গুরুত্বের সঙ্গে বিবেচনা করেছেন।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪১। ধরা পড়েছে মার্কিন ফাঁকি	আনন্দ বাজার পত্রিকা	২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

### সম্পাদকীয় ধরা পড়েছে মার্কিন ফাঁকি

মার্কিন সমর সস্তার নিয়ে পাক-জাহাজগুলো করাচীর দিকে এগুচ্ছে। সংসদে উত্তেজনা বাড়ছে। সবাই জানে বাংলাদেশের কপালে দুঃখ অনেক। যারা গণতন্ত্র রক্ষায় উৎসর্গিত প্রাণ বলে কথিত তাঁরাই সেজেছেন ভক্ষক। তাঁদের অস্ত্র ব্যবহৃত হবে বাংলাদেশের গণতান্ত্রিক আন্দোলন দমনে। ভারতের জনসাধারণ ক্ষুব্ধ এবং রাগে ফেটে পড়েছেন বাংলাদেশের জনতা। শরণার্থীরা প্রতিবাদমুখর। ওরা ঘেরাও করছেন মার্কিন পররাষ্ট্র দপ্তরের পরিদর্শনে। দুর্গত মানুষগুলো বুঝতে পারছে না মার্কিন কর্তৃপক্ষের দ্বৈতনীতি। এদিকে তাঁরা শরণার্থীদের দুঃখ-দুর্দশায় চোখের জল ফেলছেন, অপরদিকে বাংলাদেশের দুঃমনদের হাতে তুলে দিচ্ছেন মারণাস্ত্র। মানুষ মারার ব্যবসা এবং মানবতার উচ্চগ্রামী নিনাদের মধ্যে সামঞ্জস্য রাখা কঠিন কাজ। ওয়াশিংটনের যুক্তি দুর্বল। তাঁরা প্রতশ্রুতি দিয়েছিলেন, বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের আগে কোন মার্কিন অস্ত্র যাবে না পাকিস্তানে। দুনিয়ার সামনে নতুন করে প্রমাণিত হয়েছে, মার্কিন প্রতিশ্রুতি ভূয়া। তার নেই কোন বাস্তব মূল্য। ওঁদের কথায় এবং কাজে ধরা পড়েছে লজ্জাজনক অসংগতি। সংসদ সদস্যদের উত্তেজনা খুবই স্বাভাবিক। তাঁদের প্রশ্নবাণে নাজেহাল কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার। সাবদরিয়া থেকে পাক-জাহাজের মার্কিন সস্তার তুলে নেবার দাবি জানাচ্ছেন নয়াদিল্লী। অবাস্তব পাঁয়তারা। জ্ঞানপাপীকে জ্ঞানদান অসম্ভব।

পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী স্বরণ সিং বিব্রত। কত আশা নিয়ে তিনি গিয়েছিলেন আমেরিকায়। প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সনের সঙ্গে তিনি করেছিলেন আলাপ-আলোচনা। অখন্ড বিশ্বাস নিয়ে ফিরেছেন তিনি দেশে। লিখিত বিবৃতিতে স্বরণ সিং বলেছেন, গণতন্ত্রের একনিষ্ঠ সেবক মার্কিন সরকার সত্যভ্রষ্ট হবেন না। তারপরই হাতেনাতে ধরা পরেছে গণতন্ত্রের মহামান্য সেবকদের কাঙ্ক্ষারখানা। স্বরণ সিং-এর সার্টিফিকেট প্রকৃতপক্ষে সত্যের অপলাপ। এই লাইন ক'টি বাদ দেবার জন্য সংসদে উঠেছিল দাবি। কেটে দিলে হয়ত খুশী হতেন মাননীয় সদস্যরা। কিন্তু তাতে মার্কিন সরকারের টনক নড়ত না। ভারতের দেওয়া সুনাম কিংবা বদনামে তাঁরা খোড়াই কেয়ার করেন। পাক-ভারত শক্তিসাম্য বজায় রাখা তাঁদের নীতি। চীনের সঙ্গে পাল্লা দিয়ে মার্কিন কর্তার করবেন পাক - তোষণ। তাতে যদি গণতন্ত্র কিংবা বাংলাদেশের লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষ জাহান্নামে যায়, যাক। এ নিয়ে মাথা ঘামাবার সময় নেই আমেরিকার। বলদর্পিত ধনীদেব চিন্তাধারা আলাদা। উন্নয়নশীল দেশগুলোর হাত-পা তাদের লেজের সঙ্গে বাঁধা। ওরা জানে কিছুক্ষণ ছুটফটনির পর গরীবেরা ধনী দেবে তাদের দরজায়। টাকা পেলেই সব ঠিকঠাক হয়ে যাবে। আন্তর্জাতিক শালীনতার মাপকাঠি বানাবে তারাই। অবশিষ্ট দুনিয়া মেনে নেবে ওদের নিরুপিত সভ্যতার নিত্যনতুন সংজ্ঞা। বেশি দিন আগের কথা নয়, ১৯৬৫ সালে মার্কিন অস্ত্র নিয়ে আয়ুব খান লাড়াই-এ নেমেছিলেন ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে। তখনও মার্কিন কর্তৃপক্ষের বিরুদ্ধে এসেছিল প্রতিশ্রুতি খেলাপের অভিযোগ। তাতে কান দেবার দরকার বোধ করেনি আমেরিকা। মার্কিন অস্ত্র ইসরাইলে গেলে ক্ষেপে ওঠে আরব দুনিয়া। ওরা বলে এসব অস্ত্র ব্যবহৃত হবে ইসরাইলী নির্যাতিত আরব হননে। এসব অস্ত্র যখন পাকিস্তানে যায় তখন তারা নীরব। অনেকে নীরব। অনেকে মনে মনে খুশী। একথা তাদের ধারণায় আসে না যে, মার্কিন মারণাস্ত্র প্রযোজ্য হবে বাংলাদেশের বাঙালি হননে। এগুলো ব্যবহার করবেন নরঘাতক ইয়াহিয়া খান। ওরা ভাবে, মুসলমান ইয়াহিয়া নির্বিচারে বাঙালি হিন্দু-মুসলমান খুন করলে দোষ নেই। যত দোষ ইসরাইল যদি আরব নিধনযজ্ঞ চালায়। বর্তমান দুনিয়ায় একমাত্র আমেরিকাই বিবেক বর্জিত সুবিধাবাদী নয়, অন্যেরাও বড় কম যায় না।

দুর্ভাগ্য ভারতের। এই স্বার্থভ্রষ্ট দুনিয়ার মুখের দিকে চেয়ে আছে নয়াদিল্লী। লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থীর ভারে নুইয়ে পড়ছে তাঁদের অর্থনৈতিক কাঠামো। আকাশে জমা হচ্ছে সামাজিক অর্থনৈতিক বিপ্লবের কালমেঘ। শরণার্থীদের স্বদেশে ফেরত না পাঠালে নয়। যাকে পর্যুদস্ত করলে এদের প্রত্যাবর্তনের পথ হবে।

সুগম, তাঁর হাতই জোরদার করছেন মার্কিন সরকার। বারবার হুমকি দিচ্ছেন নয়াদিল্লী-বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সামাধানে দুনিয়া এগিয়ে না এলে ভারত নেবে তার নিজস্ব ব্যবস্থা। এ নিজস্ব ব্যবস্থাটা যে কি তা হয়ত নিজেই যানে না প্রধানমন্ত্রী। নয়াদিল্লীর তর্জনে গর্জনে পাত্তা দিচ্ছে না কেউ। সবাই ভাবছে, ভারত সরকার যত গর্জায় তত বর্ষান না। সোভিয়েত রাশিয়ার কূটনৈতিক তৎপরতা নাকি গত কয়েকদিনে বেশ বেড়ে গেছে। বৃটিশ সরকার শূণ্যে ফানুস ফাটিয়েছেন -পূর্ব বাংলার গ্রহণযোগ্য রাজনৈতিক সমাধান দরকার। তা না হলে কোন বৃটিশ সাহায্য নাকি যাবে না পাকিস্তানে। ফরাসীরা আদর্শের চেয়ে অস্ত্রের ব্যবসাটা ভাল বুঝেন। আদর্শের কচকচানীতে ওঠে বুদ্ধবুদ্ধ। আর অস্ত্রের ব্যবসায়ে আসে টাকা। বুদ্ধবুদ্ধের চেয়ে টাকার দাম বেশি। ইয়াহিয়াকে নিষ্ক্রিয় করার জন্য দুনিয়া কি করেছে, জানেন না ভারতের জনসাধারণ। নয়াদিল্লীর কথায় অনেকেরই নেই কোন আস্থা। ওঁদের মূল্যায়ন মিলছে না বাস্তব অবস্থার সঙ্গে। বিশ্বজনমতের একটা দাম অবশ্যই আছে। কিন্তু সবার উপরে বাহুবল। এই বলের সার্থক প্রয়োগ করতে পারলে বিশ্বজনমতের মোড় ঘুরতে বেশি সময় লাগে না। নয়াদিল্লী আত্মস্থ হোন। বৃহৎ রাষ্ট্রগুলো তাদের ফাঁকি দিচ্ছে। ভারতের জনমতও বিগড়ে যাচ্ছে। নয়াদিল্লীর শক্তির উৎস নিম্নগামী। আর দেরী নয়। স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশকে বাস্তব করে তুলুন। তা না হলে ভারতের ভরাডুবি অনিবার্য।

সম্পাদকীয়-আনন্দ বাজার পত্রিকা, ২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪২। কোন সমাধান না হলে ভারত যে কোন ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে বাধ্য। উর্দু পত্রিকার সম্পাদকদের সভায় বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গে অভিমত	কালান্তর	২৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

### কোন সমাধান না হলে ভারত যে কোন ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করতে বাধ্য :

#### উর্দু পত্রিকার সম্পাদকদের সভায় বাংলাদেশ প্রসঙ্গে অভিমত

নয়াদিল্লী, ২৭ জুন- ‘বিশ্বের রাষ্ট্রগুলিকে বিশেষ করে বৃহৎ শক্তিবর্গকে এখন এ কথা পরিস্কারভাবে জানিয়ে দেওয়ার সময় হয়েছে যে যথাশীঘ্র বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার সামাধান না হলে ভারত একান্ত অনিচ্ছার সঙ্গেই তার গুরুত্বপূর্ণ স্বার্থগুলি রক্ষার জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় যে কোন ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণে বাধ্য হবে।’

ইউ এন আই জানাচ্ছে, আজ উর্দু পত্রিকার সম্পাদকদের তিন দিনের আলোচনার শেষে সাধারণভাবে এই অভিমত ব্যক্ত হয়। সম্পাদকরা বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে ভারত সরকারের নীতির প্রতি পূর্ণ সমর্থন ঘোষণা করেন।

তিন দিনব্যাপী এই আলোচনা চক্রে দেশের বিভিন্ন রাজ্যে উর্দু পত্রিকার প্রায় পাঁচশ’ জন সম্পাদক অংশগ্রহণ করেন।

সেমিনার ইয়াহিয়া খানের সামরিক প্রশাসনকে এখনও সমরাস্ত্র যোগান দেওয়ার জন্য মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র ও অন্য কয়েকটি দেশের আচরণের তীব্র নিন্দা করেন।

বাংলাদেশের লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থীর প্রতি আন্তরিক সহানুভূতি জানিয়ে সম্পাদকরা বলেন, সমস্যাটি কেবল মানবিক নয়। পাকিস্তানের সামরিক জুন্টার সীমাহীন নৃশংসতা ও নিষ্ঠুরতার নিরীহ শিকারদের কেবল খাদ্য এবং আশ্রয় দিয়ে সমস্যার সমাধান সম্ভব নয়।

তারা বলেন, ‘মুক্তি এবং ঔপনিবেশিকতাবাদী শক্তির মধ্যে এই সংঘর্ষের সামাধান কেবল বাংলাদেশের জনগণের গণতান্ত্রিক আকাঙ্ক্ষার স্বীকৃতির ভিত্তিতেই সম্ভব’।

দেশে এবং বিদেশে উর্দু পত্রিকার বিরুদ্ধে কয়েমী স্বার্থ যে কুৎসা করছে এঁরা তার প্রতিবাদ করেন। এঁরা দাবি করেন উর্দু সংবাদপত্রগুলি ‘আমাদের জাতীয় নীতি’ রূপায়িত করার জন্য গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা পালন করছে।

এ দেশে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রাম এবং পাক-ফৌজের দ্বারা অনুষ্ঠিত নৃশংসতাকে ভারতে এবং বিদেশের কোন কোন মহল সাম্প্রদায়িক বলে চালানোর যে চেষ্টা করেছে সম্পাদকরা তার তীব্র প্রতিবাদ করেন।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪৩। একটি রাজনৈতিক সমাধান (সম্পাদিত)	দি স্টেটম্যান	৩০ জুন, ১৯৭১

## Editorial

**THE STATESMAN, JUNE 30, 1971**  
**A MILITARY SOLUTION**

New Delhi has shown considerable political maturity in resisting pressures for direct action to create conditions in which the refugees from East Bengal can return to their homes; India could only further complex situation, with incalculable consequences for herself as well for others, by seeking a military solution to the problems created by the East Bengal events. It would be unfortunate if president Yahya Khan's broadcast on Monday is seen as justifying the views that there is no alternative to direct intervention; while it was being suggested openly or by implication, that a reasonable political settlement might still be possible. General Yahya has now made it clear that what he is seeking in East Bengal is nothing but a military solution. He claims that conditions in East Bengal have returned to normal; yet martial law will continue. The National Assembly will be convened, but it will not be allowed to frame a constitution nor will the party which won a majority of the Assembly seats be represented in the House. Indeed such Awami League members as may be allowed to sit in the Assembly will clearly have to disown their allegiance to the party, the others will be disqualified and replaced by Islamabad's nominees through by elections whose outcome will surely be decided in advance.

In plain words, the West Pakistani colonial domination over East Bengal will continue to be mentioned by military force, but puppet civilian Government and certain pseudo-democratic appendages will now be introduced to give this repressive rule a semblance of legality. This will be far more dangerous than a naked military dictatorship, after a time many helpless people in East Bengal may resign themselves to this monstrous deception and the world outside may conveniently find in this resignation some evidence of popular acceptance. The world must decide now whether it will allow the Yahya regime to get away with this cruel trick which will be the final negation of every democratic principle. The Nixon Administration has not covered itself with glory over the arms shipments to Pakistan, but it is still for many committed to the idea of a political settlement and may still be in a position to make Islamabad abandon its search for a permanent military solution. Other countries, which have more specifically urged the Pakistan Government to seek a settlement with the Awami League must immediately reinforce their pressure. President Yahya Khan's choice of a military solution does not oblige others to arrive at the same conclusion. So-called strong action can only be an evasion of the responsibility of seeking a political answer to the East Bengal crisis.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪৪। মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের আক্রমণে নিহত সাড়ে তিন হাজার পাক অফিসারের মৃতদেহ করাচীতে কবরস্থ	কালান্তর	৩ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

## মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের আক্রমণে নিহত সাড়ে তিন হাজার পাক অফিসারের মৃতদেহ করাচীতে কবরস্থ। দড়ি বেঁধে বাংলাদেশ থেকে জাহাজ বোঝাই মেয়ে চালান :

করাচী প্রত্যাগত প্রত্যক্ষদর্শীর বিবরণ

কলকাতা, ২ জুলাই-গত ২৫ মার্চ থেকে ২ মাসের ভেতর পাক বাহিনীর সাড়ে তিন হাজার উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মী ও মৃতদেহ ঢাকা থেকে করাচী পেশোয়ারে নিয়ে যাওয়া হয়েছে এবং সেখানে কবর দেওয়া হয়েছে। খান সৈন্যদের দৃষ্টি এড়িয়ে করাচী থেকে সীমান্ত পার হয়ে আসা প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী জনৈক পাক বিমান বাহিনীর কর্মী আমাদের সঙ্গে সাক্ষাৎকারে এ কথা জানান। পাক বিমান বাহিনীর কমিটি আজ কলকাতা এসে পৌঁছেছেন।

২৫ মার্চ থেকে এ পর্যন্ত কর্মীটি নজরবন্দী অবস্থায় ছিলেন। তিনি জানান, ২৬ মার্চ ভোরে বিমান বাহিনীর কর্মীদের শিবিরে এসে খান সৈন্যবাহিনীর অফিসারেরা বাঙালী কর্মীদের আলাদা করে এবং তাঁদের নিরস্ত্র করে দেয়। খান সৈন্যবাহিনী বাঙালি কর্মীদের এমনকি সংরক্ষণ বিভাগের কাজ থেকে এবং মেনটেনেন্স বিভাগের কাজ থেকেও সরিয়ে এনেছে।

এই প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী জানান, বাংলাদেশে খান সৈন্যবাহিনীর বহু সৈনিক ও অফিসার যে মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের হাতে মার খেয়েছে, তাঁরা করাচীতে বসেই টের পেয়েছেন।

খান সৈন্য বাহিনীর উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মী ও অফিসার যাদের মৃতদেহ করাচী এবং পেশোয়ারে বিমানযোগে বিমানবন্দরে বহন করে নিয়ে যাওয়া হয়েছে এমন সংখ্যা প্রায় সাড়ে তিন হাজার। তিনি জানান, করাচীতে ড্রাইডেন সিনেমা হলের পাশে সরকারী কবরস্থানে এবং প্রতিরক্ষা বিভাগের কবরস্থান ও পেশোয়ারের কবরস্থানে এইসব মৃতদেহ কবর দেওয়া হয়েছে। এই মৃত ব্যক্তিদের নাম করাচীর ‘বি আর অর্ডারে’ লিপিবদ্ধ আছে। প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী এই বিমান বাহিনীর কর্মীটি আরও জানান যে, বাঙালি সৈনিকদের নিরস্ত্র করে রাখার পর তাদেরকে নজরবন্দী অবস্থায় দিন কাটাতে হয়েছে। এবং সেই সময় বর্তমান শাসকগোষ্ঠী বাংলাদেশের কত উন্নতি করেছে এবং বর্তমানে বাংলাদেশের অবস্থা যে কত শান্ত তা প্রচার করে প্রদর্শিত সিনেমা এই নজরবন্দী বাঙালিদের দেখতে হয়েছে।

মেয়েদের দড়ি দিয়ে বেঁধে করাচী নিয়ে যাওয়া হয়েছে।

এই প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী আরো জানান যে, চট্টগ্রাম বন্দরে এফ এন এস ঢাকা, বাবর এবং এফ এন এস খাইবার নামে যে তিনটি জাহাজ ছিল, সেই জাহাজ তিনটি করাচী ফিরে যাওয়ার পথে বহু বাঙালি মেয়েকে করাচীতে নিয়ে গিয়েছে। তিনি জানান এই সমস্ত মহিলাদের যখন করাচী বন্দরে নামানো হয় তখন এঁদের হাত পরস্পর দড়ি দিয়ে বাঁধা ছিল এবং প্রত্যেকেরই কোমরেও দড়ি বাঁধা ছিল। এই সমস্ত মহিলাদের এখন বিভ্রাট লোকের ক্রীতদাসী কিংবা রক্ষিতা হিসেবে রাখা হয়েছে।

করাচী থেকে বাংলাদেশে এখন কেউ করাচীতে আসছে না

এই প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী আরো জানান যে, খান সৈন্যবাহিনীর যে সমস্ত কর্মী করাচীতে ৮০ টাকা বেতন পেতেন তাদের বর্তমানে ইয়াহিয়া চক্র চারশত টাকা বেতন দিয়ে বাংলাদেশে পাঠাতে চায় কিন্তু এতদসত্ত্বেও কেউ বাংলাদেশে আসতে ইচ্ছুক নয়।

## বেলুচীস্থানে ব্যাপক অত্যাচার

এই প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী আরো জানান যে, বেলুচীস্থানে ইয়াহিয়া চক্কের বিরুদ্ধে ব্যাপক বিক্ষোভ হচ্ছে। তিনি বলেন খান সৈন্যবাহিনী বিক্ষুব্ধ মানুষকে দমনের জন্য ব্যাপক অত্যাচার চালাচ্ছে। তারা গ্রামে গ্রামে ভ্রাম্যমাণ জঙ্গী আদালত বসিয়েছে এবং খান সৈন্য-বিরোধী মানুষের সম্পত্তি কেড়ে নিচ্ছে।

বিমান বাহিনীর এই কমিটি জানান যে, তিনি এখন তাঁর পিতা-মাতার সঙ্গে মিলিত হবেন এরপর মুক্তি যুদ্ধের সৈনিক হিসেবে যোগ দেবেন। তিনি জানান করাচীতে এখনো বিমান বাহিনীর বহু বাঙালি কর্মী নিরস্ত্র এবং নজরবন্দী অবস্থায় আছেন।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪৫। পাকিস্তানকে অস্ত্র দেওয়া না দেওয়া	যুগান্তর	৩ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

সম্পাদকীয়  
**খোদ আসামী নিব্বন**

আমেরিকা আরও অস্ত্র পাঠাচ্ছে পাকিস্তানে। এগুলো ব্যবহৃত হবে বাংলাদেশের মারণযজ্ঞে। বিবেক বলে কোন পদার্থ নেই মার্কিন কর্তাদের। মিথ্যার প্রলেপ দিয়ে ঢাকতে চেয়েছিলেন তাঁরা নিজেদের অপরাধ। গত ক’দিন ধরে প্রচার চলছিল, যত নষ্টের গোড়া আমলাতন্ত্র। ওরাই অনাসৃষ্টির জন্য দায়ী। মার্কিন নীতি-নির্ধারকরা নিষেধাজ্ঞা জারি করেছেন পাকিস্তানের অস্ত্র প্রেরণের উপর। তার ফাঁক ফোকর দিয়ে অস্ত্র যাচ্ছে পাকিস্তানে। এই ছেদো প্রলাপ একেবারে কাঁঝরা হয়ে গেছে। আসল রহস্য বেরিয়ে পড়েছে। খোদ আসামী আমলাতন্ত্র নন, প্রেসিডেন্ট নিব্বন নিজে। তিনিই খারিজ করেছেন আমলাতন্ত্রের পরামর্শ। ব্যক্তিগত দায়ত্বে অস্ত্র জোগাচ্ছেন ইয়হিয়া খানকে। অজুহাত পুরানো, পাকিস্তানকে অস্ত্র না দিলে দেশটা চলে যাবে চীনের খপ্পরে। চীনের খপ্পর থেকে পাক-জঙ্গীশাহীকে বাঁচবার জন্য প্রেসিডেন্ট নিব্বন ডেকে আনছেন বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের সর্বনাশ। হাটে হাড়ি ভেঙেছেন শ্রী জয়প্রকাশ নারায়ণ। ওয়াশিংটনে তিনি দেখা করেছিলেন মার্কিন কর্তাদের সঙ্গে। তাঁরা বলেছিলেন, বাংলাদেশের সত্যিকারের জনপ্রতিনিধিদের সঙ্গে ইসলামাবাদে একটা বোঝাপড়া দরকার। কাজের বেলায় দেখা যাচ্ছে অন্যরকম। বোঝাপড়ার বদলে বাংলাদেশকে সাবাড় করার মদত দিচ্ছে আমেরিকা। প্রেসিডেন্ট আইনেস হাওয়ারের আমলে নিব্বন ছিলেন ভাইস প্রেসিডেন্ট। তিনি তখন রিপোর্ট দিয়েছিলেন, জোটনিরপেক্ষ ভারতকে বিশ্বাস নেই। পাকিস্তানই সত্যিকারের বন্ধু। তাকেই দেওয়া উচিত, বিপুল পরিমাণ অস্ত্র সাহায্য। তারপর দুনিয়া চেহারা অনেক বদলিয়েছে। পদে পদে ধরা পড়েছে মার্কিন মূল্যায়নের ভুল ভ্রান্তি। প্রেসিডেন্ট নিব্বন শিখেন নি কিছু। সাবেকী মন দিয়ে তিনি ধরে আছেন মার্কিন প্রশাসন তরীর হাল।

নয়াদিল্লী রাগে ফেটে পড়ছেন। ভারতীয় জনমত উত্তাল। কিসিঞ্জারের স্বস্তিচকনে জনতার উদ্ভা বাড়াচ্ছে। পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী স্বরণ সিং দিশাহারা। বড় আশা নিয়ে তিনি গিয়েছিলেন আমেরিকায়। অগাধ বিশ্বাস ছিল তাঁর মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রনায়কদের উপর। শেষ পর্যন্ত তাঁর কপালে জুটল বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা। যা বলছিল তা করল না আমেরিকা। ভারতে আগত শরণার্থীদের জন্য ওয়াশিংটন দেবেন টাকা। আর ইয়াহিয়া শরণার্থী তৈরির যজ্ঞে তাঁরা ঢালবেন অঢেল তেল। এই মার্কিন দ্বৈতনীতি বর্তমান দুনিয়ার নিদারুণ অভিশাপ। ইসলামাবাদে নরপশুদের অকৃত্রিম দোস্ত প্রেসিডেন্ট নিব্বনই নাকি স্বাধীন বিশ্বের জিম্মাদার এবং গনতন্ত্রের অতন্দ্র প্রহরী। দক্ষিণ ভিয়েতনামের জন্য তিনি চান স্বায়ত্ত্বশাসন এবং বাঁচার অধিকার। আর বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে তাঁর বিধান-ইসলামাবাদের জঙ্গীশাহীর ক্রীতদাসত্ব কিম্বা এবং সর্বাত্মক সংহার। প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি গান্ধী হুঁচক করে বেড়াচ্ছেন। মাঝে মাঝে ওয়াশিংটনের উপর কড়া বাক্যবাণ ঝাড়াচ্ছেন। তাতে লাভ নেই কিছু। পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে মার্কিন কর্তাদের গোপন আঁতাত দীর্ঘদিনের। ওঁরা কিছুতেই ছাড়বেন না আশ্রিত খুণীদের। এমন আশ্রিত বাৎসল্যের কাছে বিবেকের বিলাস প্রত্যাশা অর্থহীন।

এখন কি করবেন নয়াদিল্লী? ইয়াহিয়া উপর ছাড়বেন না সত্যিকারের কোন আন্তর্জাতিক চাপ। বেঁকে দাঁড়িয়েছে আমেরিকা। মার্কিন জনমত তাকে সিধে করতে পারবে কিনা সন্দেহ। সোভিয়েত রাশিয়ার অবস্থা ধরি মাছ না ছুঁই পানি। অন্য যাঁরা চেষ্টামেচি করছেন তাদের প্রভাব সীমিত। আরব দুনিয়ার ধর্মবোধ বড় বেশি জাগ্রত। তাদের দৃষ্টিতে ইয়াহিয়া ঐশ্বর্যময় ঐক্যের ধ্বজাধারী। বাংলাদেশের হিন্দুরা কাফের এবং মুসলমানরা ধর্মচ্যুত। পাইকারী হারে তাদের নিধন কিম্বা বিতাড়নে কোন দোষ নেই। ইয়াহিয়া যদি মুসলমান না হয়ে ইহুদী, খৃষ্টান কিম্বা হিন্দু হতেন তবে হয়ত আরব নেতাদের টনক নড়ত। আঙুলে তাতান বালুর উপর ধান দিলে এগুলো



যেমন ফটফট করে ফুটে ঠিক তেমনি তারা ফুটতেন। নাসেরের মিশর ছিল প্রগতিবাদী বলে পরিচিত। এখন সেখানে কায়ম হয়েছেন প্রেসিডেন্ট আনোয়ার সাদত। তিনি দোস্তী করেছেন পাক সুহৃদ সৌদি আরবের সঙ্গে। ১৯৬৭ সালের খার্তুম চুক্তি অনুযায়ী মিশর পাচ্ছে সৌদির খয়রাতি টাকা। এখন আরও এগিয়ে গিয়েছেন প্রেসিডেন্ট সাদত। নাসের বলতেন, আরব দুনিয়ার ঐক্যের ভিত্তি সাধারণতন্ত্র এবং সমাজবাদ। আর সাদতের মতে আরবের শক্তির উৎস ধর্ম। সৌদি আরবের বাদশা ফয়সল মহা খুশী। তিনি মিশরকে দেবেন ইসরাইল বিরোধী মদত। বিনিময়ে সাদত জোরদার করবেন ফয়সলের ঐশ্ব্যমিক ঐক্য অভিযান। কিসের আশায় সময় কাটাচ্ছেন নয়াদিল্লী? দুনিয়ায় বিবেক বলে কোন কিছুই অস্তিত্ব নেই। যা আছে তা শুধু সঙ্কীর্ণ আত্মস্বার্থ। ভাল কথার যুগ শেষ হয়েছে। বর্তমান যুগটা শক্তির যুগ। যার বাহুতে আছে বল এবং মনে আছে সঙ্কল্পের দৃঢ়তা তাকেই সেলাম জানাবে দুনিয়া। নিজের পায়ে দাঁড়ান নয়াদিল্লী। স্বীকৃতি দিন স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশকে। দুর্ব্বার করে তুলুন মুক্তিফৌজের সংগ্রাম। এ পথেই আসবে বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার সমাধান এবং শরণার্থীদের স্বদেশ প্রত্যাবর্তন।

সম্পাদকীয়- যুগান্তর , ৩ জুলাই, ১৯৭১।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪৬। পাকিস্তানী প্রচারণার বিরুদ্ধে হুশিয়ারী	দি স্টেটম্যান	৪ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JULY 4, 1971*

### **MUSLIM NATIONS WARNED AGAINST PAK PROPAGANDA**

From Our Special Representative,

New Delhi, July 3.-A spokesman of the Bangladesh Government today appealed to the Muslim nations of the world not to be hoodwinked by Pakistani propaganda. Was it Islamic, he asked, for Pakistani soldier to rape young Muslim girls, to kill Muslim doctors and intellectuals, to burn the property of Muslim villagers and to massacre Muslim women and children?

The Muslim nations, he said, should put these questions to themselves and then only take a stand on the reign of terror let loose in Bangladesh by the military regime in Islamabad.

Mr. Amjadul Huq, the spokesman of the Bangladesh Mission here, told a Press conference that his Government regretted the attitude of the Muslim nations. He attributed the present attitude of these countries to the "heinous propaganda being made in the name of Islam by the Pakistani military warlords."

Bangladesh, he added, was a fait accompli and there could be no compromise on the basis of a united Pakistan in the name of Islam. The Pakistanis were utilizing the name of a great religion for mischievous purposes and for misleading the Muslim world. By raising the slogan that the existence of the largest Islamic country was being threatened the military rulers were justifying the butchery of millions of peaceful and unarmed Muslim citizens of Bangladesh.

The resumption of arms supplies to Pakistan by the USA had in this context come as a great shock and disappointment to the freedom fighters. "We urge the U.S. Government that it should immediately stop the arms shipments to Pakistan and also demand an assurance that no further shipments of military hardware will be made to Pakistan for these will only be used to perpetuate military oppression and to further intensify the campaign of genocide" he said.

Mr. Huq wondered why international organizations like the Human Rights Commission had not cared to take Pakistan to task for the genocide perpetrated in Bangladesh. "When 75 million people of Bangladesh are fighting war of freedom, justice, democratic rights and peace, what is the position of these international organizations?" he asked.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪৭। মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের জন্য অস্ত্র দাবি	দি স্টেটম্যান	৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE' STATESMAN, JULY5, 1971*  
**SANGH WANTS ARMS AID FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS**

*From Our Special Representative*

Udaipur. July 4. - The Jana Sangh will launch a mass satyagraha from August 1, in New Delhi to urge the Government to recognize Bangladesh and give its provisional Government all moral and material support including military assistance to enable it to free the country from the clutches of West Pakistani military rule.

This was announced by the party president Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee at the General Council session this morning.

Mr. Vajpayee also announced that the satyagraha would continue for 11 days till August 11 and on the last day of the current session of Parliament-August 12-about 200,000 Jana Sangh volunteers would demonstrate in front of Parliament House in protest against the Governments inaction on the Bangladesh issue. He however, said the party would give up the agitation plan and offer all possible support to the Centre if it agreed to accept the Sangh's demands by August 1.

During the debate on the Bangladesh resolution many delegates said that the leadership was only asking the Government to take firm action; it gave the impression as if the party itself had no duty to discharge on the Bangladesh Issue. Replying to them Mr. Vajpayee said it was the Jana Sangh founder Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, who had resigned from the Central Government on the East Bengal refugee issue. It had also launched a mass movement for Jammu and Kashmir at the time of the Goa invasion. The party therefore, would not keep quiet when thousands of people were being butchered in Bangladesh, he added.

After Mr. Vajpayee's Speech the resolution on Bangladesh was adopted with certain amendments, adds UNI. These included release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his followers arrangements for military training to refugees to enable them to win their freedom and screening of evacuees.

The resolution put before the country a six-point programme of action and directed all its party units to educate and mobilize public opinion to force the Government to act in the wider interest of the country.

It opposed dispersal of refugees to far off places. It demanded that refugee camps be put up on the Bangladesh border so as to facilitate their return as soon as the occupation forces of Pakistan were thrown out of the new republic. It called for effective military action to repel Pakistani aggression on the Indian borders.

The resolution also demanded effective curb on Sheikh Abdullah and others who had consistently refused to condemn Pakistan's military junta for its genocide in Bangladesh.

It said that steps should be taken to secure cooperation of all patriotic organizations and elements in the task of repelling Pakistani aggression securing Justice for Bangladesh people and safeguarding the honor of integrity and security of India.

The resolution called for basic reappraisal of India's foreign-policy.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪৮। ব্রিটিশ সংসদীয় দলের বিবৃতি প্রচার করা যাবে না: পাক জঙ্গী সরকারের ফরমান	যুগান্তর	৩ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

### ব্রিটিশ সংসদীয় দলের বিবৃতি প্রচার করা যাবে না :

#### পাক জঙ্গী সরকারের ফরমান

#### বিশেষ সংবাদদাতা

নয়াদিল্লী, ৫ জুলাই- চারজনের যে ব্রিটিশ পারলামেন্টারি প্রতিনিধি দলটি বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে প্রত্যক্ষ অভিজ্ঞতা লাভের জন্য ভারত ও পাকিস্তান ঘুরে গিয়েছেন তাঁদের কোন সাক্ষাৎকার বা বিবৃতি প্রকাশ বা বেতার প্রচার পাকিস্তান সরকার সম্পূর্ণ নিষিদ্ধ করেছেন।

ওই প্রতিনিধি দলের কার্যকলাপের ছবি তোলাও পাক সরকার নিষিদ্ধ করেছেন। এ থেকে বোঝা যাচ্ছে যে, বাংলাদেশের পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে প্রতিনিধি দলের মূল্যায়ন ও তাঁদের বিবৃতিতে পাক বাহিনীর নৃশংসতার বিবরণ প্রকাশ পাওয়ায় জঙ্গী সরকার বিরক্তি বোধ করেছেন। পাক সরকার পাকিস্তানীদের বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে যে মিথ্যা সংবাদ দিয়ে আসছিলেন, ব্রিটিশ প্রতিনিধি দলের বিবৃতি ও মন্তব্য থেকে তাঁদের সে ভুল ধারণা ভেঙে যাক জঙ্গী মহল তা আদৌ চান না।

চারজনের ওই প্রতিনিধি দলে রক্ষণশীল ও শ্রমিক উভয় দলেরই সদস্য ছিলেন ব্রিটিশ সরকার ওই প্রতিনিধি দলকে পাঠিয়েছিলেন। প্রাক্তন কমনওয়েলথ রিলেসেন্স মন্ত্রী শ্রী আরথার বটমালি ছিলেন ওই প্রতিনিধি দলের নেতা।

#### আটক ব্যক্তিদের সম্পর্কে খোঁজ খবর

ইউ এন আই জানাচ্ছেন, যেসব পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে চলে এসে ভারতে আশ্রয় গ্রহণ করেছেন পাকিস্তানের অনুরোধে ও মানবতার খাতিরে ভারত পাকিস্তানকে তাঁদের খবরাখবর জানাতে সম্মত আছে। তবে আন্তর্জাতিক আইনের বিধান ও আইন অনুযায়ী পাকিস্তানকেও তাদের জেলে আটক ২৫০ জনেরও বেশি ভারতীয়ের খবরাখবর জানাতে হবে।

আজ সরকারী মহল থেকে ওই তথ্য পাওয়া গিয়েছে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪৯। পাকিস্তানের মিথ্যা কূটনৈতিক প্রচার	যুগান্তর	৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

### ভারতে আটক রাখা সম্পর্কে পাকিস্তানের মিথ্যা কূটনৈতিক প্রচার

৬ই জুলাই-পাকিস্তান সরকার এবার এক নতুন মিথ্যা কূটনৈতিক প্রচার শুরু করেছেন। পাক সরকার রাষ্ট্রসংঘের সেক্রেটারী জেনারেল উথান্ট, রাষ্ট্রসংঘের শরণার্থী দপ্তরের হাইকমিশনার প্রিন্স সদরুদ্দীন ও কয়েকটি বিদেশী মিত্র রাষ্ট্রের কাছে অনুরোধ জানিয়েছেন যে, ভারতীয় জেলে যেসব পাকিস্তানী রয়েছে তাদের প্রত্যাবর্তনে তাঁরা যেন সাহায্য করেন।

পাক বৈদেশিক দপ্তর থেকে অভিযোগ করা হয়েছে যে, বাংলাদেশে হাঙ্গামার জন্য চা-বাগান, ব্যাংক, বাণিজ্যিক সংস্থা ও সরকারী কিছু সংখ্যক কর্মচারী ভারতে চলে যেতে বাধ্য হয়েছে এবং ভারত সরকার নাকি তাদের গ্রেফতার করে জেলে পুরেছেন।

পাকিস্তান সংবাদপত্র, রেডিও ও টেলিভিশনেও ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে এই মিথ্যা প্রচার চলছে।

পাক সরকার আরও অভিযোগ করেছেন যে, ধৃত ব্যক্তিদের খবরাখবরের জন্য কয়েকটা চিঠি লিখেও তাঁরা কোন জবাব পাননি।

ভারত সরকার জানিয়েছেন যে, বাংলাদেশ থেকে যেসব পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী ভারতে আশ্রয় গ্রহণ করেছে তাদের সংবাদের জন্য পাকিস্তান সরকারের অনুরোধ ভারত সরকার ‘মানবতার ভিত্তিতে’ বিবেচনা করে দেখতে প্রস্তুত আছেন। তবে পাকিস্তানের জেলে যে ২৫০ জনেরও বেশি ভারতীয় এখন কষ্টভোগ করছেন আন্তর্জাতিক আইন ও বিধি অনুযায়ী তাঁদের কথাও পাকিস্তানকে বিবেচনা করতে হবে। পাক জেলে আটক এই ভারতীয়দের অপরাধ কি, তাঁরা কেমন এবং কোথায় আছেন সে সম্পর্কে পাকিস্তানের কাছে চিঠি লিখে ভারত কোন জবাব পায়নি।

বাংলাদেশের যেসব লোককে ভারতে আটক করে রাখা হয়েছে বলে পাকিস্তান মিথ্যা প্রচার চালাচ্ছে এবং যাদের নামের তালিকা পাক সরকার দিয়েছেন তারা সংখ্যায় মাত্র ৩১ জন এবং সকলেই পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী, তারা পূর্ব বঙ্গের লোক বলে পাক সরকার যে দাবি করেছেন তা মিথ্যা। জনৈক সরকারী মুখপাত্র বলেন যে, বাংলাদেশ থেকে ৭০ লক্ষ লোক ভারতে আশ্রয় গ্রহণ করেছেন কিন্তু তাদের জন্য পাক সরকারের কোন মাথাব্যথা নেই। মাত্র ৩১ জন পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীর জন্যই পাক সরকার চিন্তিত।

পাকিস্তানের জেলে আটক ভারতীয়দের মধ্যে সাংবাদিকরাও আছেন। ভারতীয় সীমান্ত এলাকা থেকে এপ্রিলের গোড়ার দিকে তাঁদের অপহরণ করা হয়েছে। তাঁদের খবরাখবরের জন্য পাক সরকারের কাছে চিঠি লিখেও কোন জবাব পাওয়া যায়নি।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫০। পাকিস্তানে মার্কিন অস্ত্র সাহায্য বন্ধের জন্য ভারতের দাবি	দি স্টেটম্যান	৮ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JULY 8, 1971*

# **INDIA DEMANDS TOTAL BAN ON U.S. ARMS AID TO PAKISTAN**

*From our Special Representative*

New Delhi, July 7. - President Nixon's special emissary and adviser on security affairs Dr. Henry Kissinger was told by Indian leaders here today of the grave situation created on the sub-continent by the continued supply of arms to Pakistan by the USA.

Both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister are understood to have told him in the most emphatic terms that they did not accept the American interpretation that only non-lethal weapons were supplied or that it was the result of bureaucratic bungling.

Dr Kissinger was told in plain words that apart from its impact in the military sense. Dr. Kissinger apparently it was only marginal-the political implications of the decision far outweighed any other consideration.

Mr. Swaran Singh reportedly drew Dr Kissinger's attention to the adverse effect of the "continued and continuous" arms aid to Pakistan, including the supply of so-called non-lethal weapons which could only be used to activate the most deadly engines of destruction. The arms aid to Pakistan he was told, posed a serious threat to the peace and the security of the sub-continent more so when it was viewed in the context of the \$2 million U.S. arms aid received by Pakistan between 1954 and 1965.

In the context of the crisis in Bangladesh Dr. Kissinger was told it was not merely a legalistic stand that India was taking in the matter. There was the important question of human rights of 75 million people and to secure these it was essential in the present situation to put a total ban on U.S. arms supplies to Pakistan.

In the absence of any concrete indication from the American aide the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the Defense Minister, told Dr. Kissinger that the plan outlined by General Yahya Khan in his broadcast on June 29 was wholly negative and could not be expected to form the basis of any political settlement in Bangladesh. Indeed, the elected representatives of East Bengal he was told had rejected the proposal.

It was in this context that the Indian leaders demanded that the world community including the USA, should stop all military and political aid to the West Pakistani regime without which they felt there was no hope of a settlement. If urgent steps were not taken to ensure the creation of conditions in which the 7 million refugees find it safe and honorable to return with credible guarantees given to them the situation would lead to "grave consequences."

It was made clear to the top U.S. Presidential aid that India could not live with the refugee problem for long. And in the circumstances, he was told this country could not be

expected to wait indefinitely for a solution. It was the international community's duty to create conditions which would compel Pakistan to seek a just political solution.

While the American side Dr. Kissinger was assisted at the talks by the U.S. ambassador, Mr. Kenneth B Keating-appeared committed to seeking a political solution, it was not at all willing to even broadly indicate the framework of such a solution. Indeed Dr. Kissinger held out no assurance of any kind. He would convey the Indian viewpoint to the President he is reported to have said.

Informed sources here were hopeful that Dr. Kissinger's talks would enable him to have a comprehensive understanding of the Indian position. It was well-known that he was carrying no set of proposals-although he did deliver personal letter from President Nixon to Mrs. Gandhi-but by implication he did not consider the scheme, outlined by Gen. Yahya Khan in his broadcast as a dependable line of action. This was evident from his reluctance to refer to it.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫১। ‘বাংলাদেশের হৃদয় হতে’	যুগান্তর	৯ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

### বাংলাদেশের হৃদয় হতে

রবীন্দ্র-সদনের মঞ্চে পাশাপাশি দুই কণ্ঠশিল্পী- মাহমুদুর রহমান, শাহীন আখতার। দু’জনেই বাংলাদেশ থেকে সদ্য আগত; সদ্য বিবাহিত। গাইছেন অতুল প্রসাদের একটি রাগপ্রধান গান-‘এসো হে সজল শ্যাম ঘন দোয়া’। ছোট ছোট ক্ষিপ্রতান ও সরগম-সহ, অনবদ্য সুরেলা, দরাজ গলায়। বাইরে তখন অবিশ্রান্ত ধারায় বৃষ্টি পড়ছে।

বাংলাদেশ সহায়ক শিল্পী-সাহিত্যিক-বুদ্ধিজীবী সমিতি আয়োজিত অনুষ্ঠানের (৩ ও ৪ জুলাই) বিবরণ দিতে গিয়ে প্রথমেই মনে এল ওই দৃশ্যটি যা আমাদের স্মৃতিতে পাকা রঙের ছবি হয়ে গিয়েছে। সেদিন ওদের গান শুনতে শুনতে সমিতির অন্যতম। সম্পাদক শ্রী দীপেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দোপাধ্যায় বর্ণিত বাংলাদেশের তরুণ প্রাণের প্রতীক নবদম্পতিকে সনাক্ত করে নিতেও আমাদের ভুল হয়নি। আমরা জেনে গিয়েছি : এই সেই প্রণয়ীযুগল, মুক্তিযুদ্ধ যাদের বিচ্ছিন্ন করে দিয়েছিল। আবার যুদ্ধের আগুনের মধ্যেই অকুতোভয়, যারা মিলিত; পরিণীত। আজ ঘটনার আবর্তে দু’জনেই কলকাতায়। একজন পুনর্বীর রণাঙ্গনে যাবার জন্য প্রস্তুত। তিনি সেখানে গেলে অপরজন কি করবেন? শ্রী বন্দোপাধ্যায়ের ভাষায়, ‘গান গাইবেন, এবং গান গাইবেন, এবং গান গাইবেন।’- স্বামীর মঙ্গল-আকাজ্জায়, দেশের মুক্তির কামনায়।

সমিতির দুই দিনব্যাপী ওই অনুষ্ঠানের দু’টি প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য ছিল। এক, বাংলাদেশের নানা শহর থেকে যেসব গায়ক-গায়িকা, যন্ত্রশিল্পী কলকাতায় এসেছেন অথবা আসতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন, সমিতির উদ্যোগে যাঁরা পরস্পরের সঙ্গে মিলিত হয়েছেন, তাঁদের একটি শিল্পীদল হিসাবে কলকাতার দর্শক-শ্রোতাদের সামনে উপস্থিত করা। দুই, ওই বাংলার শিল্পীদের সঙ্গে এই বাংলার শিল্পীদের অন্তরঙ্গ, ঘনিষ্ঠ সম্পর্কের সূচনা করা। অনুষ্ঠানসূচী সেইভাবে গঠিত। দুই আসরের সভানেত্রী রূপে আমরা পেলাম শ্রীমতি সুচিত্রা মিত্রকে। দ্বিতীয় অধিবেশনে প্রধান অতিথির আসনে ছিলেন বাংলাদেশের কূটনৈতিক দূতাবাসের শ্রী হোসেন আলী।

ভিন্নধর্মী এই অনুষ্ঠানে সভানেত্রী শ্রীমতি মিত্র বক্তৃতা দিতে চাননি, দেননি। তিনি আসরে প্রাণ সঞ্চারিত করে দিলেন গান গেয়ে- রবীন্দ্রনাথের ‘আমার সোনার বাংলা’, বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় সঙ্গীত। শুভারম্ভ।

প্রথম দিন অর্থাৎ শনিবারের অধিবেশনটি প্রধানত বাংলাদেশের শিল্পীদের জন্য নির্দিষ্ট ছিল। একে একে তাঁরা আত্মপ্রকাশ করলেন। প্রথমে শ্রীমতি সানজিদা খাতুন। তাঁর ‘আনন্দধ্বনি জাগাও গগনে’ রবীন্দ্র সংগীতে হামবীর রাগের আকৃতি-একটি প্রার্থনার দ্যোতনা। সম্মেলক কণ্ঠে (প্রবাল চৌধুরী, তপন বৈদ্য, আবু নওসেদ, অনিল বড়ুয়া) আনন্দেরই বার্তা ঘোষিত হল: ‘আজি বাংলাদেশের হৃদয় হতে কখন আপনি এই অপরূপ রূপে বাহির হলে জননী।’ ক্রমে ফ্লোরা আহম্মদ শোনালেন, ‘না গো এই যে ধুলা আমার না এ’ (রবীন্দ্র সংগীত); ডালিয়া নৌশিন ‘ঝরা ফুলদলে’ (নজরুল); কল্যাণী ঘোষ ‘গানে গানে ঢাকা আমার গভীর অভিমান’ (নজরুল); রফিকুল আলম ‘তুমি গাও ওগো গাও মম জীবনে’ (অতুলপ্রসাদ); মাহমুদুর রহমান, শাহীন ‘এসো হে সজল শ্যামঘন’ (অতুলপ্রসাদ)। শেষোক্ত দ্বৈত-সঙ্গীতটি অপূর্ব, যার উল্লেখ আগেই করেছি।

লোকসংগীতের আসরে গান গাইলেন মনুখ বিশ্বাস, মাধবী আচার্য, রথীন রায়। শ্রী রায়ের ভাওয়াইয়া গান দু’টি এক কথায় অসাধারণ। কলকাতায় এমন লোকগীতি শোনবার অবকাশ বহুকাল আমাদের হয়নি। দোতারা (মনুখ বিশ্বাস) আর বাঁশির (স্বপন দাস) দ্বৈত-যন্ত্রসংগীতের অনুষ্ঠানটিও আকর্ষক।

প্রথম দিনের শেষ অনুষ্ঠান; রূপান্তরের গান। ১৯৪৭ সন থেকে দেশপ্রেমের যে গানগুলি পূর্ব পাকিস্তানকে ধীরে ধীরে এই ৭১ সনে বাংলাদেশে পরিণত করল, সেই সব উদ্দীপক গানেরই একটি অলেখ্য ওই অনুষ্ঠানে

পরিবেশিত। এর মধ্যে আছে কিছু পরিচিত রবীন্দ্র সংগীত, নজরুল সংগীত। অন্যান্য গীত-রচয়িতার মধ্যে আছেন : গুরুসদয় দত্ত, সলিল চৌধুরী, সিকান্দার আবু জাফর। নাজিম মাহমুদ, সারওয়ার জাহান। গানগুলি শৃংখলার সঙ্গে উপস্থাপিত; কখনও একক কণ্ঠে; কখনও সম্মেলকভাবে। সম্মেলক গীতাংশই বেশি। বত্রিশ জন কণ্ঠশিল্পী এই অনুষ্ঠানে যোগ দেন; যন্ত্রসংগীতে ছিলেন দশজন। এই বাংলাদেশের ওই শিল্পীরা যে একটি দলে পরিণত, তার নির্ভুল প্রমাণ পাওয়া গেল এই ‘রূপান্তরের গান’ অনুষ্ঠানে। অনুষ্ঠানটি পরিচালনা করেন সনজিদা খাতুন ও ওয়াহিদুল হক।

শ্রী দেবব্রত বিশ্বাস এই দিন আমাদের তিনটি রবীন্দ্র-সংগীত শুনিয়েছিলেন : ‘কে এসে যায়’, ‘রুদ্রবেশে কেমন খেলা’, ‘কে দিল আমায় আঘাত’। দরদ দিয়ে গাওয়া তিনটি গানই চমৎকার। কিন্তু মনে হয়, তাঁর গান রবিবারের আসরের জন্য রাখলেই ভাল হত, কারণ ওই আসরটি ছিল এই বাংলার শিল্পীদের জন্য চিহ্নিত।

রবিবার সকাল ন’টায় দ্বিতীয় অধিবেশন শুরু। আগের দিন রাত্র সাড়ে ন’টায় প্রথম অধিবেশন সমাপ্ত হয়। ইতিমধ্যে, বলা বাহুল্য, রবীন্দ্র সদন আর কোনও গোষ্ঠীর দখলে আসেনি। উদ্যোক্তাদের কারও কারও বেশবাসে সামান্য কিছু পরিবর্তন চোখে পড়লেও মনে হল, সমিতির অনুষ্ঠান একটানা চলছে। বিচিত্রানুষ্ঠানের এই আসরের শিল্পীরা সকলেই সুখ্যাত এবং জনপ্রিয়, আবহাওয়াও ছিল অনুকূল, প্রেক্ষাগৃহ তাই ভরে উঠতে দেরী হয়নি।

রবীন্দ্র-সংগীত আর মাঝে মাঝে আবৃত্তির বৈচিত্র্য-এইভাবে পুরো তিন ঘণ্টা কেমন করে কেটে গেল আমরা জানতেও পারলাম না। শ্রীমতি তৃপ্তি মিত্র ও শ্রী শান্তিদেব ঘোষ রবীন্দ্রনাথের কবিতা আবৃত্তি করলেন; শ্রী শম্ভু মিত্র শোনালেন জ্যোতিরিন্দ্র মৈত্রের ‘মধুবংশীর গলি’; শ্রীমতি অর্পণা সেন ইরানের কবি নাজিম হিকমতের একটি কবিতার বাংলা রূপান্তর (সুভাষ মুখোপাধ্যায়-কৃত), শ্রীদেব দুলাল বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় বাংলাদেশের কবিদের রচনা। ‘ব্লাড ব্যাংক’ কবিতার (এটি আগেও একবার শ্রী বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় শুনিয়েছিলেন) ‘মাটি অভিমুখে রক্তের চিত্রকল্পটি কি আমাদের রক্ত মুহূর্তের জন্য হিম করে দিয়েছিল, মনে করিয়ে দিচ্ছিল বাংলাদেশের কোনও ডকুমেন্টারি ছবির কথা’।

রবীন্দ্র-সংগীত শুনলাম প্রায় কুড়িখানি। পূজা, দেশপ্রেম, প্রেম, আত্মনিবেদন এবং একান্ত কিছু অনুভূতির গান। মনে হয়, বেশির ভাগ শিল্পীদের স্বনির্বাচিত। বিচিত্র অনুষ্ঠান যখন, তখন বিষয় বৈচিত্র্যই কাম্য। শুরু করলেন সুচিত্রা মিত্র, শেষ একক শিল্পী দ্বিজেন মুখোপাধ্যায়। মাঝে ছিলেন শান্তিদেব ঘোষ, নীলিমা সেন, অশোকতরু বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, কণিকা বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, সাগর সেন। প্রত্যেকেই তিনটি করে গান গেয়েছিলেন, পরম আন্তরিকতার সঙ্গে। বিশেষ করে ভাল লাগল : ‘না বাঁচাবে আমায় যদি’ (সুচিত্রা মিত্র), ‘মম মন-উপবনে’ (শান্তিদেব ঘোষ), ‘আজ যেমন করে গাইছে আকাশ’ (নীলিমা সেন), ‘একবার তোরা মা বলিয়া ডাক’ (অশোকতরু বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়), ‘তোমারি তরে মা সঁপিঁনু এ দেহ’ (কণিকা বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়)’।

দুই বাংলার অর্ধশতাধিক শিল্পীর গান আমরা শুনলাম দুই আসরে। গানের সংখ্যাও অর্ধশতাধিক। তার মধ্যে রবীন্দ্রনাথের গান অন্তত ত্রিশ। তিনিই যে নব বাংলাদেশের প্রাণপুরুষ।

-সংগীতপ্রিয়।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫২। মার্কিন কনস্যুলেট ভবনের সম্মুখে বিক্ষোভ	হিন্দুস্তান ষ্টান্ডার্ড	১০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, JULY 10, 1971*  
**DEMONSTRATION BEFORE US CONSULATE**  
*By A Staff Reporter*

Resenting arms shipment by the USA to Pakistan, groups of artistes from Bangladesh students and women followed one another in protest demonstrations before the US Consulate in Calcutta on Friday.

The March by the youth and the students wing of 24 Parganas DCC (O) was hailed unexpectedly in front of the Russian Consulate. They had gone there to present a memorandum to the USSR consul General.

They were stopped before the entrance of the Consulate. An official of the Consulate refused to accept the memorandum. The demonstrators hung it on the wall of the building.

When they were about to proceed for the US Consulate a police vehicle came. Mr. Ashim Chatterjee, vice- President of the West Bengal Chattra Parishad (of Congress-O), complained that some policemen jumped out of the vehicle and started wielding lathis on them without provocation.

Demanding punishment for the policemen the demonstrators sat down on the road blocking traffic. The Congress (O) leaders. Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder and Mr. Ashoke Krishna Dutta, however, asked the demonstrators to disperse as a mark of respect to the Congress (O) leader who had been stabbed to death in Howrah earlier in the day. The demonstrators left the place.

Earlier in the morning a group of film artistes and technical's who had crossed over to India from Bangladesh marched in protest to the US Consulate. In a memorandum handed over to the officials of the Consulate the demonstrators urged the USA to stop supplying arms to Pakistan and not to become a party to genocide in Bangladesh.

In the evening several hundred of women led by Mrs. Purabi Mukherjee MP (Congress-R), Mrs. Gita Mukherjee (CPI), Mrs. Renuka Ray (Congress-R) demonstrated in front of the US Consulate in protest against the US arms supply to Pakistan.

The demonstration was organized by the Bangladesh Mukti Sangram Sahayak Samity. In a memorandum handed over to the US Consul General Mr. Herbert Gordon, the demonstrators urged the US President to stop all aid to Pakistan and to his good offices to bring about a political settlement in Bangladesh with the elected representative led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The memorandum also asked the USA - to back the arms now on way to Pakistan.

Mrs. Renuka Ray, Chairman and Mrs. Mira Dattagupta, Convener, handed over the memorandum to the US Consul General. Mr. Gordon assured the delegates that he would communicate the matter to the US President.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫৩। কূটনীতিক বিনিময়ের প্রস্তুতি	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JULY 10, 1971*  
**DECKS CLEARED FOR DIPLOMATS' REPATRIATION**  
**SWISS OFFICIAL TO CONDUCT INTERVIEW PROCEEDINGS**  
*From Our Special Representative*

New Delhi, July 9. - The decks have been cleared for the repatriation of Indian and Pakistani diplomats from Dacca and Calcutta with Pakistan finally agreeing to the modalities for ascertaining the wishes of the 70 East Bengali diplomats who have switched their allegiance to the Government of Bangladesh.

The Swiss Ambassador, Mr. Fritz Real, called at the Foreign Office today to convey to the Secretary (East) of the External Affairs the glad tidings from Islamabad. A spokesman of the Ministry told reporter that it representative of the Swiss Government would be in charge of the conduct of the proceedings at which the former Pakistani diplomats are to be interviewed.

The need for the interviews arose because of Pakistani insistence that the diplomats, headed by Mr. Hossain Ali, the former Pakistani Deputy High Commissioner in Calcutta were being held under duress.

India, for her part had maintained during the protracted negotiations that it was for the Pakistani High Commission to take steps for ascertaining the wishes of the diplomats. Mr. Hossain Ali, who at first had reacted sharply to the idea of being questioned by a Pakistani or third party representative, was finally persuaded to agree to the arrangements "if only to give the lie to the Pakistani allegation about his being held under duress," as a Bangladesh spokesman put it.

Under the agreed arrangement, a Swiss representative will put a set of pre-determined questions-the substance of the questions has already been agreed to by the parties-to each diplomat in the presence of Indian and Pakistani representatives.

Only after the wishes of diplomats have been ascertained will the actual repatriation of the diplomats begin. The Soviet Union and Iran have already offered to airlift the diplomats.

Apart from the Pakistani Deputy High Commissioner Mr. Mahdi Masud, who was named Mr. Hossain Ali's successor, there are a handful of Pakistani diplomats-the majority (over 70) were East "Bengalis who now owe allegiance to the Bangladesh Government" at Calcutta who will be repatriated to Karachi.

The Indian mission at Dacca, headed by Mr. K. C. Sen Gupta, has a staff of over 130 members who have been living under virtual house arrest ever since the military regime in Islamabad ordered the closure of the mission at the height of the crisis in Bangladesh.

Mr. K. C. Sen Gupta has since been named India's ambassador to Addis Ababa.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫৪। মুক্তি সংগ্রাম কমিটি গঠিত।	দি টাইমস অফ ইন্ডিয়া	১৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE TIMES OF INDIA, JULY 16, 1971*  
**LIBERATION STRUGGLE BODY FORMED**

Mujibnagar, July 15, A Nine Party "Bangladesh National Liberation Struggle Coordination Committee" formed recently has pledged to raise guerilla squads in every village for the Liberation of the country.

The committee is led by Maulana Bhasani's National Awami Party and includes the Communist Party of East Bengal (Sikdar group).

It has resolved to wage a struggle to rehabilitate in an "atmosphere of freedom and independence" all people who fled the country to escape army atrocities and has thanked India for the help rendered to the people of Bangladesh.

The immediate objective of the committee is to "work for the success of the liberation struggle on the basis of a definite programme and line of action keeping close contact and maintaining full co-ordination with the Bangladesh Government and all forces engaged in the liberation struggle".

The committee, at its first meeting held somewhere in Bangladesh adopted a 15 point programme and appealed to all parties to co-operate in implementing it.

The other Seven parties of the committee are the Communist Revolutionaries East Bengal Co-ordination Committee, the Shramik Krishak Karmee Sangha, the Communist Party of Bangladesh (Hatiar group), the Purba Bangla Krishak Samiti, the Purba Bangla Shramik Federation, the East Bengal Revolutionary Students Union and the Bangladesh Shramik Federation.

The committee in a resolution said the people of Bangladesh had now learn that the liberation of the country would not come peacefully or through compromise and they would have to carry on the armed struggle relentlessly.

The committee's programme envisages formation of an all-party Peoples Liberation Council in each village to take over political, social, administrative and other responsibilities of villages, organise direct village protection forces and administer justice through peoples courts.

These councils will put an end to the usury system, and punish those co-operating with, aiding or acting as agents of the Pakistani running clique.

They will also look after the properties of those citizens of Bangladesh who have been compelled to leave the country.

Small guerilla squads will be organized in villages with peasants, workers, students and other militant youth to "liquidate isolated enemies and replenish their armory with arms snatched from the enemy."

"Those people willingly rendering help to or co-operating with the Pakistan Government and the Pakistani forces or their agents in any way -politically, economically or militarily-should be treated as national enemies and after thorough investigation they should either be liquidated or punished in any other manner on the basis of collective decision."

The programme proposes to replace the present "modes of education and influence of corrupt culture," with a system inculcating nationalism.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫৫। পূর্বাঞ্চলে পাক-বাহিনীর আত্মরক্ষারমূলক তৎপরতা	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৯ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JULY 19, 1971*  
**PAK TROOPS ON THE DEFENSIVE IN  
 EASTERN SECTOR**

*From S. Chakrabarti*

Agartala, July 17. - Information trickling from across the border suggests that Pakistani forces are trying to save the Dacca metropolis, Moynamati Cantonment and Chittagong port from anticipated guerrilla attacks. According to these sources, the largest number of Pakistani troops have been mobilized in the eastern sector and the Chittagong- Sylhet sector alone have a strength of about 70,000 troops. The strength of the forces in the western sector is thought to be less.

The Pakistani effort to keep intact the land routes linking Dacca, Moynamati and Chittagong has failed so far. They have not been able to install the urgently needed telephone linking the strategic army points in the extreme countryside along the border despite a three-month struggle.

During the last month, the freedom fighters have carried out nearly 90 successful guerrilla and commando operations at many points in the eastern region, indicating heavy casualties on Pakistani troops. According to reliable estimates about 1,700 Pakistani soldiers were either killed or seriously injured during these operations, while the loss on the Mukti Foj side is stated to be minor.

In Dacca, skirmishes between guerrillas and the army are frequent and when this happens the frightened and numbed city is turned into a turbulent battle-field. On June 28, immediately after Yahya Khan's broadcast, a series of guerrilla attacks took place at several important points of the city, while the "Pak Bay Company" complex in Narayanganj was destroyed by guerrillas on July 3. People living in areas far from the complex saw the raging flames throughout the night.

The freedom fighters are now concentrating on strategic army points, important city and industrial areas and communication links it is claimed.

Meanwhile, the change in the Pakistani Army strategy in the eastern region has become more pronounced. The Pakistani troops now mainly engaged in defending their bases in the rural areas and controlling important land water routes have created a "vacuum zone" retreating from their extreme points on the several hundred miles border between Sylhet and Chittagong with the exception of their strongholds there mainly to avoid the innumerable casualties inflicted on them and presumably to build up a stronger second line of defense in the interior. Troops scattered in small camps in the border areas have been withdrawn to their strongholds in the rear.

The "Razakar Bahini" a new paramilitary force recruited from a section of non-Bengali youths, most of whom are reported to be antisocial elements, have been deployed in some of the border areas vacated by the troops. These Razakars, who often suffer heavy casualties at the hands of the Mukti Fouj, are keeping themselves engaged mainly in robbing and killing evacuees attempting to cross the border. About 300 evacuees are feared to have been killed so far by them.

The freedom fighters are now using sophisticated Chinese weapons snatched from Pakistani troops in the eastern sector. The well-equipped Pakistani troops who stormed into the countryside hardly a month ago, creating panic wherever they went are now frightened of the guerrillas who have inflicted heavy casualties on them.

According to a reliable report from across the border seven Pakistani soldiers stationed since a month ago in a house in a Comilla village near Nabinagar to safeguard the life of a Muslim League leader wanted by the guerrillas, have been killed. These soldiers challenged by the guerrillas from outside the house at dead of night were so surprised that they failed to make any attempt to defend themselves. I was also told another story while at the Devipur border point some 20 km from here opposite Mondabhag in Comilla district. Around 3 p.m. last Saturday eight Pakistani troops, including two Majors, two Captains and four other soldiers were killed when guerrillas launched a sudden attack on an army speedboat at Saldanadi in the extreme Comilla border area. Troops, who were on an inspection visit to the Saldanadi camp were actually in a hurry to leave this extreme area when they were suddenly attacked. Some Chinese weapons a wireless set and a speedboat were captured by the guerrillas and another speedboat was destroyed during the attack.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫৬। পাকিস্তানে ফিরে যেতে বাংলাদেশ মিশন কর্মচারীদের অস্বীকৃতি প্রকাশ	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৯ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JULY 19, 1971*

**Pak Charge Refuted  
BANGLADESH MISSION STAFF REFUSE TO GO BACK  
INTERVIEW BY SWISS REPRESENTATIVE**

*By Our Special Representative*

Sixty-four staff members of the Bangladesh Mission in Calcutta, including the Mission's Chief Mr. Hossain Ali all of whom had transferred their allegiance from Pakistan Government to the Republic of Bangladesh made it clear during an inquiry by a Swiss Government representative Dr. Bonard in Calcutta on Sunday that they "do not wish to return to Pakistan".

Dr. Bonard who is a member of the Swiss Embassy in New Delhi undertook the inquiry to check on the Pakistan Government's allegation that the 65 Bengali Mission staff members, who had formerly belonged to the Pakistani Deputy High Commission in Calcutta, were coerced to transfer their allegiance to Bangladesh Government.

The inquiry assumed importance because on it depended the solution of the diplomatic impasse leading to the house arrest in Dacca of Indian Mission's staff members numbering about 130 and their families, along with Mr. K. C. Sen Gupta, who was India's Deputy High Commissioner in that city. Mr. Mehdi Masud the newly appointed Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan in Calcutta and his staff have been given reciprocal treatment in Calcutta. Considerable diplomatic efforts were made for repatriation of both the Indian and Pakistani Mission staff from Dacca and Calcutta till agreement was reached regarding the Swiss arrangement.

Following the agreement a neutral place, Hindi High School in Calcutta was found for Dr. Bonard's examination of the Bangladesh Mission staff members. Each of them was questioned separately by the Swiss diplomat in the presence of Mr. Masud and Mr. A. K. Roy, Joint Secretary, Union Foreign Affairs Ministry.

According to prior agreement Dr. Bonard put only one question to each of the Mission staff. The question was "Do you wish to return to Pakistan or not? If you wish to return the Government of India will provide you with safe conduct in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention. Please state your wish".

While 62 members of Bangladesh Mission, each filing past Dr. Bonard took little time to say "no" regarding their wish to return to Pakistan. Mr. Hossain Ali the Chief of the Mission refused to appear before the examination at the appointed place. He said that he could meet Dr. Bonard accompanied by Mr. Roy and Masud at a place arranged by himself. He would have been glad to receive them at the Bangladesh Mission office, but he would not like the presence of Mr. Masud in the office premises.

### **Routine Nature**

Mr. Ali then suggested an empty residential flat, which was in his possession for the team to examine him. In fact, the examination of Mr. Ali was of a routine nature because Mr. Ali had made it abundantly clear in newspaper statements and also in television appearances that he belonged to the Republic of Bangladesh.

The Press Attaché of the Bangladesh Mission Mr. Maqsood Ali, was down with chicken pox and was unable to be present at the interview. Dr. Bonard and his team went up to Mr. Ali's residence to examine him in his sick-bed "from a safe distance" Mr. Ali's reply was no different from those of others. Only one member of the Mission staff was away from Calcutta and he was expected back any moment.

Later, in the evening, Mr. Hossain Ali addressed a Press conference in his Mission office to say that he and members of his staff had agreed to be examined in the presence of Mr. Masud only because of their anxiety "to end the impasse leading to the continued house arrest of the Indian Mission members in Dacca".

Mr. Ali said that the Pakistani allegation regarding the coercion of the Bengali members of the former Pakistan Deputy High Commission in Calcutta was "a lie". Each member of the staff in individual replies mostly written in Bengali said he did not want to return to Pakistan. Mr. Ali said that it should be clear now that the former Bengali members of the Pakistan Deputy High Commission in Calcutta transferred their allegiance to Bangladesh "willingly, gladly and sincerely".

There was no question of "duress or coercion" as alleged by the Pakistan Government, Mr. Ali said. The only compulsion that led the Bengalis to transfer their allegiance was "the condition created by the Pakistan Government in Bangladesh". He said that "we had all been devoted and loyal servants of the Pakistan Government but if we changed our loyalties it was because of the Pakistani Army action in Bangladesh."

Mr. Ali said that as the Chief of the Bangladesh Mission he had the rank of an Ambassador or a High Commissioner and that he could not be present at an examination conducted by a foreign representative Dr. Bonard lower in rank than himself and in the presence of a Pakistani officer who is only a Deputy High Commissioner. So he suggested a place of his own where they could come. They agreed to come to his place and Mr. Ali made his statement regarding his loyalties.

### **Nod of Greeting**

Mr. Masud, who had been a junior colleague of Mr. Ali in the Pakistani Foreign Service tried to be friendly with Mr. Ali and gave him "a nod of greeting" Mr. Ali said that after what the Pakistani Army had been doing in Bangladesh he had not the heart to give the Pakistan Government's representative a nod in return. "He smiled and did not" Mr. Ali said.

The examination by Dr. Bonard which took place in three places first in the Hindi High School building, secondly in the residential flat appointed by Mr. Ali and lastly at the residence of Mr. Maqsood Ali lasted from 10-15 a.m. to 9 p.m. Dr. Bonard will be in Calcutta till another member of the Bangladesh Mission, who is now in Agartala returns

to the city and appears for the examination. The member is expected "any moment" Mr. Ali said.

Originally the arrangement was that the Swiss Ambassador Mr. Fritz Real, would be present in Calcutta to conduct the examination. He is stated to be sick. In his place Dr. Bonard came leading to the complications regarding the formalities of rank and the venue of the interview.

It is now expected that Dr. Bonard will submit his report incorporating the written replies he had received from each members of the issue of their loyalties. Since the procedure was agreed upon previously there is hardly any scope now for delay in the repatriation of the members of Indian Mission in Dacca.

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বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫৭। পাক-বাহিনীর দলিলে লুট ও ধর্ষণের প্রমাণ	দি স্টেটসম্যান	২০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JULY 20, 1971*  
**PAK MILITARY DOCUMENTS REVEAL  
 LOOTING AND RAPE**  
*From Our Special Correspondent*

New Delhi, June 19. - The Government of India has in possession military documents from Pakistani Army personnel revealing two aspects of the state of affairs in Bangladesh (1) continued action by the Mukti Foj inside Bangladesh and (2) looting of property, assault and rape of women by the Pakistani troops.

The documents have been seized from some of the Pak troops who had surrendered to Indian hands just to save their lives from the hands of the Mukti Foj.

Looting, assaults and rape had been on such a large-scale that the Pak military authorities were compelled to issue orders setting up trial courts for this purpose.

Some details of the documents are:

(1) A secret letter from Lt. Col. Zehir Sarwardy, Staff Officer in Hq., 9 Division No. 16604/4, dated 10.5.71, addressed to 30 P.B., Hq., Frontier Corps.

It admitted clearly that the Mukti Foj guerillas had been blowing up railways and road bridges and laying mines on roads to be used by military vehicles laying ambushes, throwing hand-grenades and sniping.

The same document complained of cases when patriotic elements had taken away money from banks and government treasuries and snatched firearms from the Police and the Army.

(2) A confidential letter from Brig. Maj.Hg.131 Brigade in Sylhet No. 109070/G.S. (OPS) dated 7.5.71 :

This document admits that there had been reports of looting of property and assault and rape of girls and that the commandant had taken a serious view of them. The commandant had directed that in future anyone found guilty of such crimes would be punished.

(Note may be taken that persons connected with the crimes in future and not the past ones are to be tried!)

(3) A letter from Major G. R. Bhatti from Hg 313 Brigade, No 2001/ 20/A (OPS), dated 2.5.71 :

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This mentions unambiguously of reports (received at Hq Eastern Command) of looted materials being back-loaded to Dacca and Karachi. The Eastern involvement of military officers had also been reported. The GOC-in-C, Eastern Command, and the GOC 9 Division had taken a serious view of these instances.

(4) A signal message from Hq, Frontier Corps, dated 7.5.71, to 313 Brigade. No. G- 1201, for Major Amjad Hussain 2 Wing saying that 313 Brigade reports cases of serious indiscipline in the ranks.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫৮। পাকিস্তানে অস্ত্র সরবরাহের প্রতিবাদে ছাত্রদের দ্বারা মার্কিন পতাকার অসম্মান	হিন্দুস্তান স্টান্ডার্ড	২১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, JULY 21, 1971*

### **US FLAG DRAGGED DOWN, BURNT BY STUDENTS**

By A Staff Reporter

Supporters of six leftist student bodies jointly staged a huge protest rally in front of the USIS library on Chowranghee, Calcutta, on Tuesday afternoon. The US flag has brought down from atop the building and a bonfire was made of it. An effigy of the US President was also burnt.

The demonstrators hoisted the flag of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam in place of the US flag on the USIS library building. Occasionally, slogans were chanted for victory to the Bangladesh liberation struggle and against US supply of arms to Pakistan.

A big armed police force stood by quietly in front of the building all the time the demonstration was staged. The situation was peaceful throughout.

Earlier, the student had assembled at Raja Subodh Mullick Square. A resolution affirming solidarity with the freedom-fighters of Vietnam against the US onslaught was adopted. Mr. Biman Basu presided and the speakers included Mr. Debasish Banerjee, Mr. Kshiti Goswami and Mr. Gautam Ghosh.

A procession was then taken to the US Consulate on Ho Chi Minh Sarani where an embassy official accepted a memorandum from the students. It demanded withdrawal of the US forces from South Vietnam. After this, the students went to the Raj Bhavan where the secretary to the Governor received from them a memorandum addressed to the Prime Minister. The memorandum urged the Union Government to recognize the PRG and condemn the US Government for aggression in South Vietnam.

The demonstration was organized by the AISF, SFI, DSO, Progressive Student Union, Students Bloc and the Federation of Revolutionary Students.

UNI adds: Most educational institutions in the State remained closed on the day in observance of Vietnam Day called by these Organizations.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫৯। পূর্ববাংলার বিপন্ন বৌদ্ধেরা আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা (সম্পাদকীয়)	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	২২ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

সম্পাদকীয়  
**পূর্ব বাংলার বিপন্ন বৌদ্ধেরা**

পূর্ববাংলার নানাস্থানে, বিশেষ করে চট্টগ্রামে যে সংখ্যালঘু বৌদ্ধেরা ছিলেন, পাকিস্তানী ফৌজের গুডামি ও বর্বরতায় তাঁরাও অন্যদের মতই নিরাশ্রয় হয়েছেন। তাঁদের মঠ মন্দির ভেঙে, ঘর বাড়ী জ্বালিয়ে, কুলনারীদের ওপর পৈশাচিক নির্যাতন চালিয়ে পাকিস্তানী দুঃমনরা যে নরকের আবহাওয়া সৃষ্টি করেছে তার মধ্যে বেঁচে থাকা অসম্ভব। নিছক প্রাণের দায়েই তাই ২০ হাজার বৌদ্ধ ব্রহ্মদেশের আরাকান অঞ্চলে জঙ্গলে পাহাড়ে আশ্রয় নিয়েছেন। ব্রহ্মদেশবাসী এক বাঙালি বৌদ্ধই এ সংবাদ জানিয়েছেন আসামের বৌদ্ধপ্রধান শ্রীজিনরতন মহাস্থবিরকে। আসামের মিজো পাহাড় অঞ্চলেও নাকি এসেছেন প্রায় ১৫ হাজার বৌদ্ধ এবং তাঁরাও এসেছেন একইভাবে বর্বরতার শিকার হয়ে।

আর্ত ও বিপন্ন মানুষেরা যে ধর্ম বা মতাবলম্বীই হন, তাঁদের দিকে আমাদের তাকাতে হবে একই উদার মানবিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি নিয়ে। সে হিসাবে পূর্ব বাংলার মৃত্তিকা থেকে উন্মূলিত লক্ষ লক্ষ হিন্দু মুসলমান নরনারীর সমস্যা থেকে বৌদ্ধদের সমস্যাকে হয়ত তফাৎ করে দেখা চলে না। তবু বঙ্গ ভাষাভাষী বৌদ্ধদের সমস্যার একটা নিজস্ব দিক আছে। তাঁরা শুধু বাংলায় নয় গোটা ভারতেই সংখ্যায় নিতান্তই কম। তাঁদের ধর্মীয়, সাংস্কৃতিক ও সামাজিক রীতিপদ্ধতির বৈশিষ্ট্য অব্যাহত রেখে তাঁরা এতদিন যেভাবে জীবন কাটিয়েছেন, তার ভিত্তি হঠাৎ গুঁড়িয়ে যাওয়ার জন্য তারা অনিবার্যভাবে আজ অকূলে পড়েছেন। এই সংকটে তাঁদের জন্যে হাত এগিয়ে দেবার জন্যে তাঁদের স্বগোষ্ঠীর মানুষ আরো অধিক সংখ্যায় থাকলে ভালো হত।

ধর্মের আনুষ্ঠানিক অংশ আমরা মানি বা না মানি, তার অন্তর্লগ্ন ঐক্যের বন্ধনটি যে অদৃশ্যভাবেই কাজ করে তা বোঝা যায়, যখন চরম বিপদের মুহুর্তে ত্রাণের আশায় মানুষ স্বশ্রেণী ও স্বভাষাভাষীর আশ্রয়েই ছুটে আসে। পূর্ববাংলার হিন্দু মুসলমান ভারতে রিক্ত হাতে এলেও এসেছেন এখানকার হিন্দু মুসলমানদের পোষকতার ভরসায়। এই ভরসা নিশ্চয়ই অন্তরে আছে বৌদ্ধদেরও, কারণ বৌদ্ধধর্ম যেহেতু হিন্দুধর্মেরই সম্প্রসারিত একটি শাখা এবং ভারতবর্ষ যেহেতু ‘সেকুলার’ বা ধর্মের গোঁড়ামি বিমুক্ত রাষ্ট্র, সেই হেতু তাঁরাও এখানে আশ্রয় ও সহায়তা পাবেন। তবু কতকটা নিরুপায়তা বোধ হবেই তাঁদের এবং তার কারণ আমরা গোড়াতেই বলেছি। এদিক থেকে ব্রহ্মদেশের পরিবেশ তাঁদের হয়ত খানিকটা অনুকূল হবে।

অবশ্য রাজনীতিক শরণার্থীদের সম্বন্ধে সরকারী নীতি সেখানে কি হবে, তার ওপরই নির্ভর করছে সব কিছু। আসামে ও পশ্চিম বাংলায় যে বৌদ্ধ শরণার্থীরা এসেছেন, তাঁদের ত্রাণ এবং সেবার কাজে যে আমাদের সতর্ক মনোযোগ আকৃষ্ট হবে, এত অবশ্য কোনই সন্দেহ নেই। একদিন আমরা হিটলারের জার্মানী থেকে ইহুদীদের দলে দলে উৎখাত ও বিতাড়িত হয়ে পৃথিবীর দিকে দিকে পিছিয়ে পড়তে দেখেছি। অদম্য প্রাণশক্তি ও বলিষ্ঠ সাংস্কৃতিক আত্মপ্রত্যয়ের জোরে তাঁরা চরম দুর্ভোগের মধ্যেও টিকে থেকেছেন। এবং তা থেকেছেন বলেই শেষ পর্যন্ত উঠে দাঁড়িয়েছেন। স্বৈরাচারী হিটলারই পরাজয়ের ভস্ম মুখে বিদায় নিয়েছেন ইতিহাসের রঙ্গমঞ্চ থেকে। বাঙালি বৌদ্ধরাও এইভাবেই জয়ের অধিকারী হবেন একদিন, স্বধর্মদ্রোহী, মানবদ্রোহী আজ জঙ্গী সর্দারদের ক্ষণিকের খেলা শেষ হলে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬০। মুজিবের নয়, ইয়াহিয়ার বিচার চাই। (সম্পাদকীয়)	যুগান্তর	২৪ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

সম্পাদকীয়

**মুজিবের নয়, ইয়াহিয়ার বিচার চাই**

জেনারেল ইয়াহিয়া খাঁর হাতে বন্দী শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের ভাগ্য সম্পর্কে অস্থায়ী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী খন্দকার মোশতাক আহম্মদ যে উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করেছেন, সে উদ্বেগ তাঁর একার নয়, পৃথিবীর সকল সভ্য মানুষেরই এই বিষয়ে উদ্বেগ বোধ করার কথা। শাসক হিসাবে যাঁর বন্দুকের জোর ছাড়া আর কোন জোরই নেই সেই ইয়াহিয়া খাঁ বিচারের নামে হত্যা করতে চাইছেন শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানকে- যিনি বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের নির্বাচিত নেতা। জঙ্গী শাসককে এই জিঘাংসাপরায়ণতা থেকে নিবৃত্ত করার দায়িত্ব সারা পৃথিবীর, সমগ্র মনুষ্যজাতির।

বিদেশী সাংবাদিকের কাছে দস্তভরে বাংলাদেশের কসাই ইয়াহিয়া খাঁ বলেছেন, শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানকে সামরিক আদালতে গোপন ‘বিচারের’ সম্মুখীন করা হবে এবং তাঁর বিরুদ্ধে যে অভিযোগ আনা হবে তাতে তাঁর মৃত্যুদণ্ড হতে পারে। দশ লক্ষ মানুষের হত্যা, অসংখ্য নারীর নির্যাতন, লুণ্ঠন ও ধ্বংসের জন্য যিনি দায়ী তিনি কি করে অন্যের বিচার করবেন? জল্লাদ যেখানে হাকিম সেখানে বিচার কিভাবে হবে? আর শেখ মুজিবুর রহমান এমন কি করেছে যার জন্য তাঁকে ইয়াহিয়ার কাছে প্রাণ বলি দিতে হবে? দেশদ্রোহিতা? মুজিব যদি দেশদ্রোহী তাহলে ইয়াহিয়া ঢাকায় এসে তাঁর সঙ্গে বৈঠক করছিলেন কেন? এই ‘বিচার’ গোপনেই বা অনুষ্ঠিত হবে কেন? যাকে ইয়াহিয়া খাঁ নিজে একদা ‘ভবিষ্যতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী’ বলে আখ্যায়িত করেছিলেন, তাঁর বিরুদ্ধে আজ কি অভিযোগ, কি সাক্ষ্যপ্রমাণ, এসব কথা দেশের লোককে ও পৃথিবীর মানুষকে জানতে দেওয়া হবে না কেন? ঘণিত ইহুদী হত্যাকারী আইকম্যানের বিচারও তো প্রকাশ্যেই অনুষ্ঠিত হয়েছিল। এমনকি ন্যূরেনবার্গের বিচারও গোপনে হয়নি। একজন নিরস্ত্র, নিঃসঙ্গ মানুষ তাঁর হাতের মুঠোয়, আদালত তাঁর নিজেরই তৈরি। তবু সেই মানুষকেই তাঁর এত ভয় যে, সকলের চোখের সামনে সেই মানুষটিকে তিনি কাঠগড়ায় দাঁড় করাতে পারছেন না? শুধু যে প্রকাশ্য বিচার হবে না, তাই নয়, পিন্ডির মিলিটারী ডিকটেক্টর বলেছেন, কোন বিদেশী উকিলের সাহায্যও পাবেন না শেখ সাহেব। অর্থাৎ যে মামলা তিনি সাজাবেন সেই মামলা যাতে ফেঁসে না যায়, তার জন্য তিনি খুব হুঁশিয়ার। বিচারের নামে এই প্রহসনে দণ্ডটা আগেই দিয়ে রাখা হয়েছে, বাকি সবটা মিথ্যা চাল।

এটা লক্ষ্য করার বিষয় যে, বঙ্গবন্ধু মুজিবকে ফাঁসিকাঠে ঝোলাবার হুমকি দেওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ইয়াহিয়া এ কথাও গেয়ে রেখেছেন যে, মৃত্যুদণ্ডের আদেশ মকুব করার ক্ষমতা তাঁর রয়েছে। তাঁর এই কথার ইঙ্গিত সম্ভবত এই যে, মুজিবের প্রাণকে বাজি করে তিনি রাজনৈতিক জুয়াখেলায় নামবেন। মুজিবের অনুগামীদের সম্ভবত প্রচ্ছন্নভাবে তিনি এটাই জানিয়ে দিতে চান যে, তাঁরা যদি তাঁদের নেতাকে প্রাণে বাঁচাতে চান তাহলে তাঁর সঙ্গে একটা আপোষে আসতে হবে। কিন্তু তার এই শয়তানি চাল ব্যর্থ হতে বাধ্য। কেননা, বাংলাদেশের মানুষ ইসলামাবাদের পশুশক্তির বিরুদ্ধে যে লড়াইয়ে নেমেছে সেটা মরণপণ লড়াই। কোন ভয় দেখিয়ে বা চাল দিয়ে তাদের সঙ্কল্প থেকে বিচ্যুত করা যাবে না। সে কথা না বুঝে ইয়াহিয়া যদি শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানকে ফাঁসির দড়ি পরাতে যান, তাহলে নয়াদিল্লীতে বাংলাদেশ প্রতিনিধি জনাব কে,এম, সাহবুদ্দিনের ভাষায়, ‘বাংলাদেশ তাঁকে কোন দিন ক্ষমা করবে না। তখন আমাদের জবাব হবে-রক্তের বদলে রক্ত, প্রাণের বদলে প্রাণ’।

কিন্তু রক্তপিপাসু ইয়াহিয়া খাঁকে এই চরম নির্বুদ্ধিতার পথ থেকে নিবৃত্ত করবে কে? বাংলাদেশ সরকারের পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী খন্দকার মোশতাক আহম্মদ এই বিচারের প্রহসন বন্ধ করে শেখের প্রাণ বাঁচাবার জন্য রাষ্ট্রসংজ্ঞার



সেক্রেটারি জেনারেল উথান্টের প্রতি আহ্বান জানিয়েছেন। সেক্রেটারি জেনারেলের নিশ্চয়ই এই বিষয়ে একটা কর্তব্য রয়েছে। মানবিকতার নামে, ন্যায়বিচারের নামে তাঁর নিশ্চয়ই এই ব্যাপারে হস্তক্ষেপ করা উচিত। পৃথিবীর অন্যান্য রাষ্ট্রের তরফ থেকেও ইসলামাবাদের শাসকদের উপর চাপ আসা উচিত যাতে বন্দী অবস্থায় মুজিবের কোনরকম শারীরিক ক্ষতি না হয় বিশেষ করে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের মতো যারা মনে করে যে, ইয়াহিয়াকে ক্ষেপিয়ে না দিয়ে তাঁকে দিয়ে বুঝিয়ে-সুজিয়ে কাজ করান উচিত সেসব রাষ্ট্র এবার প্রমাণ দিক যে, পিন্ডির নায়করা তাদের কথার বিন্দুমাত্র দাম দেননা। মুজিবের বিচার প্রহসন বন্ধ করার দাবীতে সারা পৃথিবীর জনমত সোচ্চার হয়ে ওঠা উচিত। আর ভারতবর্ষের দিক থেকে আসা উচিত সবচেয়ে বলিষ্ঠ প্রতিবাদ। নয়াদিল্লী পরিষ্কার জানিয়ে দিক যে শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানকে হত্যা করার জন্য বিচারের মধ্যে ভাঁওতা দেওয়া হলে ভারত বুঝে নেবে, পাকিস্তান বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার কোন সমাধানই চায় না এবং তখন আশ্রয়প্রার্থীদের ফিরে যাওয়ার অনুকূল অবস্থা সৃষ্টি করার উদ্দেশ্যে ভারত যে কোন ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করবে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬১। বাংলাদেশ ও জাতিসঙ্ঘ (সম্পাদকীয়)	দি স্টেটসম্যান	৩০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, JULY 30, 1971*

**Editorial**

**BANGLADESH AND THE U.N.**

New Delhi's extreme sensitiveness to any seeming move to transform the Bangladesh issue into one between India and Pakistan puts this country unnecessarily on the defensive. India has nothing to be apologetic about and if New Delhi's response to suggestions about a United Nations role lacks clarity and force this is largely because of a failure to anticipate events and attitudes. When Islamabad was claiming that the Bangladesh struggle and its suppression were Pakistan's internal affair it was rightly pointed out that entire humanity must be involved in seeking an end to mass slaughter, plunder and rape. When millions of refugees poured into India the happenings ceased to be Pakistan's internal affair even in a narrow technical sense and the point was then correctly made that India being directly affected had a special reason to reject the "internal affair" claim. It was perhaps hoped at that time that the international community would act promptly and decisively to stop Pakistan from pursuing a course which was not only a brazen challenge to every humanitarian principle but also a direct political, economic and social threat to a neighboring country. No such action has been taken; a few countries have tried but quite ineffectually.

Evidently, New Delhi either did not foresee this or did not give much thought to what it could do after such a negative development. Pakistan and its friends on the other hand are now trying to use the international implications of the Bangladesh issue for their own cynical purpose. After East Bengali's population has been reduced by more than seven million and after most of the people who could effectively defy the military administration have been killed or driven out Pakistan's obvious interest is in stabilizing its eastern borders with India. This can be done by introducing a U.N. presence on either side of the border with the ostensible purpose of persuading the refugees to return in effect U.N. observers would be used only to curtail the activities of the Bangladesh freedom fighters operating in or from the border areas. That the refugees are only waiting for persuasion by some foreigners to return to their shattered homes is a kind of delusion which even the most ignorant member of the United Nations cannot be capable of the idea is mischievous and India has done well to reject it summarily.

But she cannot oppose the concept of any kind of U.N. role, that would be incompatible with her own entirely correct view that the East Bengal events are more than a purely internal matter for Pakistan. Nor can New Delhi, while rightly maintaining that a settlement can be reached only between Islamabad and the people of East Bengal, take the position that India is not involved in any way; that would be contrary to India's own interests so far as the refugees are concerned. If the matter is raised in the Security

Council there is no reason why India should fight shy of explaining the nature of her involvement and her pressing interest in seeing the involvement ended as soon as possible. Mr. Swaran Singh has denied that U Thant suggested a Security Council meeting but the possibility of the Bangladesh issue being raised in the U.N. cannot be ruled out. India has no reason to oppose such discussion indeed it should take an active part to ensure that the issues discussed are the right ones. There would be little to gain from sullen self imposed isolation.

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শিরোনাম	গুরু	তারিখ
৩৬২। কলকাতায় বাংলাদেশের প্রথম ফুটবল খেলা	যুগান্তর	৭ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

## কলকাতায় বাংলাদেশের প্রথম ফুটবল খেলা

(স্টাফ রিপোর্টার)

শ্রীগোষ্ঠ পালের একাদশ ৪ : বাংলাদেশ ২।

মোহনবাগানের খেলোয়াড় নিয়ে গড়া শ্রীগোষ্ঠ পালের একাদশের ৪-২ গোলে বাংলাদেশের টিমকে হারিয়ে দেওয়া এমন কিছু নয়, এক সৌহার্দ্যপূর্ণ পরিবেশে বাদল-অপরাহে দুই বাংলার খেলোয়াড় ও হাজার হাজার দর্শকের প্রীতি শুভেচ্ছা বিনিময়ই কলকাতা ময়দানের এক স্মরণীয় ঘটনা। ঘেরামাঠের কর্মীরাও এ দিন কোন পারিশ্রমিক নেননি।

প্রদর্শনী ফুটবলে কোন দল ভাল খেলল, কোন দল খেলল না; কে গোল করল, কে গোল করল না; এ সব আলোচনা হয়নি। পরিমল-চুনী জীবনে সর্বপ্রথম এক টিমে খেলছে, এই বয়সে চুনী কি রকম খেলছে, বাংলাদেশের ১০ নম্বর খেলোয়াড় তুর্যের ‘ফিটনেস’, ওদের গোলরক্ষকের বল ধরার কায়দার কথাই সবার মুখে মুখে। ফুটবল ছেড়ে দিয়ে আবার ফুটবল মাঠে এসে চুনী যে বল কন্ট্রোল, মাপা পাস, ড্রিবলিং দেখিয়ে গেল তা এখানকার খেলোয়াড়দের কাছ থেকে লীগের খেলায় খুব কম দেখতে পাই। বুটের ডগা ও সাইড দিয়ে ছোট জায়গায় বল ধরে দু’তিন জনকে কাটানো এখনও চুনীর পক্ষে অসম্ভব নয়। বলে, বলে চুনী পায়ের কাজ দেখিয়েছে, ছোট জায়গায় চার পাঁচজনকে সহজেই ড্রিবল করে নিজের খেলোয়াড়দের মাপা ‘প্র’ দিয়েছে। এখানকার ফুটবলে এ সব লুপ্তপ্রায়। পাশে প্রণব, সুকু, পরিমলও খেলেছে, তার মধ্যে সবাই দেখেছে একটি উজ্জ্বল তারকা চুনী গোস্বামীকে। মনে হয়নি সে খেলা থেকে অবসর নিয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশের খেলোয়াড়দের মধ্যে তুর্য হাজার, যে প্রথম গোল করে নিজের দলকে এগিয়ে দিয়েছিল, তার ‘ফিটনেস’ ও খেলার ধারা উন্নত ধরনের। কিন্তু সতীর্থদের কাছ থেকে সে সাহায্য পায়নি। গোলরক্ষক অনিরুদ্ধ দৃঢ়তা দেখিয়েছে। ৪টি গোল হলেও কোনটিরও জন্য তাকে দায়ী করা যায় না।

কাদাভরা মাঠে খেলা উঁচু দরের না হলেও প্রাণহীন হয়নি। প্রায় অনুশীলন বিহীন বাংলাদেশের খেলোয়াড়দের কাছে মাঠের অবস্থা সাবলীল ক্রীড়াধারার অন্তরায় ছিল। অনুশীলন করলে এই দল আরো অনেক ভাল খেলবে।

১৩ মিনিটে তসলিমের ব্যাক সেনটারে তুর্য হেড করলে গোলরক্ষক বলাই দে’র হাতে লেগে বলটি গোললাইন ‘ক্রস’ করে ১-০। ২৫ মিনিটে গোষ্ঠ পালের দল গোল শোধ করে। চুনীর পাস থেকে প্রণব ডান পায়ের কমজোরী নিচু শটে গোলরক্ষককে পরাজিত করেন ১-১। বিরতির এক মিনিট আগে চুনীর পাস থেকে সুকল্যাণ গোল করে গোষ্ঠ পালের দলকে এগিয়ে দেন ২-১।

৫৫ মিনিটে প্রণব বাঁ পায়ের বিদ্যুৎ গতির শটে গোল করে সকলের চোখ ধাঁধিয়ে দেন ৩-১। ৬২ মিনিটে সুকু পাল্টা জবাব দেয়। চুনীকে পাস করলে চুনী প্লেসিং-এ গোল করে ৪-১। ৬৬ মিনিটে বাংলাদেশের বদলি খেলোয়াড় নৌশের একটি গোল শোধ করে ৪-২।

শ্রীগোষ্ঠ পালের একাদশ : বলাই, কাজল, কল্যাণ, নিমাই, ভবানী : প্রবীর, প্রিয়লাল: সুকল্যাণ, পরিমল, চুনী, প্রণব।

বাংলাদেশ : অনিরুদ্ধ, আইনুল, জাকির, পিনটো, ইমান, খোকন, কাইকোবাদ প্রতাপ, বিমল, সাগর, এনায়েৎ, সুভাষ, তুর্য হাজার, তসলিম, নৌশের ও আমিনুল ।

রেফারী : শ্রী সুধীন চ্যাটার্জি।

শিরোনাম	গুরু	তারিখ
৩৬৩। মুজিবের বিচার শুরু: রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের প্রতি ভারতের আবেদন	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, AUGUST 11, 1971*

**MUJIBUR'S TRIAL BEGINS:  
INDIA APPEALS TO NATIONS**

Rawalpindi, August 11,-Informed Government sources said that the Awami League leader. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman went on trial today in a fight for his life against charges that he waged war against Pakistan Reports AP.

The proceedings were secret.

The Government refused to confirm officially that the trial had begun. It also refused to disclose the location of the military tribunal, the name of the judges or the defense attorney.

Three foreign radios-Radio Accra. Radio Cologne and Radio Australia reported-today that the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had opened in camera but did not quote any source.

Mrs. Gandhi has appealed to 24 countries to save the life of Mr. Rahman, writes our special Correspondent in New Delhi.

The Soviet Union also likely to issue an appeal in this regard.

India's External Affairs Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh has sent a cable to the UN Secretary General on the same subject.

The USA today expressed concern for the second time to the Pakistan Government that any "summary action" in the secret trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will destroy all possibilities for a political settlement of the East Bengal crisis. AP report from Washington.

The Secretary of State Mr. Rogers, passed on to Pakistan Ambassador Mr. Agha Hilaly a telegram from 11 U.S. Senators and a letter signed by 58 Congressman asking Pakistan to show compassion towards the Sheikh.

At the same time a State Department spokesman reacted stiffly to the Pakistan Government's decision to refuse permission for the Democrat Senator Mr. Kennedy to visit Islamabad and Dacca.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's wife who had been under house arrest at Dacca was flown to Karachi a few day ago according to a reliable report received at Mujibnagar today, writes UNI.

She was taken from the house at Dhanmondi area to the airport with Army escort and put on board a Karachi bound plane.

It is not known whether she was being detained at Karachi or some other place in West Pakistan.

Radio Australia said the result of the trial was a foregone conclusion. "There is only one verdict: Guilty".

On the night of March 26, 18 hours after Sheikh Mujib's arrest, Gen. Yahya Khan had branded him as a traitor and an enemy of Pakistan. "No one in Pakistan, especially a military court, dare go against Yahya Khan", the radio said.

Gen. Yahya Khan is quoted to have said in private that "the Sheikh must die" the radio said.

The Prime Minister's cable to all big Powers the Western countries and certain countries of Africa, Asia and West Asia has been addressed to Heads of Governments and dispatched through Indian Missions abroad.

She has said in cable "The Government and people of India as well as our Press and Parliament are greatly perturbed by the reported statement of President Yahya Khan that he is going to start secret military trial of Mr. Mujibur Rahman without affording him any foreign legal assistance. We apprehended that this so-called trial will be used only as a cover to execute Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. This will aggravate the situation in East Bengal and will create a serious situation in India because of the strong feelings of our people and all political parties. Hence our grave anxiety. We appeal to you to exercise your influence with President Yahya Khan to take a realistic view in the larger interest of peace and stability in this region."

Mrs. Gandhi's message, however, has not been addressed to China and West Asian countries except the UAR and Iraq. The selective list includes: The UAR, Ceylon, Tanzania, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Nepal, Malaysia, Zambia, the USSR, Canada, France, Italy, Singapore, Sweden, Holland. Japan, the USA, the U.K, West Germany, Ghana, and Yugoslavia.

The Foreign Minister Mr. Swaran Singh, said in his cable to U Thant "We are distressed and shocked by the announcement made in Rawalpindi that they propose to commence Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's trial from tomorrow. This announcement comes in the wake of the several categorical statements which have lately emanated from President Yahya Khan about Sheikh's capability in waging war against Pakistan and in having indulged in treasonous activities.

"Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is an outstanding leader of his people, much beloved and much respected. His victory at the polls in December 1970 was perhaps the most magnificent one in any similar election anywhere in the world in recent years. Our people, Press, Parliament and Government are all convinced that the problems which have been created for us by the Pakistani action in East Bengal will be multiplied ten-fold if the Government of Pakistan does something precipitate and extreme in the context of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's life and welfare.

"We would like to appeal to your excellence to take urgent steps to request the Government of Pakistan not to take this action which is certain to make their difficulties

and ours very much worse. Anything they do to Mujib now will have grave and perilous consequences."

Asked whether he had discussed the issue with the Soviet Foreign Minister. Mr. Singh told the Rajya Sabha today that Mr. Gromyko was strongly in favor persuading Pakistan not to go ahead with this "type of shame trial".

He also told the House that the Government was greatly concerned at the threat held out by the Pakistan President to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Asked by Mr. A. D. Mani whether the Government would take initiative in having a Commission of International Jurists appointed to investigate the war-crimes committed by the military rulers of Pakistan in Bangladesh the External Affairs Minister said it was a suggestion for action. However in his opinion, it would be more effective if the initiative was taken by the Indian member of the International Commission of Jurists.

The Secretary-General. U Thant said yesterday that the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was bound to have repercussions outside Pakistan, Reuter adds from United Nations.

But the Secretary-General said, Sheikh Mujibur's impending trial before a Military Court was "an extremely sensitive and delicate matter which falls within the competence of the judicial system of a member State".

In a Press statement, U Thant said, he shared the feelings of many UN representatives "that any developments concerning the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will inevitable have repercussions outside the borders of Pakistan".

He said the trial was "a matter of extraordinary interest and concern in many quarters from a humanitarian as well as from a political point of view".

He said, he had received, and was still receiving almost daily expressions of serious concern from U N representatives about the situation in East Bengal.

In Geneva, the international Commission of Jurists yesterday formally protest to President Yahya Khan against the scheduled trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

A cable signed by commission's Secretary General Mr. Alan Niall Macdermott, said "the International Commission of Jurists protests against the secret military trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Justice has nothing to hide".

A London report says The London lawyers of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman claimed today he was being denied all access to legal aid. Reports Reuter.

Lawyers Bernard Sheridan and Company took the unusual step of writing a letter to The Times about the case. They did so, the letter said, so that readers might know more precisely the efforts which had been made by lawyers to secure for him a fair trial.

"Although Sheikh Mujibur was arrested at the end of March this year following up on his success at the polls he has been denied all access to legal advice."

The letter added that they had seen the Pakistan High Commission in London in June and written a formal request to be allowed to see him but had not received a reply or acknowledgement.

Further requests made in person in Pakistan by a member of the farm accompanying Mr. Sean MacBride (senior counsel) were also not acknowledged the letter said.

A Cairo report says UAR's leading newspaper A1 Ahram, expressed concern yesterday at the announcement that East Bengal leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was to be tried by a military court.

The newspaper said "National unity cannot be secured by military or secret trials and cannot be protected by the majority under an iron rule".

The paper said the interest shown in the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was neither an expression of interference in Pakistan's internal affairs nor a confirmation of the separatist call from the national soil both principles of interference and separation were rejected categorically and unequivocally.

"This interest is rather due in the first place to a belief in the necessity for preserving national unity in Pakistan in both its eastern and western provinces. This national unity is a sound expression of the aspirations of the masses and their leaderships in both the provinces", the paper added.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬৪। বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধানে গুরুত্ব আরোপ : ভারত- সোভিয়েত যুক্ত বিবৃতি	আনন্দ বাজার পত্রিকা	১০ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

## ভারত- সোভিয়েট যুক্ত বিবৃতি বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধানে গুরুত্ব আরোপ (দিল্লী অফিস)

নয়াদিল্লী, ১১ই আগস্ট-ভারত ও সোভিয়েট ইউনিয়ন আজ এক যুক্ত বিবৃতিতে পূর্ববঙ্গ সমস্যার ‘রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের’ জন্য জরুরী ব্যবস্থাবলম্বনের দাবি জানান। এই সমস্যার কোন ‘সামরিক সমাধান’ হতে পারে না বলে ভারত ও সোভিয়েট সরকারদ্বয় সুস্পষ্ট অভিমত প্রকাশ করেছেন।

বাংলাদেশ সমস্যা সম্পর্কে ভারত ও সোভিয়েট ইউনিয়নের মতামত প্রায় অনুরূপ বলে সরকার সূত্রে প্রকাশ। সদ্য সম্পাদিত চুক্তির নবম অনুচ্ছেদে উপমহাদেশে যুদ্ধ আশঙ্কা আলোচনার অংশ হিসেবে বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতিতে বিবেচনা করা হয়।

শরণার্থীরা যাতে নিরাপদে তাঁদের ঘরবাড়ীতে ফিরে যেতে পারেন সেরকম অবস্থা সৃষ্টির জন্য দাবি জানিয়ে যুক্ত-বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে যে, ‘একমাত্র ঐ অবস্থায় পাকিস্তানের সমগ্র জনগণের স্বার্থ এবং ঐ এলাকায় শান্তি রক্ষিত হতে পারে। একমাত্র রাজনৈতিক সমাধানই পাকিস্তানের সমগ্র জনগণের চাহিদা পূরণ করতে পারে এবং তা না হলে শুধু পূর্ববঙ্গের নয়, সমগ্র পাকিস্তানের ভবিষ্যৎ বিপদাপন্ন হতে পারে।

### মতানৈক্য ?

যুক্ত-বিবৃতিতে পূর্ববঙ্গ অথবা বাংলাদেশের পরিবর্তে ‘পূর্ব পাকিস্তান’ শব্দটি ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে। কোন ধরনের রাজনৈতিক সমাধান হবে সে সম্পর্কে যুক্ত-বিবৃতিতে কোন ব্যাখ্যা করা হয়নি। বাংলাদেশের কোন রাজনৈতিক সমাধান চাপিয়ে দেবার কোন প্রশ্নই আসে না বলে নির্ভরযোগ্য সূত্রে জানা গেছে।

বর্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে কোন ধরনের রাজনৈতিক সমাধান বাঞ্ছনীয় সে সম্পর্কে ভারত ও সোভিয়েট ইউনিয়নের মতামত ঠিক অনুরূপ নয় বলে প্রকাশ। পাকিস্তান একা থাকবে না পাকিস্তান থেকে বাংলাদেশ পৃথক হয়ে যাবে এই প্রশ্নে মতানৈক্য থাকতে পারে বলে জানা গেছে।

বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে ভারত সরকার যে নীতি ঘোষণা করেছেন তা থেকে সরকার বিচ্যুত হননি বলে নির্ভরযোগ্য সূত্রে জানা গেছে।

রাজনৈতিক সমাধান চাপিয়ে দেওয়া হবে না এবং তা বাংলাদেশের নেতৃবৃন্দের পক্ষে গ্রহণযোগ্য হতে হবে এই মূল প্রশ্নে ভারত ও সোভিয়েট সরকারদ্বয় সহমত পোষণ করেন বলে প্রকাশ।

ভারতের পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী সর্দার স্মরণ সিং এবং ভারত সরকারের আমন্ত্রণে আগত সোভিয়েত পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী মিঃ গ্রোমিকোর কয়েক দফা আলোচনা শেষে এই যুক্ত বিবৃতি প্রচারিত হয়।

### বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে বিবৃতির ব্যাখ্যা

যুক্ত-বিবৃতিতে পাকিস্তানের ‘সমগ্র জনগণের’ কথা বলা হলেও বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে ভারত সরকার পিছিয়ে যাননি বলে সরকারী মহল সূত্রে প্রকাশ। বাংলাদেশের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের সঙ্গে পাকিস্তানকে রাজনৈতিক

সমস্যা সমাধানে উপনীত হতে হবে এ রকম কোন উল্লেখ না থাকায় অর্থ এই নয় যে, ভারত ও সোভিয়েট ইউনিয়ন পূর্ববঙ্গের ওপর কোন সমাধান চাপিয়ে দেবার পক্ষপাতী। পূর্ববঙ্গের বর্তমান অবস্থার কারণ বিশ্লেষণে ভারত ও সোভিয়েট ইউনিয়নের মতামত প্রায় অনুরূপ বলে সরকারী মহল মন্তব্য করেছেন।

পূর্ববঙ্গের জনগণের পক্ষে গ্রহণযোগ্য সমাধানেই ভারত রাজী হবেন। বাংলাদেশের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের সঙ্গে এই ব্যাপারে পাকিস্তান সরকার আলোচনা করুন সেটাই ঐ এলাকার জনগণের দাবি। সমাধান হিসেবে স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ হোক অথবা অন্য কিছু হোক- বাংলাদেশের জনগণের গ্রহণযোগ্য সমাধানেই ভারত রাজী হবে।

### মার্কিন আঁতাত সম্পর্কে নীরবতা

যুক্ত বিবৃতিতে কোন স্থানে চীন, মার্কিন-চীন আঁতাতের উদ্যোগ অথবা পাকিস্তান সম্পর্কে কোন কথা বলা হয়নি। তবে সীমান্ত বিরোধসহ সকল আন্তর্জাতিক সমস্যার শান্তিপূর্ণ সমাধানের কথা বলা হয়েছে। বলপ্রয়োগ অথবা বলপ্রয়োগের হুমকিকে অগ্রাহ্য করা হয়েছে।

শান্তি, মৈত্রী ও সহযোগিতার ভারত-সোভিয়েট চুক্তিকে উল্লেখযোগ্য ঐতিহাসিক ঘটনা বলে বিবৃতিতে মন্তব্য করা হয়েছে। এশিয়া তথা বিশ্বে শান্তি বজায় রাখার সংগ্রামকে জোরদার করাই ভারত-সোভিয়েট শান্তি, মৈত্রী ও সহযোগিতার চুক্তির লক্ষ্য বলে বিবৃতিতে মন্তব্য করা হয়েছে। এশিয়া তথা বিশ্বে শান্তিরক্ষায় যাঁরা আগ্রহী এই চুক্তি তাঁদের সমর্থন লাভ করবে বলে বিবৃতিতে আশা প্রকাশ করা হয়েছে।

নয়াদিল্লীতে সোভিয়েট পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রী মিঃ গ্রোমিকো রাষ্ট্রপতি শ্রী ভি, ভি, গিরি ও প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর সঙ্গে সাক্ষাৎ করেন। তিনি খাদ্য ও কৃষিমন্ত্রী শ্রী ফখরুদ্দিন আলি আহমেদ, অর্থমন্ত্রী শ্রী ওয়াই বি চ্যবন ও প্রতিরক্ষা মন্ত্রী শ্রী জগজীবন রামের সঙ্গেও আলোচনা করেন।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬৫। পাক বাহিনীর কৌশলগত পশ্চাদপসরণ	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, AUGUST 12, 1971*  
**PAK ARMY RETREATS STRATEGIC:**  
**SAY BANGLADESH COMMANDERS**  
*By Our Special Representative*

A few Bangladesh Liberation Army sector commanders who recently met to review the war situation are believed to have held the view that the Pakistan Army's retreats in many areas in the face of Mukti Bahini's commando and guerrilla operations should not give rise to any complacency. The commanders felt that many of these retreats might be for tactical reasons.

It is now apparent that the Pakistan Army largely made up of men from West Pakistan finds itself completely dismayed in the mud and slush of East Bengal. It is also not used to fighting in the heavy monsoon conditions that prevail in Bangladesh now. The Army's present tactics may be to conserve its weapons and energy for the post- monsoon season when it hopes to strike hard.

In a note to their Liberation Army headquarters the commanders have said that the Mukti Bahini's monsoon thrust should be stepped up as quickly as possible so that "lodgment areas" could be spread wider in the wake of the Pakistan Army's retreat. The commanders maintain that the Liberation Army has "infrastructure wise" everything to continue its sweep over the Pakistan Army during the monsoon.

Some recent defections of Bengali gunners and other soldiers from the Pakistan Army units in the western sector have strengthened the Liberation Army. These defectors have trekked their way from the west to report for duty at the Liberation Army headquarters. The commanders suggest that a full regiment of gunners is now available for the Liberation Army and it should be properly used.

But the commanders fear that if the monsoon which will last till the middle of October, is allowed to be wasted, the war in Bangladesh will be a prolonged affair much to the difficulties of the people both in East and West Bengal. The commanders feel that during the three monsoon months much more could have been achieved had the weapons available to the Liberation Army been replenished.

All commanders in the Liberation Army have been Pakistan Army veterans with full training both in conventional warfare and also in specialized fighting techniques which the United State organized at home and in some NATO countries. Their association with the Pakistan Army for many years have made them familiar with whatever the Army can do in meeting the Liberation Army attacks.

According to the commanders the per unit fire power of the Pakistan Army is considerably superior to that of the Liberation Army or even of the Indian Army.

The Pakistan Army is equipped with all automatic weapons supplied by the Americans and the Chinese. Its arms stock is constantly being replenished by the Chinese and some other Western Powers.

The commanders case is spelt out in clear terms. They need more arms for the guerillas and also for the commanders. The training of guerrillas has been going on in full swing in different camps spread along the border areas in the whole of Bangladesh. Many of these trained people cannot be fully utilized for shortage of arms supply.

Some guerrilla units have entrenched themselves deep in the countryside of Bangladesh and opened training centers there. The response of the local people for facilities of training in these centers has been overwhelming it is stated. Training has been continuing for some time and there have developed strong rear units all over the country, according to a report.

Liberation Army gains in the monsoons will depend largely on the immediate deployment of all the units both in the forward areas and also in the rear. The commanders maintain that efforts should immediately be made for arms procurement from all available sources. Recently, the commanders had a meeting with the Bangladesh Cabinet and they explained the war situation emphasizing the need for more arms. The need was not so much for sophisticated weapons, as for conventional hardware. They said that the guerrillas should not be expected to face the well armed enemy with lathis and daggers.

The guerrilla war in Bangladesh should not be equated with similar struggles elsewhere, because the Bangladesh liberation war started with an initial advantage first, the entire people were with the struggle, and secondly, a fully trained army formed the hard core of the Mukti Bahini. The army had its infantry, gunner and signal units, and other units for different types of warfare, administration of supplies and medical care.

Some commanders told this reporter that they had been able to drive home their point. They expected that the Bangladesh Government would do its best to procure arms and that the remaining phase of the monsoon would be better utilized. With whatever arms were available so far, the Mukti Bahini's achievements would have made any other army in a similar situation proud, they said.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬৬। বিদেশী সত্যাগ্রহী দল বাংলাদেশে প্রবেশ করছেন	আনন্দ বাজার পত্রিকা	১৫ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

## মঙ্গলবার বিদেশী সত্যাগ্রহী দল

### বাংলাদেশে প্রবেশ করছেন

(নিজস্ব প্রতিনিধি)

বাংলাদেশে পাকিস্তানী নির্যাতন এবং বিদেশ থেকে অবাধ সাহায্য দানের পথে সীমান্ত বাহিনীর অবরোধ সৃষ্টির প্রতিবাদে ‘অপারেশন ওমেগা’ নামীয় বৃটিশ ও আমেরিকান সত্যাগ্রহীদের একটি দল আগামী মঙ্গলবার বাংলাদেশে প্রবেশ করছেন। শুক্রবার কলকাতায় এক সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে তাঁরা বলেন, পশ্চিম বাংলা থেকে তাঁরা ‘সীমান্তের বেড়া ভেঙে’ ভেতরে ঢুকবেন এবং পাক বাহিনীর মোকাবেলা করবেন। তাঁরা সম্পূর্ণ নিরস্ত্র এবং নিরস্ত্রই থাকবেন। বাংলাদেশে প্রবেশের জন্য অবশ্যই তাঁরা ইয়াহিয়া সরকারের অনুমতি চাননি-কারণ তেমন অনুমতির প্রয়োজন আছে বলে তাঁরা মনে করেন না। তাঁদের সুস্পষ্ট অভিমত : কোন দেশের অভ্যন্তরে মানুষের ওপর অত্যাচার, লাঞ্ছনা, গণহত্যা ঘটলে, অভাব-অনটন ঘটলে, এই দুর্গত মানুষদের পাশে ছুটে যাবার সম্পূর্ণ মানবিক অধিকার অন্য দেশের মানুষদের আছে- এই অধিকারকে রাজনৈতিক ও ভৌগলিক বেষ্টনী দিয়ে ঠেকিয়ে রাখা যায় না। অবশ্য, অহিংস সৈনিকের নীতি অনুসারে তাঁরা তাঁদের এই সত্যাগ্রহ পরিচালনার কথা পাক সরকারকে জানিয়ে রেখেছেন- তাঁরা প্রকাশ্যেই সীমান্তের বেআইনী আইন লঙ্ঘন করবে এবং যে কোন ঝুঁকির সম্মুখীন হবেন।

৪ জন মহিলাসহ এই সত্যাগ্রহী দলে মোট আছেন ১১ জন। এঁদের মধ্যে ৮ জন দু’টি ল্যান্ডরোভার গাড়ীতে ত্রাণসামগ্রী বোঝাই করে বাংলাদেশে প্রবেশ করবেন।

সত্যাগ্রহী দলের মুখপাত্রের লন্ডনের বিখ্যাত সাপ্তাহিক ‘পীস নিউজ’ পত্রিকার অন্যতম সম্পাদক মিঃ রজার মুডী (বৃটিশ) এবং মিঃ ড্যানিয়েল গ্রটেন (আমেরিকা) সাংবাদিকদের বলেন, আমরা আশা করব আমাদের কাজের দ্বারা এমন একটি নজীর স্থাপিত হবে যা শুধু পাক-ভারত পরিস্থিতিতেই নয়, বিশ্বের যে কোন স্থানে সংঘাতের ক্ষেত্রে কার্যকর করা যাবে। তাঁরা বলেন, রাষ্ট্রসংঘের সনদে যা-ই লেখা থাকুক, বিভিন্ন দেশের অভ্যন্তরে মানুষের ওপর অত্যাচার চলছে, গণহত্যাও সংঘটিত হচ্ছে। এ ধরনের মানবতাবিরোধী কাণ্ডকে কোন দেশের ‘অভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাপার’ বলে কিছুতেই গণ্য করা যায় না। একটি প্রশ্নের উত্তরে তাঁরা জানান, ভেতরে ঢুকে সরাসরি জনসংযোগ এবং সাহায্য বণ্টনই তাঁদের অভিপ্রায়।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬৭। 'চুক্তির পর'	দি স্টেটসম্যান	২০ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, AUGUST 20, 1971*  
**AFTER THE TREATY**

Those who hoped that the Indo-Soviet treaty would made New Delhi more assertive in safeguarding India's interests in the context of the East Bengal events and their consequences must now be sorely disappointed. The disappointment of those who consider toughness to be a self-sufficient virtue need not be taken seriously, but there are others who thought that the treaty would enable India to demand with greater firmness than before that the Bangladesh issue be settled immediately and in the only manner in which it can be truly settled. India's right to demand a settlement could never be questioned, nothing else can relieve this country of the intolerable burden of refugees. Nor could it ever be reasonably argued that a settlement could be reached except with the elected representatives of the East Bengali people. On different occasions New Delhi has made both those points. If Pakistan paid little heed until August 9, it might have been thought that this was because New Delhi's demand was not backed by sufficient force. Immediately after the signing of the Indo-Soviet treaty many people seemed to think that this deficiency had at last been removed. Among them were people who had reservations about the long-term implications of the treaty but still gave it a limited welcome in the hope that it might strengthen India's hands in securing a political settlement in East Bengal. As yet there is no evidence that New Delhi's hands have been so strengthened. In fact, even the demand for a settlement seems to have lost some of its urgency.

That the treaty has muted irresponsible talk of war is an entirely healthy outcome, even if it seems strange that an assurance of potential military support should subdue hawkish rhetoric. Russia's reported Warning to Pakistan against threats of war may induce some restraint in Islamabad, which in turn should removed the need for angry counter warnings by India. All in all, the treaty may already have served a useful purpose by defusing gathering crisis. But this was not the use envisaged by the treaty's ardent supporters. Indeed, the treaty has not been followed even by the recognition of Bangladesh which many thought would be the most likely and least belligerent follow-up action. By refraining from hasty or assertive action on the strength of potential external support New Delhi has perhaps shown greater maturity than some people gave it credit for, but it is now widely suspected that this restraint was a pre-condition for the promise of Soviet support.

Whether and to what extent the treaty has restricted India's freedom of action can only be a matter of speculation. But it needs to be pointed out while restraint is desirable even if imposed from outside India cannot look forward to a settlement in Bangladesh merely by averting a war with Pakistan. Nor has she any reason to hope that the military junta in Islamabad will come to its senses at international persuasion, under halfhearted pressure or because of internal economic and other difficulties. Within her limited

options perhaps the most promising course is to give all possible help to the forces fighting for the freedom of Bangladesh, they can still make General Yahya learn a lesson or two. Unfortunately, the Mukti Fauj is still severely handicapped for want of sufficient arms and ammunition; and the monsoon, when the guerrillas could be most effective, will be over in a few weeks. It is to be hoped that the apparent failure to come fully to the freedom fighters aid is not a consequence of the treaty of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬৮। ইউরোপে বাংলাদেশের ভাবমূর্তি	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৯ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, SEPTEMBER 9, 1971*  
**BANGLADESH IMAGE IN EUROPE**  
**MRS. GANDHI TO FACE WESTERN INHIBITIONS**  
*From S. Nihal Singh*

Mrs. Gandhi's projected visit to West Europe and the USA next month is an appropriate backdrop to size up where India stands today on Bangladesh. More than five months after the West Pakistan army went into East Bengal to subdue the people the diplomatic front presents a strange picture. Far from being an outcast in the international community General Yahya Khan is well on his way to winning acceptability.

**Simple Device**

To understand the West's view of Bangladesh one must accept the fact that Pakistan has succeeded in a measure in presenting the issue as an Indo-Pakistan problem. This was achieved by the simple device of raising tension between the two countries up to a pitch and for the West the tragedy of Bangladesh was quickly submerged by the danger of an Indo-Pakistan overtones are more apparent to the West than the Bangladesh struggle.

The brutality and scale of the West Pakistan army's repression in East Bengal hit the west not when they happened but weeks and months later. It was only when millions of refugees poured into India and there was the fearful prospect of a mass cholera epidemic that the horror and tragedy of the Pakistani military intervention was brought home to the West. The refugees continued to make headlines for a time but then the interest waned, to be revived momentarily by the defection of East Bengalis in Pakistan's diplomatic service. There is much sympathy for the suffering of the people of East Bengal and some sympathy for India's burdens in coping with the continuing stream of refugees. But the west is only half convinced of the inevitability of Pakistan's break-up, even those who accept that an independent East Bengal will come into being are not quite clear about the time scale in which it will occur. Meanwhile General Yahya is still President of both the wings of Pakistan and they have to do business with him.

However, there has been a change in Whitehall's approach to the Bangladesh problem a change indicated not so much by what has been said but by what has been left unsaid. This change is reflected by the new official mood- that Whitehall has gone far enough in censuring Islamabad and would rather mend its fences with President Yahya. It has been left to Labor M.P.s like Mr. Peter Shore and church leaders and fiery editorial writers to call a spade a spade-and to bring before the British public the new danger of a colossal famine in East Pakistan.

To add to these inhibitions of the West and a central part of these inhibitions is that the west does not wish to see the break-up of Pakistanis the Indo-Soviet treaty. Even



before the treaty was sprung upon the world most West Europeans tended to regard India as being in the Soviet camp but the treaty served to remove the lingering doubts in their minds about India's non-aligned posture. With both China and the USA ranged on Islamabad's side. West European chancelleries have become models of caution.

This picture implies that during her visit to the West Mrs. Gandhi will be offered tea and sympathy and perhaps a little help for the refugees but not much more. British and French officials have been vying with one another in praising Mrs. Gandhi's restraint in the face of the temptations of an Indian military intervention in East Bengal but such praise will be cold comfort to her. Her visit to West European capitals can only confirm the fact that India will have to bear the brunt of the refugee problem that New Delhi will receive little help in pulling its chestnuts out of the fire.

It is indeed on the diplomatic front that Mrs. Gandhi's projected tour will stand or fall. In spite of the Pakistan military ruler's actions in East Bengal the world's nation States will not judge them by a moral yardstick but by their own national interests. And Pakistan has almost succeeded in converting an indefensible position into something of a diplomatic victory.

### **Seeming Anxiety**

Pakistan's enthusiastic endorsement of the proposal to station U.N. observers on both sides of the East Bengal border gave Islamabad's stand an appearance of seeming anxiety to seek the return of the refugees from India. And President Yahya has cleverly made Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan a scapegoat (for the benefit of the Western world) for all the blood that has been willfully spilled in East Bengal. He has now capped the symbolic act of the appointment of a civilian Governor with the announcement of an amnesty.

All these acts serve a diplomatic purpose. They are meant to achieve two objectives to persuade the Aid to Pakistan consortium to turn on the tap again and to try to wash away the sins of East Bengal before the opening of the U.N. General Assembly session. Judging by the reaction President Yahya's recent moves have had in the West Pakistan stands a fair chance of achieving these objectives in a measure.

Partly, the likely success of Pakistan's strategy will be helped by the West's desire to believe that President Yahya has at last chosen the right path. Few in the West will stop to ask what difference a civilian Governor will make in East Pakistan's circumstances with the military authorities continuing to maintain their iron grips. Nor will many pay much attention to the fact that the refugees cannot return home on the strength of a paper promise with conditions as they are in East Bengal. Western interest in having U. N. observers on the Indian side of the border is primarily to discourage Indian help for the Bangladesh guerrillas. This help is not sufficient to tilt the balance in the guerrillas favor but it is sufficient to implicate India in the eyes of many countries.

### **More Credible**

Mrs. Gandhi will discover during her European sojourn that although India has been a victim of circumstances she is having to fight a rearguard action. Partly this must be

blamed on New Delhi's ad hoc policy in meeting the crisis there seems to be no coherent approach to the problems thrown up by Bangladesh.

Mrs. Gandhi, therefore has her task cut for her. She can hope to make an impression only if she shows decisiveness. What needs to be stressed are the essentials and not the peripheral matters that can cloud the central issue. It would help in improving India's image if New Delhi were to know its own mind. It would serve little purpose to declare that the Indo-Soviet treaty has not changed India's policy of non alignment. The West has drawn its own conclusions and is not likely to alter them on the strength of statements. Indeed, India's posture would tie more credible in the West if Mrs. Gandhi were to say that she has had to go into a treaty relationship with the Russians for compelling domestic reasons to give a psychological boost to the morale of the Indian people at a particularly- trying time.

Secondly, legalistic arguments are not likely to help India. The essentials of the Bangladesh crisis are there for all impartial observers to see and it would be useful to stress them. They are that a holocaust has been brought about by the actions of Pakistan's military rulers on India's eastern frontier and a crisis with which India has had nothing to do has spilled over into the country in the shape of millions of refugees.

If the West expects India to do nothing in the circumstances, it is being particularly short-sighted. Unlike the West India cannot avert its gaze from the problem. It is too near home and too intensely felt. If Mrs. Gandhi talks to the Western leaders she meets in such terms she will win their respect if not their concurrence. Let us accept the fact that India and the West do not view Bangladesh from the same standpoint and will not do so.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬৯। বাংলাদেশের সরকারের 'ওয়ার কাউন্সিল' গঠিত	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, SEPTEMBER 10, 1971*  
**WAR COUNCIL TO HELP BANGLA GOVT. FORMED**  
*From N. C. Metion, Hindustan Times Correspondent*

Mujibnagar, Sept. 9-An eight-member War Council to assist the Bangladesh Government has been formed here at a two-day meeting of the representatives of the Awami League and four other parties.

The advice and services of the council will be available to the Government of Bangladesh for consultation on matters relating to the liberation struggle.

The members of the council are: Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani (National Awami Party-Bhasani group). Mr. Moni Singh (Communist Party of Bangladesh) Mr. Monoranjan Dhar (Bangladesh National Congress) Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed ( National Awami Party, Muzaffar group). Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of Bangladesh. Mr. Khandaker Moshtaq Ahmed, Foreign Minister, and two other members of the Awami League to be named later.

According to a spokesman of the Bangladesh Government the formation of the council is intended to ensure a sense of participation in the liberation struggle of all shades of people and opinion who are actively fighting against the colonial and imperialist exploiters in Bangladesh.

The formation of the council, the spokesman added was an expression of the total unity of the rank and file of the freedom loving people of Bangladesh having faith in the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League and the Government of Bangladesh which alone constitute legitimacy in Bangladesh.

About six weeks ago a nine-party Coordinating Committee for the liberation struggle was formed reportedly under the sponsorship of Maulana Bhasani. Most of the parties which were mentioned as participating in this Committee were more leftist than the members of the War Council. Maulana Bhasani later denied that he had anything to do with it or that it had been formed under his sponsorship.

Some of the members of the so-called Coordinating Committee were ultra left whose allegiance to Sheikh Mujib was doubtful. None of the parties mentioned as members of the Coordinating Committee have been included in the War Council.

The five-party meeting which concluded yesterday adopted many resolutions. These included one expressing indignation and anguish at the illegal detention of Sheikh Mujib by the West Pakistani Army junta and condemning the "shameful attempt" to stage a "farcical and outrageous" trial of Sheikh Mujib.

The meeting called upon all world powers and the UN to take immediate steps to halt the "atrocious trial" and to secure Sheikh Mujib's release.

The meeting called upon India and other countries to accord immediate recognition to the Government of Bangladesh and thereby accept the reality of a liberation struggle involving 75 million peace-loving democratic people of Bangladesh.

The leaders expressed their "profound gratitude" to the people and the Government of India for the "generous help" they had extended to the evacuees of Bangladesh and for the support the Government of India had extended to the struggling people of Bangladesh.

The leaders called upon the people of West Pakistan to extend "full support" to the liberation struggle of their brethren in Bangladesh while at the same time expressing their solidarity with the people of West Pakistan who were struggling to free themselves from the shackles of exploitation.

The leaders resolved that short of full independence no other political proposition in respect of Bangladesh will ever be acceptable to them. The people of Bangladesh has made supreme sacrifices to achieve freedom and if blood is the price of freedom the unarmed people of Bangladesh are paying it every hour.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭০। বাংলাদেশের পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রীর বিবৃতি	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, SEPTEMBER, 10, 1971*  
**ARMY MUST QUIT FIRST, SAYS BANGLA MINISTER**

New Delhi, Sept. 9 (PTI)-Mr. Khondkar Mushtaq Ahmed, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh has declared that any political settlement on accommodation with Pakistan must be preceded by the withdrawal of President Yahya - Khan's army from Bangladesh.

In a special AIR television interview recorded recently he said in the event of a negotiated settlement power had to be transferred to the elected representatives of the people.

"There is always room for negotiations, but independence of Bangladesh could not be bartered away for the sake of negotiated settlement." he declared.

The TV interview was screened tonight in a fortnightly programme "News perspective". The programme also covered an interview with the Bangladesh Mission chief in New Delhi. Mr. K. M. Shehabuddin, by Dr. Mohammed Ayoob, Associate Professor of Pakistani Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University.

In reply to a question Mr. Shehabuddin said no decision had been taken on sending a Bangladesh delegation to the ensuing UN General Assembly session. The leadership of Bangladesh was fighting simultaneously on diplomatic and military fronts he said. The appointment of Dr. A. M. Malik as civilian Governor of East Bengal was an "eyewash only to hoodwink the world public opinion." He called Dr. Malik a "Quisling."

Mr. Shehabuddin said economically Islamabad was shattered without any aid from the World Bank Consortium. "I am sure the world is aware of the Pakistani President's mischiefs."

Mr. Shehabuddin predicted that the reported divergence of opinion between the people's Party Chairman Mr. Z. A. Bhutto and President Yahya Khan will ultimately bring about the end of Pakistan." In his view, their clash was one between "two ambitions men."

He expressed his deep concern over the gruesome trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and urged upon all Heads of States and the UN Secretary-General to intervene to secure the unconditional release of the Sheikh and his family.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭১। আজ 'বাংলাদেশের ওপর আন্তর্জাতিক সম্মেলনের উদ্বোধন	টাইমস অফ ইন্ডিয়া	১৮ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*TIMES OF INDIA, SEPTEMBER 18, 1971*  
**WORLD MEET ON BANGLADESH OPENS TODAY**  
 By A Staff Reporter

New Delhi, September 17: A galaxy of statesmen, pacifists, social workers, academicians, lawyers and journalists will attend the international conference on Bangladesh opening here tomorrow.

The three-day conference organized by the Gandhi Peace Foundation is the first major international attempt to focus attention on the Bangladesh issue which has been hitting the headlines all over the world since March 25.

Although participants in the conference are eminent men enjoying a great deal of influence not only in their countries but also abroad their deliberations will not necessarily have the sanction of the Governments of their respective countries.

For instance, among the participants will be some from Arab countries which have maintained an icy silence over the issue although privately their official spokesmen have often expressed their sympathy for the Bangladesh freedom fighters.

Even India will not participate in the conference at the official level. But members of the Central Government, MP's, and other influential leaders of the Congress Party are expected to attend the conference in their private capacity.

In all about 50 foreign delegates including two women from 23 nationals and 100 others representation different organizations in India are expected to attend. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, Sarvodaya leader will preside.

Among the delegates from abroad will be Mr. Bayard Rustin, leader American Black Movement, Mr. Michael Harrington, Chairman Socialist Party, New York, Mr. Pavle Jevremovic, representative of the Yugoslav League for Peace. Mr. Daniel Mayer, President of the French League of Human Rights, Mr. John Dunham of Melbourne University, Mr. EI Waleed Ibrahim, a journalist from Sudan, Mr. Farid Siala of Libya, Dr. Mohammed Roem, former Foreign Minister of Indonesia, and Mr. Q. Herddad, Editor, "Afghan Millat," Kabul.

### Draft Agenda

Among important countries unofficially represented at the conference will be Japan, Malaysia, Nepal, Ceylon, Guyana. Nigeria, the U.A.R., the U.S.A., Australia, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Argentina, Canada, Belgium and the U.K.

The draft agenda of the conference includes a discussion on such issues as formation of an international brigade for fighting Pakistani troops in Bangladesh, the question of

offering military and economic aid to the Bangladesh Government and consideration of the need to convene a special session of the Human Rights Commission.

The conference will be inaugurated at Sapru House and will hold deliberations at India International Centre. Until late tonight, about 20 foreign delegates had arrived. Others are expected to reach here by early morning flights.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭২। ২৪ জাতি সম্মেলনের আহবান: মুজিবকে বিনা শর্তে মুক্তি দিন	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৯ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, SEPTEMBER 19, 1971*  
**RELEASE MUJIBUR UNCONDITIONALLY**  
**CALL BY 24-NATION CONFERENCE**  
**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BANGLADESH**

*From Our Special Representative*

New Delhi, Sept. 18. - Delegates from 24 nations attending the international conference on Bangladesh gave a unanimous call here today for unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman whom they described as the unquestioned leader of the people of Bangladesh.

The three-day conference which began its deliberations by observing two minutes' silence in memory of those killed in Bangladesh, appealed to people of the world and its governments to bring pressure on the military Government of Pakistan to desist from the grave violation of all canons and laws governing civil liberties and human freedom recognized in all civilized communities.

The resolution moved by the chairman of the conference Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, was adopted with the entire assembly standing to signify its unanimous support.

Mr. Narayan, in his address indicated "the world outside India, except Soviet Russia", for failing to condemn the rulers of Pakistan for their crimes. Urging that the conference unequivocally condemn these rulers he added that, "condemnation alone will not do however". As far as he was persuaded that the refugees would never return home until every Pakistani soldier had departed from Bangladesh and Bangladesh itself had become an independent sovereign country.

#### **Different Case**

He was aware he added, that his brief would immediately raise the specter, particularly in the minds of delegates from the Third World of disintegration of established nation-States. No sensible person would really want that he said, "but it would be wrong to generalize". The case of Bangladesh was different in important respects from all other cases that had occurred in recent history.

First, there is no other nation-State in the world like Pakistan the two parts of which are separated by over 1,000 miles not of sea-some 700 miles-as in the case of Malaysia, but of Indian territory. Secondly there is nothing in common between the eastern and western wings of Pakistan except religion. Thirdly, the eastern wing had the majority nearly 60%, of the total population of Pakistan. Fourthly, due to a number of circumstances political and economic power was always held by a small oligarchy of



West Pakistani military officers with the result that East Pakistan was reduced to the status of a colony.

Yet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had never thought of secession. In fact, the Sheikh is on record as saying that a majority never secedes from a minority. Accordingly, the platform on which he had fought the last general election did not go beyond the demand for full internal autonomy. His victory however, threw the rulers of Pakistan into a panic, because it meant two major changes in the balance of economic and political power within the State-power to pass over from the military-civil oligarchy to the people and shifting of the centre of power from the west to the east. The rest was recent history and Mr. Narayan wondered how anyone could blame the Bengalis for having proclaimed independence in the face of the unprecedented tyranny let loose by the West Pakistani Army.

The Bengalis he added, had no alternative after what the Pakistanis had done to them since the midnight of March 25-26, As a freedom fighter myself I have no hesitation in saying that I would have done the same had I been in their position. In fact, I doubt if any self-respecting person or people anywhere in the world would act differently in similar circumstances.

### **"Pakistan No More"**

Therefore Mr. Narayan added, it should be clearly understood that Pakistan as the world knew it was no more. Quoting Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed Prime Minister of Bangladesh, he said the country lay buried under a mountain of corpses.

While welcoming action on humanitarian and political levels Mr. Narayan commended to the delegates the formation of an armed international brigade like the one during the Spanish Civil War. In this connexion the reported offer of Mr. Andre Malraux who besides being a renowned author was also a guerrilla leader in the Spanish Civil War and a Maqui leader in France during World War II to come to the aid of Bengali guerrillas should be warmly welcomed and further explored.

Mr. Narayan also suggested that the conference consider "concrete proposals for governments of the world," or such of them as we can hope to influence in some manner for extending moral, political and material support to the Bangladesh Government and its war of liberation. What Bangladesh was fighting against was the "Hitlerian junta in power in Islamabad which is keeping in subjugation the people of West Pakistan no less than the people of Bangladesh," he said.

Ceylon's Mr. Gunawardene, who had represented his country in the U.N. for over a decade, said: "Recognition of Bangladesh would be the victory of morality, the victory of right", adds UNI.

He said Ceylonese were deeply moved by the tragedy of Bangladesh and did not view the happenings there as Pakistan's internal matter. The people of Bangladesh had exercised their right to self determination and it was the duty of the world community to ensure that they got their legitimate right.

Mr. Gunawardene, along with nearly all the other speakers called upon the U.N. to take effective measures for the freedom of Bangladesh and ensure that there was not a single soldier of the "occupation force" left in East Bengal and that their beloved leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was freed.

He said: "There can of course be no military solution to the problem and even for a political solution it is too late now. The only solution is recognition by the international community of Bangladesh."

### **"Dignity of Man"**

The former Nepal Prime Minister Mr. B. P. Koirala, warned "If the lights go out in Bangladesh many other lights in the rest of the world are sure to go out." The freedom fighters in Bangladesh were fighting not only for their freedom but also to uphold the "dignity of man".

Mr. Gani Fawehinmi, of the Nigerian Lawyers' Association, said "We will not allow the millions of people of Bengal to be crushed." He called upon the world community to ensure that bombs and guns did not succeed in crushing the aspirations of the people of Bangladesh who he said were victims of continued exploitation and were now demanding what was just.

The Vice-President of War on Want, Sir George Catlin (Britain), said the conference should press the U.N. to take effective measures to ensure that the democratic wishes of the people of Bangladesh were fulfilled and an end put to their unparalleled misery.

Prof. Tsuyoshi Nara (Japan), who had come to the conference despite a protest by the Pakistani Ambassador in Japan, called for steps to ensure that the Bangladesh problem did not erupt into a major Asian war aided by the World Powers.

Mr. Clovis Maksoud (Egypt), also speaking for Libya and the Sudan said the problem of Bangladesh must not be made a part of the Indo-Pakistan dispute.

In an impassioned speech he said the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was the concern of an humanity. Denying justice to the people of East Bengal meant perpetrating a racist policy.

Mr. Maksoud told the people of West Pakistan that the fight by the Bengalis for their dignity was the concern of the people of West Pakistan as well as the Third World and that the people of West Pakistan must realize that any denial of justice to the people of East Bengal would be continuation of racial colonialism.

He said, he had come to see for himself along with other representatives of the Arab world the real state of affairs. The Arabs were not as fully informed as they should be since they were deeply involved in the crises in their own homelands.

The World Federalists through their two representatives Mr. Neilson of Denmark and Mrs. Sigrid Hannisdahl of Norway, joined the delegates in expressing concern at the denial of the right to self determination to the people of East Bengal.

Mr. Hcrdad of the Afghan Millat of Kabul assured the Bengalis of the solidarity of the Afghan people with them. He said the Afghans fully supported the desire of the East Bengalis to shed the shackles of exploitation.

Dr. Homer A. Jack, general secretary of the World Conference of Religions for Peace, narrated incidents of unparalleled cruelty which he came to know during his stay in Bangladesh.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬৮। বাংলাদেশ এখন একটি আন্তর্জাতিক প্রশ্ন	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	২৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, SEPTEMBER 27, 1971*  
**BANGLADESH HAS BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE**  
 By Nitish Chakravarty

The recent international conference on Bangladesh in New Delhi has yielded no dramatic results. This is no index of its achievements or the lack of them. Indeed it would have been naive to expect spectacular results to flow from a gathering of men welded together by nothing other a commonly shared concern for Bangladesh. The main purpose of the conference was to stir the conscience of the world community. The extent to which it succeeds in this would determine its usefulness.

Not only have Governments across the world tended to be indifferent about the gruesome tragedy in Bangladesh even at non-official levels not enough has been done to ostracize the ruling junta at Islamabad. By bringing together men and women of various races in condemning the Pakistani atrocities, the conference has served a useful purpose. It has highlighted the fact that regardless of the indifference of their Governments, numerous individuals in many countries are deeply disturbed at the happenings in Bangladesh.

Expectations that the conference might produce results readily translatable into tangible action were aroused perhaps by the talk about all international brigade. The publication of a letter of the French author Mr. Andre Malraux, to a friend brought the probability of such a brigade into focus. Mr. Malraux, who has fought oppressors with arms in different parts of the world thinks it futile to expect that the Pakistani hordes can be repulsed with mere resolutions.

Even a pacifist like Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan is persuaded that armed help to the Mukti Bahini can alone help it liberate Bangladesh. In his presidential address to the conference he therefore threw up the suggestion for a brigade like the one which fought against the Spanish fascists in the 1930s. The suggestion found a quick echo in Mr. B. P. Koirala a former Nepalese Prime Minister and life-long fighter for democratic rule in his country.

It is not surprising that the idea did not evoke wider interest. One reason for it is that the possibility of raising an armed international brigade was never carefully processed during the preparatory stages of the conference. It is perhaps too much to expect men of divergent backgrounds to take a momentous decision like this after less than 72 hours deliberation.

The participants differed not only on the wisdom of raising an armed brigade there were some to whom resort to arms on any plea is totally indefensible. Worse still many antcipants are still opposed to the concept of a sovereign Bangladesh outside the

Pakistani fold. Each national group if not every individual differed on the solution of the Bangladesh crisis.

Such shortcomings are probably inherent in a conference organized at relatively short notice by a non-official preparatory committee which had little else than sparks of sympathy expressed by individuals to fall back upon in choosing the invitees. National bodies in defense of Bangladesh have not yet sprung up in many countries, hence the preparatory committee had to base its invitations on individual contacts. In the process chaff could not always be shifted from grain.

The cool attitude of the Government of India perhaps created some misgivings abroad about the character of the conference. These misgivings were accentuated by the virtual dissociation of the Congress (R) with it. If they suspicion that the conference might turn into an anti-Government forum was the reason the deliberations certainly did not confirm it. The anxiety of the Congress (R) and the CPI not to share a platform with the Jana Sangh even on an issue like Bangladesh will perhaps give a handle to India's enemies to twist facts. The Government of India however, did nothing to make things difficult for the organizers and in fact a Union Minister Mr. Shah Nawaz Khan occupied a rear seat at the inauguration ceremony.

The conference can perhaps lay little claim to distinction in term of the number of participants. About 60 persons from 23 countries travelled to New Delhi to attend it. But what it lacked in numbers was amply compensated by the high stature of some of the participants. The presence of sizable contingents from the United States and Britain was proof that the policies of the Nixon Administration or the Tory Government do not have the backing of the entire people.

In spite of their hesitation to involve themselves in what may turn out to be a second Vietnam many Americans have been deeply moved by the Bangladesh outrage. Both the American and British delegates would like their Governments to adopt a positive attitude so that the Islamabad clique mends its ways. The French delegation though not as large was unequivocal in pleading for all-out help to the Bangladesh people.

The conference attracted participants from all six continents but Asia was relatively poorly represented Barring India and Bangladesh participants came from only seven Asian nations. The most striking fact about many of the Asian delegations was their unqualified support to the Bangladesh cause. Quite expectedly a high level delegation from Nepal upheld Bangladesh's right to exist as a sovereign nation. The Ceylonese delegation was equally forth right in denouncing the Pakistani regime.

Even the Malaysian participants recognized the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation State. Somewhat different was the view of the two man team from Indonesia. A former Indonesian foreign Minister Dr. Mohammed Roem and an erstwhile leader of the Indonesian delegation at the U.N. Dr. Abou Hanifa thought Bangladesh a fit enough case for the United Nations to intervene. But they would not commit themselves on its right to exist as a sovereign nation.

Perhaps the most disappointing though not surprising was the stand taken by the participants from the Arab world. Few in number and perhaps of a representative

character the Arab participants described themselves as observers and not as delegates. Their principal spokesman Dr. Clovis Maksoud spoke with a good deal of vehemence against the negation of human rights and human dignity in Bangladesh but carefully kept away from saying anything that might be construed as support to the liberation movement. The Arabs suggested that any solution would have to be within the framework of Pakistan.

Despite the lack of unanimity on the solution of the Bangladesh issue the conference has succeeded in focusing world attention on the unparalleled tragedy. The condemnation by representatives from different countries of the genocide against the Bangladesh people cannot but stir the conscience of decent people everywhere. Whether this will spur stoically silent governments into action is a different matter.

The Pakistani ruling clique will obviously find no comfort in the fact that citizens of 24 countries have unanimously demanded the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman whom it has dubbed a traitor. Evidence of its uneasiness is provided by the attempt of Pakistani missions in different countries to pressurize people against participation in the New Delhi conference. The setting up of an international committee of friends of Bangladesh will strengthen the light for liberty. Though the process is slow and agonizing the building up of international opinion cannot but serve the cause of Bangladesh.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭৪। শরণ সিং কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধান দাবি	দি স্টেটসম্যান	২৮ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, SEPTEMBER 28, 1971*

**U.N. Debate Begins  
SWARAN SINGH DEMANDS POLITICAL SOLUTION  
OF BANGLADESH PROBLEM**

U.N. H.Q., Sept. 27-India's Minister for External Affairs Mr. Swaran Singh today called upon the U. N and other international organs "to impress upon the military regime of Islamabad that force will not succeed and that a political settlement between the military regime and the already elected members is essential", reports PTI "we consider it wholly short sighted to wait until worse crises have arisen" he said.

"Bilaterally all Governments can do their utmost to ensure to them that the military regime stops its repression and enter into negotiations with the elected leaders to achieve a political settlement with their consent and sends the Army back to the barracks". Mr. Singh said that only by these measures would the flow of refugees be stopped and those already in India could return homes.

Mr. Swaran Singh was speaking in the general debate which open in the U.N. Assembly today India was the second speaker in the debate which is expected to continue for several days. Brazil was the first participant. Pakistan is expected to speak in early October.

In a comprehensive speech in which he covered important world issues including U. N. membership to China, Vietnam, Middle East, disarmament and world economic crisis. Mr. Singh dealt with the problem of Bangladesh and the reign of terror still prevailing there.

He conveyed India's felicitations to the new General Assembly President Mr. Adam Malik and also to the previous President Ambassador Edward Hambro of Norway.

On Chinese membership Mr. Singh affirmed India's view that there was only one China. He expressed the hope that this issue would be settled during the current session. "There is one Chinese seat and the Government of the People's Republic of China is entitled to occupy in the U. N." he said. "We have always been convinced that the presence of the People's Republic of China will make this organisation more effective." Mr. Singh said: "Too long we have postponed a realistic decision on this issue, let us not procrastinate any further."

On Vietnam Mr. Swaran Singh regretted that there had been resumption of bombing in parts of North Vietnam. He hoped that through negotiations in Paris and elsewhere "the agony in Vietnam will be put to an end without further delay that American and other foreign troops will finally be withdrawn by a definite date and the people of Vietnam will be allowed to settle their own future in accordance with their own wishes

without any outside interference". He said the seven-point proposal made in Paris appeared to provide a reasonable basis for a negotiated settlement.

On the Middle East Mr. Swaran Singh regretted that the ceasefire accepted as a temporary measure to help the parties negotiate a settlement through the U.N. Ambassador Mr. Gunnar Jarring had tended to freeze the situation in favor of the aggressor.

Mr. Singh devote the bulk of his speech to the Bangladesh problem tracing the events in Bangladesh including the outcome of elections.

### **6- Point Programme**

Mr. Swaran Singh recalled the six-point programme, which envisaged a greater degree of autonomy for East Bengal with a view to putting an end to discrimination and exploitation. "Apparently the results of the elections so startled the rulers of Pakistan that they saw in them the risk to their economic, military and political domination over the east wing. This explains their swift action and their desire to continue the military rule".

Mr. Singh said that what the Army did in East Bengal and was continuing to do in its massive assault on the civilian population was well known. A reign of terror prevailed and is still prevailing.

Killing, burning, raping and looting had become widespread and the inevitable consequences followed. People fled from terror and violence to India leaving behind all that they had. "Their number exceeds nine million and the exodus still continues. This is an exodus of refugees unprecedented in human history across any international frontiers."

Mr. Swaran Singh said. "Apart from accusing others for their own most unwise and deadly activities the rulers of Pakistan have taken a number of measures which are no more than an eye wash. How unrealistic these measures are can be judged from the impact that these had on the flow of refugees. The President of Pakistan has from time to time called upon the refugees to go back, yet the flow continues in ever increasing numbers into India".

### **Civilian Set-Up**

Mr. Swaran Singh said, "A so called civilian Government has been formed in East Pakistan which consists of men who have no representative character whatsoever and who are mere figure-heads obliged to take orders from their military commanders. An amnesty is proclaimed but Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other elected representatives are at the same time treated and tried as traitors. We witness the strange spectacle that the party which would have been by right formed the Government of Pakistan has been banned and disqualified from political activities. Half the elected representatives have been disqualified from sitting in the National Assembly. In our view the flow of refugees will not stop nor the refugees already in India go back until a political solution acceptable to the elected representative" of the people have been found.

Mr. Swaran Singh said, "The Secretary General, U Thant and many other distinguished statesmen politicians and leaders of public opinion have consistently



maintained that the problem is essentially political."

He said that as the first step towards a political solution Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should be set up liberty without delay and negotiations started with him.

Mr. Swaran Singh continued, "Apart from these actions which the Pakistanis themselves can take what can the international community do in these circumstances? The first and foremost action which this Assembly and all other international organs within or without the U.N. can do is to impress upon the military regime of Islamabad that force will not succeed and therefore, a political settlement between the military regime and the elected leaders is essential. We consider it as wholly shortsighted to wait until worse crises have arisen".

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭৫। বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে সোভিয়েত মনোভাবে মুজিব নগরে আশার সঞ্চার	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, OCTOBERS, 1971*

### **SOVIET ATTITUDE STIMULATES OPTIMISM AT MUJIBNAGAR**

Mujibnagar. October, 4. The Moscow talks between the Indian Prime Minister and the Soviet leaders have stimulated a sense of cautious optimism both in the Government and political circles here regarding the Soviet attitude towards the Bangladesh question.

The basis for this optimism appears to be the Indo-Soviet joint statement issued at the end of discussions and a note prepared on the subject by the Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Mr. M. Alam after his talks with the Indian Foreign Secretary Mr. T.N. Kaul and other officials in New Delhi.

The Bangladesh Government is convinced that the Indo-Soviet joint statement reflects a deep understanding of the Bangladesh issue in the Kremlin.

In the opinion of the Bangladesh Government the Soviet Union by suggesting a political solution that will take into account "the wishes, the inalienable rights and lawful interests of the people of East Bengal" has come closer to acknowledging independence for Bangladesh as an essential condition. The Bangladesh Government has made it clear that the people will not accept any solution other than complete independence for Bangladesh. It therefore follows that the three basic principles spelt out in the Indo-Soviet statement for a political settlement must necessarily confirm to this essential demand of the people.

The views of Bangladesh on this point are very clear. The elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh have decided not to rest till full freedom for Bangladesh has been achieved. And the decision is irrevocable. So there is no room for any speculations about political settlement of the issue. The Bangladesh Cabinet which met here on Saturday to study the implications of the Moscow talks between the Indian Prime Minister and the Soviet leaders on the war of liberation concluded that necessary emphasis had been given on the question of "the return of the refugees to their homes with honor and dignity".

The Cabinet however feels that the evacuees can be persuaded to return only when Bangladesh becomes fully independent.

A Cabinet communiqué issued at the end of discussions however made it quite clear that the liberation war in Bangladesh would not be slackened whatever the outcome of diplomatic exercises went. "Total independence is our goal" the Communiqué said.

In this context, the communiqué pointed out that the Bangladesh Government was not prepared even to consider any proposal for settlement that did not ensure complete independence for Bangladesh. This point was specifically highlighted in the communiqué to restrain the countries and the Governments who might be considering alternative proposals for settlement.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭৬। ভারত চুক্তির প্রতি অকুষ্ঠ সমর্থনঃ চ্যবনের প্রস্তাবে সভায় ঐকমত্য	আনন্দ বাজার পত্রিকা	৯ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

### ভারত-রুশ চুক্তির প্রতি অকুষ্ঠ সমর্থন চ্যবনের প্রস্তাবে সভায় ঐকমত্য

কৈলাশনগর, সিমলা, ৮ই অক্টোবর (পি টি আই)- আজ বিকেলে নিখিল ভারত কংগ্রেস (শা) কমিটির উদ্বোধনী অধিবেশনে ভারত-রুশ চুক্তির সমর্থনসূচক প্রস্তাবটি সর্বসম্মত ভোটে গৃহীত হয়েছে।

তিন ঘণ্টাব্যাপী এই বিতর্কে প্রস্তাব উত্থাপক শ্রী যশোবন্তরাও চ্যবনের ভাষণের পর সমস্ত সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব প্রত্যাহার করা হয়। শ্রী চ্যবন বলেন, সংশোধনী প্রস্তাবে বড় রকমের কোন হেরফেরের কথা ছিল না; সদস্যরা বিপুলভাবে মূল প্রস্তাবের প্রতি সমর্থন জানান।

উদ্বোধনী অধিবেশনে ভারত-রুশ চুক্তির সমর্থনসূচক প্রস্তাব পেশ করার সময় অর্থমন্ত্রী শ্রী যশোবন্তরাও চ্যবন বলেন, এই চুক্তি হল দুই সার্বভৌম, সমান ও বন্ধু রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে চুক্তির দ্বারা বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে ভারতের স্বাধীন নীতি অনুসরণের পথে কোন বাধার সৃষ্টি হবে না।

শ্রী চ্যবন বলেন, এ চুক্তি কোন দেশের বিরুদ্ধে নয়; তবে ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে যে দেশ কোন অভিসন্ধি পোষণ করে তার এত ভয়ের কারণ আছে।

এই চুক্তি দ্বারা এও প্রমাণ হয়েছে যে, ভারত মিত্রবাহিনী নয়।

চুক্তির যে অনুচ্ছেদে আছে, ‘কোন তৃতীয় রাষ্ট্র দ্বারা চুক্তিবদ্ধ পক্ষদ্বয়ের একের নিরাপত্তা বিঘ্নিত হবার আশঙ্কা দেখা দিলে উভয়েই তার মোকাবিলায় এগিয়ে যাবে,’ শ্রী চ্যবন সেইটি পাঠ করে শোনান। এই চুক্তিকে শ্রী চ্যবন ভারত-রুশ সম্পর্কের ইতিহাসে ‘এক যুগান্তকারী’ ঘটনা বলে আখ্যা দেন। তিনি বলেন, এটা কোন আকস্মিক ঘটনা নয়, পরন্তু দুই রাষ্ট্রের দীর্ঘ সম্পর্ক ও ক্রমবর্ধমান বন্ধুত্বেরই চূড়ান্ত ফল। রাষ্ট্রদ্বয় বিভিন্ন রাজনৈতিক পদ্ধতির অনুসারী হলেও বিশ্বশান্তি, স্বাধীনতা এবং নব জাগ্রত রাষ্ট্রগুলির আর্থিক প্রগতির প্রশ্নে ভারত ও রাশিয়ার লক্ষ্য এক এবং অভিন্ন।

শ্রী চ্যবন বলেন, সমগ্র দেশ এই চুক্তিকে অভিনন্দন জানিয়েছে, সংসদে বিপুল সংখ্যক সদস্য সমর্থন জানিয়েছেন। কিছু লোক এই চুক্তির বিরূপ সমালোচনা ও করেছেন। তবে এসব ব্যক্তি সরকারের সমস্ত প্রচেষ্টারই সমালোচনা করতে অভ্যস্ত। বিদেশেও দু-একটি ছাড়া (এরা হয়ত ভারতের প্রতি বৈরীভাবাপন্ন) প্রধান প্রধান রাষ্ট্র সমেত সবাই এই চুক্তিকে স্বাগত জানিয়েছে। সর্বশেষ সংবাদ অনুযায়ী চীনও এই চুক্তি ‘কল্যাণকর’ দিক অনুধাবন করতে রাজি বলে শ্রী চ্যবন উল্লেখ করেন।

অর্থমন্ত্রী বলেন, এ চুক্তি কেবল ভারতের সুবিধার জন্যই নয়, এতে অন্য দেশের অধিবাসীরাও উপকৃত হবেন। ভারতের মত রাশিয়ার জনগণও এই চুক্তিকে বিপুল ভাবে স্বাগত জানিয়েছেন। তিনি বলেন, এই চুক্তির ফলে ভারতের গোষ্ঠীনিরপেক্ষ নীতির কোনই তারতম্য হবে না। অথচ বিরূপ সমালোচকরা বলেছেন এই চুক্তি ভারতের গোষ্ঠী-নিরপেক্ষ পররাষ্ট্র নীতির অবসান ঘটাবে।

ঐতিহ্য অনুসারে বন্দেমাতরম সঙ্গীত সহযোগে আজ বিকেলে নিখিল ভার কংগ্রেস (শা) কমিটির তিনদিনব্যাপী অধিবেশনের উদ্বোধন হয়।

সুসজ্জিত মঞ্চের ওপর কংগ্রেস সভাপতি শ্রী ডি সঞ্জীবায়া, প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী, শ্রী গজীবন রাম, উমাশঙ্কর দীক্ষিত, যশোবন্তরাও চ্যাবন, ব্রহ্মনান্দ রেড্ডি এবং মোহনলাল সুখাড্রিয়া সমেত ওয়ার্কিং কমিটির সদস্যরা উপবিষ্ট ছিলেন।

মঞ্চের পিছন দিকের প্রাচীরে পুষ্পশোভিত মহাত্মা গান্ধীর ছবির দুপাশে দুই প্রাক্তন নেতা পরলোকগত প্রধানমন্ত্রী জওহরলাল নেহরু ও লালবাহাদুর শাস্ত্রীর ছবি রাখা হয়।

সাগরতল থেকে ছ হাজার ফুট উঁচুতে সবুজ বনানীতে ঘেরা এই পার্বত্য অধিত্যকায় প্রায় দু হাজার দর্শকের উপযোগী প্যাভিল অধিবেশনের উদ্বোধনকালে পরিপূর্ণ ছিল। বহু দর্শক বহুক্ষণ দাড়িয়ে অধিবেশনের গতিপ্রগতি স্থির মনোযোগে লক্ষ্য করেন।

বালিকার দল জাতীয় সঙ্গীত গাওয়ার জন্য মাইকের সামনে আসার সময়ও একদল সাধারণ ও ম্যুভিক্যামেরাম্যান মঞ্চ সভাপতি, প্রধানমন্ত্রী প্রমুখের চবি নিতে থাকেন।

উদ্বোধনী সঙ্গীতের পর একটি দল চিরাচরিত পোষাক পরা হিমাচল প্রদেশের একদল যুবক ও যুবতী এই রাজ্যের সুখসৌন্দর্য বর্ণনাগীতি গেয়ে শোনান।

স্মৃতির প্রতি শ্রদ্ধা,

ইউ এন আই জানাচ্ছেন, অধিবেশনের শুরুতে পরলোকগত স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামী ডঃ সৈয়দ মাহমুদ ও বিনোদানন্দ ঝার উদ্দেশ্যে শোক প্রকাশ করা হয়।

সাধারণ সচিব ডঃ শঙ্করদয়াল শর্মা শোক প্রস্তাব আনার পর প্রতিনিধিরা দু মিনিট শোকস্তব্ধতা পালন করেন।

পরলোকগত সাহিত্যিক তারাশঙ্কর বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় এবং বিহারের কংগ্রেস নেতা এম পি সিংহের স্মৃতির প্রতিও শ্রদ্ধা জানান হয়।

সভাপতির ভাষণ,

অধিবেশনের উদ্বোধন করে সভাপতি শ্রী সঞ্জীবায়াও ভারত-রুশ চুক্তির কথা উল্লেখ করেন। তিনি বলেন, এই চুক্তি সত্ত্বেও আমরা আমাদের গোষ্ঠী নিরপেক্ষ পররাষ্ট্র নীতি অনুসরণ করে যাব। আমরা অন্যান্য রাষ্ট্রের সঙ্গেও এই ধরনের চুক্তিতে আবদ্ধ হতে চাই শ্রীমতি গান্ধী যে গত মাসে নানা কাজে ব্যস্ত থাকা সত্ত্বেও রাশিয়া সফর করতে পেরেছেন তাতে সুফল ফলেছে। বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে রুশ প্রধানমন্ত্রী দ্ব্যর্থহীন ভাষায় রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের দাবী ঘোষণা করেছেন। বর্তমানে ভারত ও রাশিয়ার মধ্যে খুব ঘনিষ্ঠ প্রীতির সম্পর্ক গড়ে উঠেছে। দেশের সমস্যা সম্পর্কে শ্রী সঞ্জীবায়া বলেন, বন্যা নিরোধের জন্য সরকারকে স্থায়ী ব্যবস্থা নিতে হবে। জনগণের সমস্যার প্রতি কেন্দ্র ও রাজ্য সরকারকে সজাগ করার দায়িত্ব নেবার জন্য তিনি কংগ্রেস কর্মীদের প্রতি আহবান জানান।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭৭। ইয়াহিয়ার শিখড়িরা পূর্ব বাংলার নির্বাচন সম্পর্কে নিশ্চিত নয়	পেট্রিয়ট	৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*PATRIOT, OCTOBER 11, 1971*

### **YAHYA PUPPETS IN EAST UNSURE OF POLL**

Having announced a plan for transfer of power General Yahya Khan is now sitting on it. He has said that elections for the 79 seats of the National Assembly from East Bengal would be held in the first week of December.

The reason given for this gap of two months between the filing of nomination papers and the holding of the elections is the need to prepare new electoral rolls. Mr. Bhutto has already complained that under the pretext of preparing new electoral rolls, "progressive and patriotic elements may be eliminated from the voters' lists." In any case, the lists are only of an academic interest.

The junta is certain to make sure that only its stooges are declared "elected". Any talk about the mechanics of election or ensuring their fairness or freedom sounds factions under the present circumstances. Not even a stooge party like the Jamat-e-Islami thinks that fair and free elections would or could be held.

### **Impossible**

To quote Professor Ghulam Azam, chief of the Jamat-e Islami in East Bengal the conditions are such that electioneering or any other political activity would be impossible in the next six months or so.

Apparently the regime appears to be fully aware of this difficulty. Hence the puppet Governor Dr. A. M. Malik has been quoted as having said that "the Government will do everything possible to complete the process of elections according to the schedule. But knowing the present circumstances no one can say with certainty that they can be held according to the time-table."

There is also another snag which has been noticed by political observers. This is implied in the talk that very soon many more by-elections in Bangladesh may be necessitated. Reports appearing in papers like the Pakistan Times, Lahore, and the Pakistan Observer, Dacca, have noted that very few among the 88 members of the National Assembly who have been cleared by the Government are willing to come and declare their loyalty to the regime.

According to a columnist of the Pakistan Times, this would necessitate "fresh elections almost in the whole of East Bengal". The official machinery has, however, fixed dates for the by-elections only for the 79 seats which have already been declared vacant. This means that the process of electioneering would be stretched to February or March next year.

General Yahya Khan has already declared that unless the elections are completed, the

National Assembly would not meet and the question of transfer of power would not arise....

Pakistani newspapers have quoted Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan as having said that this sympathy and support for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has been the main cause of the continuing trouble in East Bengal. According to him if there had been a concerted attempt to quell the trouble in East Bengal the situation would have become normal by now.

### **Stooge Complains**

"But due to powerful elements working almost in every sphere of life, attempts to crush the anti-national forces in Bangladesh have not been successful so far."

An East Bengali stooge of the regime Maulvi Farid Ahmed, has gone a step further. He has complained that "powerful elements in West Pakistan were helping the Awami League revolt in East Bengal. Maulvi Farid Ahmed who has been installed by the military regime as the President of the Pakistan Council for Peace and Welfare has been quoted by pro-military newspapers like the Imroze of Lahore and the Jung of Karachi as having said that severe trouble was also likely to break out in West Pakistan on the pattern of what had happened in East Pakistan.

Maulvi Farid Ahmed who also heads the Nizam-E-Islam Party in East Bengal claimed that even the Government was in possession of authentic data about the way some of the very powerful elements in West Pakistan are continuing to help the Awami League financially, materially and morally. The Government had not taken any steps against them only because of the fear that the situation might worsen with such an action he disclosed.

Talking about the situation in Bangladesh, Maulvi Farid Ahmed said that the conditions continue to be far from normal. Attacks by anti-national elements under the influence of the Awami League have increased. In spite of the heroic work done by the army pro-Pakistani elements have to face danger to life and property at every step.

Maulvi Farid Ahmed also said that during the last few months hundreds of pro-Pakistani "patriots" had to lose their lives at the hands of the Awami League guerillas.

Maulvi Farid Ahmed's statement assumes significance because of two reasons. Firstly, it discloses the great sympathy for the Bangladesh cause West Pakistan. This also gives the lie to the claim of the regime that the trouble in Bangladesh was due barely to the help "the miscreants".

Secondly, Maulvi Farid Ahmed has categorically admitted that the resistance movement in East Bengal was growing much stronger and the freedom-fighters has made hundreds of collaborators of the regime the targets of their wrath.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭৮। রাশিয়া-আলজিরিয়া ও বাংলাদেশ (সম্পাদকীয়)	আনন্দ বাজার পত্রিকা	১৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

সম্পাদকীয়

## রাশিয়া-আলজিরিয়া ও বাংলাদেশ

প্রচলিত প্রবাদ-যখন রোমে থাকিবে তখন রোমানদের মত আচরণ করিবে। সোভিয়েট প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রী কোসিগিনও কি অবশেষে সেই পরামর্শ গ্রহণ করিলেন? আলজিরিয়া সফরের পর প্রেসিডেন্ট বুমেদিনের সঙ্গে তাঁহার যে যৌথ বিবৃতি প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে তাহা পড়িয়া সকলে হতবাক। এমন কি মস্কোর বেসরকারী মুখেও নাকি বিস্ময়ের চিহ্ন। যুক্তবিবৃতিতে বিশ্বরূপ দর্শন উপলক্ষে বাংলাদেশও উল্লিখিত। তবে “বাংলাদেশ” হিসাবে নয়। সেখানকার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের ন্যায্য লড়াই কিংবা ভারতে আগত নববই লক্ষ শরণার্থীর কথাও অনুল্লিখিত। বিবৃতির বয়ান অনুযায়ী বাংলাদেশ কার্যত ভারত আর পাকিস্তানের ব্যাপার! দুই রাষ্ট্রনেতার পরামর্শ- ভারত পাকিস্তানের উচিত তাসখন্দ আদর্শে অনুপ্রাণিত হইয়া সমস্যার ফয়সালা করিয়া লওয়া। স্বাক্ষরকারীরা এমন কি “রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের” প্রয়োজনীয়তার কথাও উল্লেখ করা দরকার মনে করেন নাই। মাত্র কয় সপ্তাহ আগে প্রচারিত শ্রীমতি গান্ধী ও কোসিগিনের যুক্তবিবৃতি “প্রাভদার” ত্রুদ্ব লেখালেখি, সমগ্র রাশিয়া-ব্যাপী গণ-আন্দোলন-এ সবার তবে অর্থ কি? সবই কি মায়া? কয় দিন আগে প্যারিসে অনুষ্ঠিত আন্তঃসংসদীয় সম্মেলনে রুশপ্রতিনিধি নাকি অপ্রত্যাশিতভাবে সম্পূর্ণ বেসুরো গাহিয়াছিলেন। সিমলায় শ্রীচরন ঘোষণা করিয়াছেন-এসব অপপ্রচার। রুশ-ভারত যুক্ত বিবৃতির পর অবাস্তব কথায় কান না দেওয়াই ভাল। আলজিয়ার্স হইতে প্রচারিত বিবৃতিতে যিনি সহি করিয়াছেন তিনি কোনও সাধারণ রুশ-প্রতিনিধি নহে স্বয়ং কোসিগিন। এক দলিলে স্বাক্ষরের কালি শুকাইতে না-শুকাইতে সম্পূর্ণ অন্য ধরনের ঘোষণাপত্রে একই হাতে আবার স্বাক্ষর, ব্যাপারটা একটু বেসদৃশ বইকি। মস্কোস্থ ভারতীয় দূত নাকি এই রহস্যর কিনারা করার কাজে লাগিয়াছেন।

আলজিরিয়া বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে উদাসীন হইলে আমাদের কিছু বলার নাই। এমনকি বুমেদিনের সমাজতন্ত্রী সরকার পাকিস্তানের জঙ্গীশাহীর প্রতি দূর্বলতা দেখাইলেও সেটা আজ আর কাহারও কাছে বিস্ময়কর ঠেকে না। সত্য, আলজিরিয়ার মুক্তিযুদ্ধের অভিজ্ঞতা আছে, এবং একথাও সর্বজনবিদিত সেই লড়াইয়ে ভারত ছিল আগাগোড়া আন্তরিক সমর্থক। কিন্তু তাহাতে বিশেষ কিছু আসে যায় না আলজিরিয়া সমেত অন্যান্য আরব রাষ্ট্রের মতিগতি ইতিমধ্যেই বোধ হয় তাহা জানাইয়া দিয়াছে। সনাতনপন্থী গোঁড়া ঐশ্বর্যমিক ভ্রাতৃত্বে বিশ্বাসী রাষ্ট্রগুলির কথা বাদই দেওয়া যাক। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে পাকিস্তানের পক্ষে সওয়ালকারী যদি মরক্কো, প্যারিস সম্মেলনে তবে-টিউনিসিয়া। পাকিস্তানের প্রতি সৌদি আরব বা ইরানের ভালবাসা আরও গভীর। কিন্তু অন্যদিকে তথাকথিত প্রগতিশীল আরব রাষ্ট্রগুলিই বা কোন ভূমিকায়? উদ্বাস্ত সমস্যা সম্পর্কে তাঁহারা ওয়াকিবহাল, প্যালেস্টাইনের শরণার্থীরা এখনও নানা দেশের শিরঃপীড়া। তা সত্ত্বেও বাংলাদেশের প্রতি সহানুভূতিশীল বলিয়া বর্ণিত রাষ্ট্রগুলিও যে এখনও মৌন অথবা নিস্পৃহ তাহার পিছনে একাধিক কারণ থাকা সম্ভব। সমাজতন্ত্রী অথবা রাজতন্ত্রী, কোন মুসলিম রাষ্ট্রই নাকি চায় না বিশ্বের বৃহত্তম মুসলিম রাষ্ট্র পাকিস্তান রাজতন্ত্রী, কোন মুসলিম রাষ্ট্রই নাকি চায় না বিশ্বের বৃহত্তম মুসলিম রাষ্ট্র পাকিস্তান দ্বিখন্ডিত হোক, এবং তাহার ফলে একটি “অমুসলিম রাষ্ট্র” ভারতের কোনও রাজনৈতিক সুবিধা হোক। দ্বিতীয়ত, গণতন্ত্র, একনায়কতন্ত্র ইত্যাদির মধ্যে যে বিপুল ফারাক বর্তমান, আরব দুনিয়ার রাজনৈতিক ঐতিহ্যের পটভূমিতে সেটা এখনও সকলের কাছে যথেষ্ট স্পষ্ট নয়। তৃতীয়ত, অনেকেরই চোখের সামনে বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদীদের সমস্যা রহিয়াছে, ফলে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযুদ্ধ তাঁদের কাহারও কাহারও চোখে সে চেহারা লইয়াই ফুটিয়া উঠিয়াছে। চতুর্থত, বাংলাদেশ বহু দূর! সুতরাং বুমেদিন বা কোনও আরব নেতা যদি একটি ঐতিহাসিক স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে অন্যভাবে গ্রহণ করতে চাহেন তবে আমাদের বলার

কিছু নাই। কিন্তু রাশিয়ার পক্ষে, তাঁহার অভিমতে সায় দেওয়া সম্ভব হইল কী করিয়া? বিশেষত, শ্রীমতী গান্ধীর মস্কো সফরের পরে। মস্কো দলিলে কিন্তু “রাজনৈতিক মীমাংসা”, শরণার্থী সমস্যা সবই উল্লিখিত আলোচিত।

হইতে পারে রুশ প্রধানমন্ত্রী আলজিরিয়ার চাপে এই বিবৃতিতে সম্মত হইয়াছেন। হইতে পারে আফ্রিকার ওই খন্ডে বাংলাদেশের স্বার্থ রক্ষার চেয়ে অন্য স্বার্থ তাঁহার কাছে মূল্যবান ঠেকিয়াছে। কিন্তু এ ধরনের কূটনীতি নীতি হিসাবে কি শ্রেয়? এখন টীকাভাষ্যযোগে হয়তো প্রমাণ করা হইবে-ভারত-রুশ চুক্তি বা ইন্দিরা-কোসিগিন যুক্তবিবৃতির ধারাবাহিকতা ইহাতে ক্ষুণ্ণ হয় নাই, এই উপমহাদেশকে যুদ্ধের বিপদ হইতে মুক্ত রাখিবার জন্যই দুই বন্ধু রাষ্ট্র কোদালকে কোদাল না বলিয়া অন্য কথা পাড়িয়াছেন। তাহাতে রুশ-ভারত বন্ধুত্বে প্রশ্নবোধক চিহ্নটি হয়তো লুপ্ত হইবে, কিন্তু ইত্যবসরে ইয়াহিয়া খানের যে বিস্তার সুবিধা হইয়া গেল তাহাতে সন্দেহ না-রাখাই ভাল। শোনা যাইতেছে, তিনি মুজিবুর রহমানের বিচার প্রহসন মিটাইয়া আনিয়াছেন। তিনিই আইন প্রণেতা, তিনিই বিচারক। তা ছাড়া আগেভাগেই তিনি জানাইয়া রাখিয়াছেন-মুজিবুর দেশদ্রোহী এবং মৃত্যুদণ্ডই তাঁহার প্রাপ্য। ইয়াহিয়া হয়তো এই মুহূর্তে সে দণ্ড মিটাইয়া দিবেন না, আপাতত করুণাময়ের ভূমিকা গ্রহণ করিবেন। তাঁহার এবং জনাব ভুট্টোর চালচলন ইঙ্গিতে বলিতেছে পাকিস্তান বাংলাদেশকে হাতে রাখিবার জন্য চূড়ান্ত চেষ্টা চালাইবে। সে-কাজে তাঁহাদের সমর্থক প্রয়োজন। খানসাহেব নাকি প্রেসিডেন্ট নিব্বনের কাছে গোপনে চিঠি লিখিয়াছেন। আলজিয়ার্স বিবৃতির পর এবার তিনি ইচ্ছা করিলে প্রকাশ্যেই রুশ প্রধানমন্ত্রীকেও চিঠি লিখিতে পারেন। কেননা, ওই বিবৃতিতে পাকিস্তানের অখণ্ডতা রক্ষার জন্যও উদ্বিগ্ন প্রকাশ করা হইয়াছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭৯। স্বীকৃতির দাবীতে চাই ঐক্যবদ্ধ আন্দোলন (সম্পাদকীয়)	বাংলাদেশ	১৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

(সম্পাদকীয়)

### স্বীকৃতির দাবীতে চাই ঐক্যবদ্ধ আন্দোলন

বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতির পরিবর্তে শাসক কংগ্রেসের নেতারা তথাকথিত রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের দিকে ঝুঁকিতেছেন, এ সংবাদ আমরাই বাংলাদেশে প্রথম প্রকাশ করিয়াছিলাম। কিন্তু এক্ষণে সিমলায় নব কংগ্রেসের সদ্য অনুষ্ঠিত অধিবেশনে বর্হিবিষয়কমন্ত্রী শ্রী শরণ সিং যে বিবৃতি দিয়াছেন তাকে এককথায় বলা যায় বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি-সংগ্রামের প্রতি বেঈমানী। আজকের পরিস্থিতিতে পাকিস্তানের কাঠামোর মধ্যেই বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার মীমাংসার কথা উচ্চারণ করাটাই অন্যায় এবং পাপ। যে পাকিস্তান বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের বিরুদ্ধে ইতিহাসের জঘন্যতম গণহত্যার অভিযান শুরু করিয়াছে এবং এক্ষণে যে পাকিস্তানী শাসকচক্র সীমান্তে সৈন্য সমাবেশ ও সীমান্ত আক্রমণের প্ররোচনার দ্বারা ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে সর্বাঙ্গিক যুদ্ধের হুকুম দিতেছে, সেই বর্বর পাকিস্তানের হিংস্র নেকড়েদের হাতে বাংলাদেশের ভাগ্যকে সঁপিয়া দেওয়ার কথা আজ চিন্তাও করা যায় না। তাই আজ ইয়াহিয়ার ফ্যাসিস্ট শাসন ও শোষণের বিরুদ্ধে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তির সংগ্রামকে সব রকমের সাহায্য এবং সহযোগিতার দ্বারা সফল করিয়া তোলাই প্রতিটি ভারতবাসীর একমাত্র পবিত্র কর্তব্য। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি-সংগ্রামে ভারতীয় জনগণের এই ইচ্ছা এবং আকাঙ্ক্ষাকে ভারত সরকার বাস্তবক্ষেত্রে কার্যকরী রূপদান করিবেন, এইটাই সকলে প্রত্যাশা করে। তাছাড়া লোকসভা থেকে শুরু করিয়া পশ্চিমবঙ্গের ভেঙ্গে দেওয়া বিধানসভাতেও বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামের প্রতি সর্বাঙ্গিক সাহায্যদানের জন্য দলমত নির্বিশেষে যে কনসেনসাস বা ঐকমত্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত হইয়াছে, ভারত সরকার এখনও জনমতের সেই ঐতিহাসিক অভিব্যক্তিকে কেন এবং কার স্বার্থে রূপায়িত করিতেছেন না, চারিদিকে আজ এই প্রশ্নই আলোচিত এবং আলোড়িত হইতেছে। দেখিয়া শুনিয়া অনেকের মনে হইবে, ভারত সরকার যেন তার আগের অবস্থান থেকে অনেকটা পিছাইয়া আসিয়াছে এবং বাংলাদেশ সমস্যা মানেই হইতেছে উদ্বাস্ত সমস্যা এবং এই উদ্বাস্তর বোঝা ভারতবর্ষের ঘাড় থেকে নামিয়া গেলেই নাকি সব ল্যাঠা চুকিয়া যাইবে, প্রধানমন্ত্রী তো এমন কথা খোলাখুলিই বলিতেছেন। অবশ্য এ ব্যাপারে বৃহৎ শক্তিগুলির মনোভাবও অত্যন্ত সুবিধাবাদী এবং তাঁরা প্রায় প্রত্যেকেই যে যার নিজের স্বার্থকেই বড় করিয়া দেখিতেছেন। বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের গণতান্ত্রিক এবং মানবিক অধিকারের প্রশ্নটা তাঁদের কাছে গৌণ।

তাছাড়া যেসব দেশ বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি-সংগ্রামকে সহানুভূতির দৃষ্টিতে দেখিতেছেন তাঁরাও অনেকেই পার্শ্ববর্তী দেশ ভারতবর্ষ কি করে তাই লক্ষ্য করিতেছেন। কারণ ভারত যেখানে এই ব্যাপারে প্রত্যক্ষ শিকার, অর্থাৎ যখন ভারতে প্রায় এক কোটি উদ্বাস্তর বোঝা আসিয়া পড়িয়াছে তখন ভারতই সর্বপ্রথম বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামকে স্বীকৃতি দিবে ইহাই তো স্বাভাবিক। তাই ভারতকে স্বীকৃতি দিতে ইতস্তত করিতে দেখিয়া অন্যান্য সহানুভূতিশীল দেশগুলিও একটু থমকাইয়া দাঁড়াইয়াছেন এবং হয়ত ভাবিতেছেন, তা হইলে ব্যাপারটা কি? ভারত নিজেই গাড়িমসি করিতেছেন কেন?

স্বয়ং শ্রী শরণ সিং সর্বশেষ যে বক্তৃতা দিয়াছেন এবং নব কংগ্রেস নেতারা ক্রমেই বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে যেভাবে ডিগবাজী খাইতেছেন, তাতে আমাদেরও সন্দেহ হইতেছে যে, শেষ পর্যন্ত ভারত সরকারের ভূমিকা এ-ব্যাপারে হয়ত চূড়ান্ত বিশ্বাসঘাতকতায় পর্যবসিত হইবে। বিশেষ পূর্ব বাংলায় মুক্তি সংগ্রাম যখন আগের চেয়েও আরও অনেক দানা বাঁধিয়া উঠিতেছে, তখন ভারত সরকারের স্বীকৃতিদানে ক্রমেই পশ্চাদপসরণ মুক্তি-যোদ্ধাদের মনোবলকে দুর্বল করিয়া দিতে উদ্যত হইয়াছে।

সুতরাং এই পরিস্থিতিতে পশ্চিমবঙ্গে দলমত নির্বিশেষে ভারতের সমস্ত গণতান্ত্রিক মানুষের আশু কর্তব্য, ভারত সরকারের উপর জোরালো আন্দলনের চাপ সৃষ্টি করিয়া বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিতে বাধ্য করা। কারণ, নব কংগ্রেসের নেতাদের হাবভাব এবং কথাবার্তার ধরন-ধারণ দেখিয়া আমাদের আরও সন্দেহ হইতেছে যে, ‘বাংলাদেশ’ ইস্যুটাকে এখন তাঁরা ভারতবর্ষের অভ্যন্তরেই নিজেদের সঙ্কীর্ণ রাজনৈতিক স্বার্থে কাজে লাগাইবার মতলবে আছেন। যেমন, একদিকে উদ্বাস্তুদের জন্য সারা বিশ্বের সম্মুখে কাসুনি গাহিয়া রিলিফ সংগ্রহ করা হইবে আর অন্যদিকে উদ্বাস্তুদের শিখন্ডী করিয়া পশ্চিমবঙ্গে গণতান্ত্রিক নির্বাচনকে পন্ড করিয়া দেওয়া হইবে। শুধু তাই নয়, গরিবী হটাওর ব্যর্থতা, মূল্যবোধ বা অন্য যে-কোন অর্থনৈতিক সমস্যার জন্য যখন বিরোধী দলগুলী, ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর সমালোচনা করিবেন তখনই ভারতবাসীর যা কিছু দুঃখ কষ্ট সব অনর্থের মূল হিসাবে উদ্বাস্তুদের দিকে আঙ্গুল দিয়া দেখাইয়া দেওয়া হইবে। তা না হইলে শরণ সিংয়ের মুখে ‘রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের’ গীত শোনা যায় কেন ? কারণ যে কোন মূর্খও জানে যে, বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি বা স্বাধীনতা না আসিলে একজন শরণার্থীরাও পাকিস্তানের ফ্যাসিস্ট খাঁচায় বা কাঠামোর মধ্যে ফিরিয়া যাইবে না। সুতরাং উদ্বাস্তুদের দেশে ফেরৎ পাঠানোটাও যদি ভারত সরকারের গরজ হইত, তবে, তাঁরা সর্বাগ্রে সেই পরিবেশ সৃষ্টির দিকেই ঝুঁকিতেন অর্থাৎ বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দিতেন। কিন্তু এখনও তেমন কোন পদক্ষেপের নমুনাই তো আমরা দেখিতাছি না। অতএব উদ্বাস্তুদের দেশে ফেরত যাওয়া সম্বন্ধে ভারত সরকারের উদ্বেগও যে কতখানি আস্তরিক, সে বিষয়ে গভীর সন্দেহ সৃষ্টি হইতেছে না কি ? বিশেষত যখন শোনা যাইতেছে যে, বাংলাদেশের উদ্বাস্তুদের শিখন্ডী করিয়া ‘গরিবী হটাও’ এর প্রধানমন্ত্রী আগামী বাজেটে আরও ৫০০ কোটি টাকার অতিরিক্ত ট্যাক্সের বোঝা চাপাইতে উদ্যত হইতেছেন তখন বাংলাদেশের উদ্বাস্তুরাই শুধু নন, ভারতবর্ষের সাধারণ মানুষেরও যে প্রাণান্তকর অবস্থা সৃষ্টি হইবে তাতে আর সন্দেহ কি?

সুতরাং এই পরিস্থিতিতে আমরা ভারতবর্ষের, বিশেষত পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সমস্ত বামপন্থী এবং গণতান্ত্রিক রাজনৈতিক দলগুলির উদ্দেশ্যে পুনরায় সনির্বন্ধভাবে এই অনুরোধ জানাইতেছি, যে অবিলম্বে বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতির সমর্থনে আপনারা ঐক্যবদ্ধ গণতান্ত্রিক আন্দোলন গড়িয়া তুলুন, কারণ, বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার সঙ্গে আমাদের স্বার্থও (যেখানে অধিকাংশ উদ্বাস্তুই পশ্চিমবঙ্গের ঘাড়ের উপর) আঙ্গাঙ্গীভাবে জড়িত এবং স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের অভ্যুদয় যদি আজ কোনরকমে বিনষ্ট হয়, তবে শুধু বাংলাদেশ নয়, প্রতিবেশী দেশরূপে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের অর্থনীতি ও তার সমস্ত জনজীবনের ভবিষ্যতও বঙ্গোপসাগরের অতল জলে তলাইয়া যাইবে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮০। 'পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে' উপনির্বাচন (সম্পাদকীয়)	দি হিন্দু	২৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

*THE HINDU, OCTOBER 27, 1971*

**Editorial**

**THOSE BY-ELECTIONS IN EAST PAKISTAN**

Quite recently the correspondent of a leading British journal who visited Dacca wrote in his paper that "it would be quite unthinkable to hold elections in the uncertain security conditions which now prevail over about 90 per cent of the countryside". He added that two months ago it was possible to drive out of Dacca after dark but now it was too dangerous and it was impossible to think of holding an election campaign in Dacca itself despite the presence of the Pakistan Army. How then does President Yahya Khan propose to hold elections for 78 National Assembly and 194 East Pakistan Provincial Assembly seats? It is reported that a large number of nominations have been filed for both assemblies but the elections are still to be held.

Meanwhile, there is a report emanating from Pakistan Radio to the effect that fifteen candidates have been "provisionally" elected from East Pakistan to the National Assembly. They consisted of five members each from the Pakistan Democratic Party and the Jamat- E- Islami and two each from the Convention Muslim League and the Nizam- E-Islami and one from the Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum Group). If this report is authentic, it seems to reflect a situation where candidates from the political parties which failed to get anyone elected from East Pakistan last time will now be elected unopposed without the painful necessity of campaigning in the region. There is no news of Mr. Bhutto's People's Party which sent a delegation to Dacca to see if it could make contact with moderate Awami Leaguers...

Though Gen. Yahya Khan may go ahead with this convenient method for filling in the empty seats in the National and the Provincial legislatures it seems that there will still be plenty of trouble in dealing with the West Pakistan political parties. The three splinters of the old Muslim League have still to come together and the radical programme of Mr. Bhutto's Peoples' Party still infuriates the orthodox parties like the Jamat, And while it may be quite safe to hold the session of the National Assembly in West Pakistan it will not be so easy to convene the provincial Assembly in Dacca. The Pakistan Government is no doubt going on the assumption that sooner or later the resistance movement in the east wing will crumble and the local people will accept the rule of the West Pakistanis as they did for so many years. But in fact the operations of Mukti Bahini are gaining not losing in strength. According to some analysts a new phase has opened with the ending of the monsoon where battles are likely to be fought for the major towns and airports. In this context of armed conflict plans for constitution-making are premature and meaningless. They could acquire some meaning only if Gen. Yahya Khan decides to deal with the imprisoned leader of East Pakistan

Editorial, The Hindu, Madras-October 27. 1971,

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮১। পাক হাইকমিশনের অধিকাংশ বাঙালী কর্মচারীর পলায়ন	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৩ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, NOVEMBER 3, 1971*

### **MOST OF THE BENGALIS IN PAK HC RUN TO FREEDOM**

From Our Special Correspondent

New Delhi, November. 2- Ten of the remaining 11 Bengali employees of the Pakistani High Commission here with their families today escaped to freedom from the High Commission premises, described by the chief of the Bangladesh mission as "a butcher's house."

The other employee Mr. Hossain Ali identified as personal assistant to Mr. Abdul Ghani the head of the Pakistan intelligence net-work in India, could not make it as he was mercilessly beaten by West Pakistani personnel and dragged inside from the gate through which the others made their last run to freedom.

While Mr. Hossain Ali lay unconscious inside the High Commission compound with his wife and three daughters by his side his two teen-aged sons came out with others. The wife of another employee Mr. Khaliluddin personal assistant to the Pakistani Air adviser along with her two daughters and a minor son could not come out. However, after nearly two hours she was allowed to come out of the mission premises with her children and join her husband and two sons who had escaped earlier.

As Mr. H. R. Chowdhury head of the Bangladesh Mission with his two colleagues, Mr. K. M. Shehabuddin and Mr. Amjadul Haq rushed to the spot on receipt of information the Pakistanis from inside the High Commission compound began showering brickbats on the Bengali employees sitting outside on the road with whatever little belongings they could manage to bring out.

Mr. Chowdhury and his two colleagues with the help of newsmen foreign and Indian and the police led the women and the children to safety from the shower of brickbats. They also carried their belongings lying scattered near the gate.

The whole drama started early in the morning when the entire Bengali personnel of the High Commission along with their families collected near a side gate of the High Commission. Before they could make good their escape scaling the low wall a large number of West Pakistanis headed by Group Captain Azim Daudpota. Air Adviser Mr. Abdul Ghani, First Secretary, identified as the head of the Pakistani Intelligence network and Mr. Ahmed Zabeed Shah also a first Secretary described as the man in charge of Pakistani espionage in Kashmir pounced on them and stalled beating them mercilessly.

Some of the Bengali employees jumped the wall and came on the street outside and started shouting "Jai Bangla". Others began throwing their children over the wall to freedom. Meanwhile, some Indian-policemen attracted by the shouts, collected near the gate. The Pakistanis then opened the gate and allowed the Bengalis to go out. But Mr.

Hossain Ali by then was so severely beaten that he was not in a position to come out.

Other Bengalis alleged that Mr. Hossain Ali was dragged inside and kept inside a room in the quarters unconscious. When a count was taken it was found that Mr. Khaliluddin's wife with two daughters and a son along with Mr. Hossain Ali's family could not come out.

Mr. H. R. Chowdhury told newsmen that the entire Bengali members of the High Commission staff had been expressing their desire for the last several months to opt for the Bangladesh Government. But they had been kept forcibly inside the Commission's premises.

After defection by some Bengali employees from the mission, the High Commissioner ostensibly decided to remove all restrictions and to allow the members of the staff to go out if they so wished with their families. Mr. Chowdhury said that the decision was taken in his presence when he was still working with the High commission and as head of the Pakistan chancery the order was issued under his signature.

Mr. Chowdhury said that this was also the understanding the Pakistani High Commission gave to the Government of India.

Apparently, the Pakistan High Commission did not want the Bengalis to take the order literally. When the Bengali employees asked by the West Pakistanis where they were going to join the Bangladesh Government the West Pakistanis began beating them mercilessly. Some of the employees were later taken to hospital.

The two sons of Mr. Hossain Ali who is still confined within the mission premises and other Bengalis who had escaped from the High Commission began a round-the-clock sit-in in front of the High Commission demanding the release of Mr. Hossain Ali and his family.

The Bangladesh mission chief warned the Pakistanis that if within 48 hours, Mr. Hossain Ali was not released not a single West Pakistani in Bangladesh would be safe in the hands of the Mukti Bahini.

The Bengali members lodged a complaint against the non-diplomat of West Pakistani members of the High Commission with the Chanakayapuri police station here for assaulting them. Under international law the non-diplomatic staff of any mission are not immune from the law of the land.

One of the first acts of the Bengali staff after their escape from what they described as the "Pakistani concentration camp in the High Commission" was to switch their allegiance to the legally and popularly elected government of the Sovereign Independent Republic of Bangladesh. To them, Pakistan was "dead and buried".

Most of them confirmed that the West Pakistani personnel inside the High Commission were thoroughly demoralized with the growing success of the Mukti Bahini in Bangladesh.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮২। পূর্ব বাংলার শিশুদের বিক্ষোভ প্রদর্শন	টাইমস অব ইন্ডিয়া	৪ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*TIMES OF INDIA, NOVEMBER 4, 1971*

### **EAST BENGALI CHILDREN HOLD DEMONSTRATION**

By A Staff. Reporter

New Delhi, November 3. Murad 8 and Murshid 6 two sons of Mr. Hossain Ali, personal assistant to Pakistan's intelligence chief in India Mr. Abdul Ghani along with other East Bengali children today held a demonstration outside the main gate of the Pakistan High Commission to demand the release of their parents detained in the High Commission premises.

Mr. Hossain Ali, who was beaten up by High Commission officials when he unsuccessfully tried to escape to freedom yesterday is still reported to be lying unconscious in the High Commission.

Little Murshid held a placard which demanded "Release our parents and sisters."

Some former Pakistani employees who defected to Bangladesh yesterday were today threatened by the Pakistan Army Adviser Brig. Ghulam Hassan Khan when they went to meet Murad and Murshid.

The Brigadier, who drove to the main gate tried to talk to the former employees of the High Commission. He is stated to have asked the employees what they were doing outside the gate of the High Commission particularly when they had expressed a desire to go to Pakistan only a day earlier.

The former employees told the Brigadier that they did not wish to talk to him and asked him to mind his business. Meanwhile four employees of the High Commission joined him near the main gate to lend a "helping hand." They argued with the police officers who requested them not to create an incident and remain inside the High Commission. When they tried to bully the police officers, they were firmly told to go back.

Brigadier Hassan was reported to have threatened the East Bengalis that if they did not disperse "I will shoot you down-after all I am a Palhan."

The Brigadier is reported to have interrogated Mr. Mujibur Rahman in the so called Agartala conspiracy case.

### **Girl Dragged**

Mr. Hossain Ali's wife and three daughters are locked up in a room in the High Commission. His two sons had managed to escape with some other Bengali members of the Pakistan High Commission staff yesterday. The East Bengalis fear that Mr. Hossain

Ali might be killed by Pakistani intelligence men in the Commission.

They said that M. Butt a West Pakistani official of the High Commission, dragged by her hair Maya, 15-year-old daughter of Mr. Hossain Ali when she made a bid to escape yesterday.

A spokesman of the Bangladesh Mission in New Delhi said that the 48-hour ultimatum given to the Pakistan High Commissioner Mr. Sajjad Hyder to release Mr. Hossain Ali and his family would expire at 12 noon tomorrow. If he was not released by the deadline they would retaliate suitably.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮৩। নিম্নের সঙ্গে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর নাজুক আলোচনা শুরু	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৫ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, NOVEMBER 5, 1971*  
**PM BEGINS CRUCIAL TALKS WITH NIXON**

Washington, November 4.- Mrs. Gandhi today discussed with President Nixon the entire gamut of Indo- US relations which have been under a cloud for sometime following the US Government's outright support to the military regime of Islamabad despite the genocide in East Bengal by the Pakistani Army report UNI and PTI.

The two leaders started their crucial meeting after both had reaffirmed at a White House welcoming ceremony the friendship between India and the US and their dedication to common ideals.

Mrs. Gandhi said she had come to the USA looking for a deeper understanding of the situation in the subcontinent while Mr. Nixon noted in what was thought as an implied reference to the Indo-Soviet treaty that the "special" Indo- US relations did not need any treaty commitment. As the talks started Mr. Nixon and Mrs. Gandhi were alone for sometime later they were joined by the US and Indian officials.

Among them were Mr. Nixon's special adviser, Dr. Henry Kissinger, India's Ambassador, Mr. L. K. Jha, Foreign Secretary, Mr. -T. N. Kaul and Secretary to the Prime Minister Mr. P. N. Haksar.

President Nixon is believed to have told Mrs. Gandhi that India should not be unduly worried about American military supplies to Pakistan which were only marginal and in any case, supplies had almost ended. His Government had been exerting all pressures it could on Gen. Yahya Khan, firstly not to execute Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and secondly, to have some kind of dialogue between Gen. Yahya Khan and the Bangladesh leaders with a view to arriving at a political settlement.

He is also understood to have said that Pakistan and India should agree to some kind of United Nations presence on both sides of the border. It might also set an example to other countries in strengthening the efficacy the UN in such situations.

Mr. Nixon also emphasize that in no case there should be a war between India and Pakistan. He is stated to have told Mrs. Gandhi that while his Administration would press Pakistan for a political solution India should agree for mutual withdrawal on forces from the borders to reduce tension.

Mrs. Gandhi explained the concern in India over American military supplies to Pakistan which was being used in unleashing a reign of terror and genocide against the Bengalis. She is believed to have said that the USA should exercise pressure on President Yahya Khan for the release of Sheikh Mujib and to open a dialogue with him.



The USA should recognize that what was happening in East Bengal was not an India- Pakistan problem but a dispute between East Bengalis and the military junta in Islamabad. Therefore, there had to be a settlement between them if the refugees were to return to their homes in safety and security.

Mrs. Gandhi made it clear to Mr. Nixon that India never wanted war with Pakistan. At the same time, India could not ignore the warlike postures in Pakistan and the provocative statements of Pakistani military rulers. She reminded Mr. Nixon that Pakistan had committed aggression on India three times so far in a treacherous manner. India could not afford to withdraw forces as long as the tension continued. Mrs. Gandhi is also understood to have asked Mr. Nixon about the objectives he proposed to achieve from his forthcoming China visit.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮৪। 'পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী' বুদ্ধিজীবীগণ কর্তৃক মুজিবের মুক্তিদাবী	হিন্দুস্তা স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৬ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

**HINDUSTAN STANDARD. NOVEMBER 6, 1971**  
**W. PAK INTELLECTUALS WANT MUJIBS RELEASE**

Lahore, November, 5.-The immediate release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the installation of a government of those elected in Pakistan's first general elections last December have been urged by 42 signatories to an appeal to President Yahya Khan says Reuter.

The signatories, who include the leader of the Istiqlal Party former Air Marshal Asghar Khan and the Lenin Peace Prize Winner, poet Faiz Ahmed said the constitution of a democratic government was the best way to end the crisis threatening Pakistan's political and economic stability.

Sheikh Mujib's release said the signatories -political leaders, trade unionists, lawyers, journalists, writers, student leaders and university professors-would be "in keeping with the elementary canons of justice." If release were not possible Sheikh Mujib who is being tried by a military tribunal for high treason should be brought to a proper judicial trial in open court the statement said.

The appeal coincided with the President's arrival here yesterday from Rawalpindi on a three-day visit.

The signatories said they were appealing to the President in the light of his recent interview with the American Newsweek magazine which quoted him as saying he would be prepared to release Sheikh Mujib if the nation demanded it.

The statement said the best way to end the grave political crisis threatening Pakistan's political and economic stability would be to establish a democratic government.

Such a government could be constituted by the representatives of the people who were elected in the country's first general election in last December.

Heading the list of the signatories was the chief of the Istiqlal Party retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan. Others included the leader of the Pakistan Socialist Party. Chowdhury Aslam, the former Editor of the English-language, daily Pakistan Times. Mazhar Ali Khan, the president of the Pakistan Trade Union Federation, Mirza Mohammad Ibrahim, and Lenin Peace Prize Winner, poet Faiz Ahmed.

The majority of the signatories are Left-wingers and the appeal is the first such to be made to the President in Lahore considered to be the biggest anti-Mujib centre in Pakistan.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮৫। দিল্লীর ছাত্রদের সমাবেশ, আলীর মুক্তি দাবী	হিন্দুস্তান ষ্টান্ডার্ড	৯ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

**HINDUS TAN STANDARD, NOVEMBER 9, 1971**  
**DELHI STUDENTS RALLY DEMANDS ALI S RELEASE**  
**From Our Correspondent**

New Delhi, Nov. 8- Thousands of school children today gathered in front of the Pakistan High Commission here to express their solidarity with Murad, 8 and Murshed, 6 whose parents Mr. and Mrs. Hossain Ali-and sisters are being forcibly detained in the High Commission. They also demanded that the detained persons be immediately released.

The children not only brought placards denouncing the Pakistani atrocities but also garlands and sweets for Murad and Murshed whom they carried on their shoulders.

Rose petals were showered on Murad and Murshed who were at the head of the three-hour demonstration.

The children asked for an interview with the High Commissioner Mr. Sajjad Hyder. Mr. Hyder declined. No representative of the High Commissioner was either willing to hear them.

The children pasted a memorandum on the entrance to the chancery. It expressed profound regret at the ill-treatment of Bengali members of the High Commission staff and demanded the release of the Alis.

The memorandum also said that the children of Delhi and the rest of India were solidly behind the children and people of Bangladesh in their struggle for liberty.

Meanwhile, Bangladesh Yuba Samiti Chairman, Mr. A. H. Badsha, and the General Secretary, Md. Nazrul Islam today warned the Pakistani High Commissioner in India that unless he immediately freed the Bengali employees of the High Commission the Bangladesh evacuees in India would march into it and free their fellowmen, UNI adds from Mujibnagar.

In a joint statement, they said once they marched into the High Commission they would also occupy forever the High Commission building which "is built by money earned by the sweat and blood of the people of Bangladesh".

The Bangladesh Mission here also does not rule out the possibility of such a march, adds our Special Correspondent.

Mr. Amjadul Huq, Press Attaché in the Bangladesh Mission said they were still waiting action by the League of Red Cross Societies and the UN Secretary General on their appeal to save the life of Mr. Ali.

Asked for his comments on the possibility of a march into the Pakistani chancery in Delhi and occupy it if the Alis were not released, Mr. Huq said "We can't rule out the possibility".

"After all how can we check our people when one of our brothers and his wife and a daughter are being tortured and illegally detained by the Pakistanist", he added.

"The criminals" Mr. Huq declared "will not go unpunished. Our avowed policy is a tooth for a tooth and a nail for a nail".

Meanwhile no information is available about the condition of Mr. Ali who was assaulted severely by the Pakistani staff of the High Commission.

Dr. Mrs. Sundershan Gujral an Indian doctor employed by the High Commission, said today she knew nothing about Mr. Ali. She had not seen him at all.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮৬। সামরিক সরবরাহের অসুবিধায় পাক বাহিনী ক্ষতির সম্মুখীন	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	২৮ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, NOVEMBER 18, 1971*  
**LOGISTIC DEFICIENCIES HURTING PAK TROOPS**  
**LT. General L. P. Sen, D. S. O.**  
*Our Military Correspondent*

In every campaign, the administrative arrangements must be equal to meeting the strain imposed by the tactical plan. If care is not taken to ensure this the commander in the field will find himself without an even chance of success and may even face disaster. Such it will be recalled, was the case with Germany's crack Afrika Korps in the western desert in World War II. Not even its brilliant commander Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, could save it. Has the Pakistani Army in Bangladesh ensured that its administrative arrangements are capable of withstanding for a prolonged period? The resistance being put up by the Mukti Bahini.

There is a feeling in many quarters that the logistic support of the Pakistani Army is not as healthy as it should be and that in the near future the situation may become very serious for them. This view is based on the fact that the Pakistan military junta when it decided to cow down the people of Bangladesh did not think in terms of a long-drawn-out campaign. It was to be a blitzkrieg lasting only for a short while.

In view of this, the three divisions that were moved from West Pakistan to Bangladesh by air and sea arrived with their logistics based not on a war-but a peace-time footing.

The stout resistance put up by the Mukti Bahini over the last eight months has very definitely forced the Pakistani troops to dig deep into their limited stocks. As the fight with the Mukti Bahini continues over a prolonged period replenishment of these stocks would be a necessity. This will involve a long lift from West Pakistan but this should present no problem provided there is no interferences. But it is in this field that the Mukti Bahini guerillas have embarrassed the Pakistan Army to no small degree.

By the large-scale destruction and dislocation of road and railway bridges, culverts and minor bridges the guerillas have presented the Pakistani forces with a serious headache. It has had far more than a nuisance value as local labor to assist in repairing the damage is scarce.

But it is not the destruction of the road and rail bridges that has done the greatest damage. Attacks on ships in harbors and other inland watercraft in places such as Chittagong, Chalna, the Mongla area and Chandpur have placed a severe strain on the Pakistanis. Grain and munitions ships and a tanker have been sunk.

Pakistan's exposed army in Bangladesh can in afford these loss of food stuff by local purchase is no longer possible.

Take for example the case of Jessore. This cantonment has been receiving its needs from Dacca, mainly through Goalundo Ghat and by air. A crucial road junction on this route Satkhira has however, had to be abandoned by the Pakistani Army and to make certain action to sever the route at more points in Kushtia district such as Jhenida and Chuadanga.

Even so, there was an emergency supply route using Chalna port. Mukti Bahini frogmen, however early this week sank a Greek vessel in the navigation channel totally blocking it. The supply line of Jessore through this route is therefore, affected and it may have to be confined to air lifts or air drops. This is an expensive form of maintenance, especially when aircraft are limited and there is always the possibility of losing them through ground fire.

The position of Chittagong is apparently not much better. Mukti Bahini commandos have been very active in this area from the commencement of operations. They have put out of commission all but two of the moorings. The port's ability to handle heavy military hardware has thus been severely curtailed and there is the ever present fear that ships moored to them will be subjected to attacks by the frogmen.

Ships flying foreign flags have been sunk and their owners are now very firm that they will not visit Chittagong port. Perhaps that is not an irreparable loss as the overland route connecting Chittagong with Chandpur or Dacca has been severed.

In order to repair its severely battered life line Pakistan has tried hard to develop an inland waterway to Chandpur. This has not however, been very successful as Chandpur has been receiving the attention of the commandos. Four vessel carrying food and supplies for the Army were recently sunk there including a vessel recently acquired from China.

In desperation, the Pakistan authorities have issued orders to their gunboats to shoot and destroy all country boats plying in the Chalna and Satkhira areas. This is likely to have widespread repercussions, as the people of the delta regions have always used the waterways for travel and cargo carrying. It could result in the locals of the area facing starvation in the course of time.

Will Pakistan be able to rectify her logistic mismanagement and retrieve the situation? As things stand at present and with the Mukti Bahini activities increasing it is possible but it will not be a simple task. Distance from the home base in West Pakistan and devastations will make it even more difficult.

What then, will this lead to? It could be that what befell Rommel's troops in the desert could repeat itself again in Bangladesh. The Mukti Bahini has already tipped up the hour glass and if they maintain the pressure as they have in the past the sands must inevitably run out for the Pakistani forces in the course of time.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮৭। পাক বাহিনীর গুলির আওয়াজ শুরু করতে সেনাবাহিনীর হিলি, বালুরঘাট সীমান্ত অতিক্রম	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৩০ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*HINDUSTAN STANDARD, NOVEMBER 30, 1971*  
**ARMY CROSSES HILI, BALURGHAT BORDER**  
**TO SILENCE P AK GUNS**  
*By A Staff Correspondent*

Indian troops crossed the borders and entered two miles inside Bangladesh on Monday and silenced Pakistani guns which had been shelling the Hili and Balurghat areas since Saturday.

It was essentially due to the Indian military action inside Bangladesh that border towns of Hili and Balurghat did not experience Pak shelling on Monday.

Tanks and artillery are being used in the battle but no aircraft has so far gone into action. The Pakistanis, who threw a squadron of 14 tanks in the battle lost three on Saturday and one on Sunday. One Indian tank was damaged when struck by an anti-tank mine.

In the encounter, at least 160 Pakistani soldiers have been either killed or wounded. Casualties on Indian side are officially stated to be 35.

Tarun Ganguly reporting from Patiram near Balurghat says that this call gave the people of the town an opportunity to get themselves and their belongings shifted to adjoining areas beyond the range of the Pak artillery.

Men, women and children were seen moving to safer zones in West Dinajpur and Maida districts. Authoritative sources said that already 25 per cent of the town's population had shifted to safer zones. Through the officials were providing the people willing to migrate with transportation facilities there was no official plan for a large scale evacuation from the area.

The schools and colleges in Balurghat are closed as a safety measures. In Hili several houses are riddled with bullets and gaping chasms caused by heavy artillery fire from across the border.

Fighting has been going on since Saturday morning in Bangladesh territory about two miles from the border in the Hili and Balurghat areas of West Bengal according to the Government spokesman in New Delhi.

"According to latest reports" an official Note said on Monday evening, "Pakistani troops on Sunday mounted a counterattack on Indian troops which had taken defensive action on Saturday following heavy Pakistani shelling of civilian areas in West Dinajpur district of West Bengal. The fighting is still going on."

## HEAVY FIGHTING AT FENI

The spokesman said India did not provide air cover to her ground forces in the Balurghat fighting, "Normally, we do not send our aircraft to support our ground forces but if Pakistan uses Air Force then India would also certainly use her Air Force."

It was when Pakistan used Air Force in support of her ground forces in the Boyra sector India used her Gants which shot down three Pakistani Sabre Jets he said.

Meanwhile reports reaching Mujibnagar suggested that the Mukti Bahini was maintaining its three pronged thrust on the Jessore Cantonment. There is, however, a comparative lull despite the fact that the Mukti Bahini and the Pakistani troops were engaged in sporadic clashes for the control of vital supply channels in the area.

Heavy fighting between the liberation forces and the Pakistani troops were reported from Feni facing the Indian border town of Belonia in Tripura. Reliable reports said that Pakistani troops were under heavy pressure as the Mukti Bahini launched offensive for the control of the Feni town.

Incidentally, four Indians kidnapped by the Pakistani troops from a border village Konarghat near Sunna were rescued by the Border Security Force personnel an official report received at the State police headquarters in Agartala said.

The rescue was made after an hour long heavy exchange of fire between the Pakistani troops and the BSF.

Ten Pakistani troops were reported to have been killed in the encounter.

On the night between November 27 and 28, Pakistani troops shelled our posts north of Gangarampur and north of Patiram in West Bengal. The BSF returned the fire. There have been no casualties on our side. Pakistan casualties are not known.

On November 26, Pakistani troops fired on a BSF patrol north-east of Basirhat. No casualties have so far been reported. In Tripura, Pakistani troops and BSF patrol exchanged fire west of Sonamura on November 27. Some Pakistani casualties were reported. There were no casualties on the Indian side.

On November 26, there was an exchange of fire west of Radhakishorepur. There were no casualties on the Indian side. The same day Pakistani troops fired small arms and medium machine guns on an Indian post north-east of Kamalpur. No casualties were reported.

Mukti Bahini have hoisted Bangladesh flag over Panchagar railway station in Dinajpur district and steps have been taken by the Bangladesh Government to establish civil administration in the area according to the Panchagar MNA.

In the Sylhet district freedom fighters liberated Chotakhel south-west of Jointiapur yesterday following a fierce battle in which the "occupation" army suffered heavy casualties. Heavy fighting was now going on at a place only 19 km away from Sylhet town according to the latest reports.



Freedom fighters yesterday resized Taherpur PS and encircled the Suchana outpost. They continued their thrusts on Companyganj and Salutikar areas and were forcing Pakistani soldiers to seek refuge to Sylhet town. All communications between Sylhet and Sunamganj has already been cut off.

Heavy fighting was now going on in and around Kamalpur outpost in Mymensingh district. The Bangladesh commandos had already circled the outpost and foiled the "enemy's" attempts to seek reinforcement.

Mukti Bahini guerillas have burned down a Government owned Jute warehouse at Nandina in Mymensingh, UPI reported quoting the martial law authorities in Dacca.

The action resulted in the destruction of about 14,000 US dollars worth of jute. Three mills were burnt down last week.

Freedom fighters have also maintained steady advance in the Tangail area and consolidated their hold on four check posts in the district.

Delayed reports from Dacca said that freedom fighters blew up a strategic bridge at Kodalia an important road junction disrupting road communication between Dacca and Tangail.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮৮। পাকিস্তান যুদ্ধ পরিস্থিতি ঘণীভূত করেছে	দি স্টেটসম্যান	২ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, DECEMBER 2, 1971*  
**PAKISTAN ESCALATES WAR SITUATION**  
**THREE SABRES STRAFE AGARTALA:**  
**ONE HIT BY GROUND FIRE**

*From Our Special Representative*

New Delhi, December 2.-- Pakistan further escalated the war situation on the eastern front today when its forces heavily shelled Agartala and followed this up by an air attack on the airfield and civilian installations nearby.

Pakistani shells pounded Agartala town for the better part of the morning. The brief post-noon lull was shattered at about 12-30 when three Sabre jets streaked in to strafe the airfield. Official spokesmen here reported damage to life and property.

The Sabre jets flew away under heavy ground fire one of them obviously hit leaving dark smoky trail as it changed course towards Bangladesh territory.

The Pakistani air attack coming in the wake of the attempted one near Boyra in which they lost three aircrafts has gravely increased the prospects of the border skirmishes losing their localized character and developing into a larger confrontation. Evidence of this was available from Pakistani actions in Balurghat and another area south-west of Agartala as also on the western border both in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir.

The Government has taken a serious view of the aerial attack on Agartala and the local Commander there has been ordered to take necessary defensive action. Details of the Indian counter-action were not available up to the time of going to press but from preliminary reports filtering in tonight several Pakistani gun positions have been silenced. The Commander as stated by official spokesman earlier, is free in the circumstances to cross the border if he considers it necessary in terms of the defensive needs of the region.

According to eye-witness accounts received in local newspaper offices from their reporters in Agartala Pakistani shelling in the morning was indiscriminate and incessant. In two cases the sound of bursting shells came loud and clear over the telephone even as the conversation with Agartala was on.

Pakistani artillery simultaneously shelled Balurghat town on Tuesday killing six civilians. Indian guns fired in retaliation. The same day Pakistani troops fired with small- arms and artillery on Indian positions north-west of Balurghat and north of Balurghat. Men of the Border Security Force returned the fire. Pakistani troops also fired the same day with small arms automatics and artillery at Indian position in Hili.

On the western border a Pakistani patrol of four rangers intruded 150 yards into Indian territory north of Ferozpur on Wednesday. Indian patrol fired at the intruders. The

rangers fled taking one of their injured men with them. On Tuesday Pakistanis fired 30 bursts of medium machinegun fire across the cease-fire line south west of Mendhar. There were no casualties on the Indian side. On Monday too, Pakistani troops had fired bursts of light machine gun in the same area without inflicting any casualties.

According to our Agartala correspondent the Pakistani planes could not do any damage to the Agartala airfield during strafing today.

Meanwhile unprovoked heavy shelling by Pakistani troops on Agartala town and its outskirts, started at about 8 p.m. yesterday continued till this evening. A large number of heavy artillery and mortar shells have hit the Kunjaban and Abhaynagar areas in the town and Indorenagar, Jagatpur Ushabazar, Narsingarh and Chhoygarh areas in the outskirts.

At least five Indian civilians were killed and 45 others injured in the shelling. Among the dead were a three-year old boy and a 15 year old girl.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮৯। পাকিস্তান ভারতের ওপর পূর্ণাঙ্গ যুদ্ধ চাপিয়ে দিয়েছেঃ প্রধানমন্ত্রী	দি স্টেটসম্যান	৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*THE STATESMAN, DECEMBER 4, 1971*

**PAKISTAN HAS LAUNCHED A FULL-SCALE WAR ON INDIA  
WE MUST BE PREPARED FOR A LONG PERIOD  
OF SACRIFICE : MRS. GANDHI**

New Delhi, December. 3. The Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi told the nation tonight that Pakistan had launched a full-scale war on India. In a broadcast shortly after midnight Mrs. Gandhi said "At 5-30 p.m. today Pakistan launched a full-scale war against us," reports PTI.

Mrs. Gandhi said "We have no option but to put our country on a war footing." Mrs. Gandhi said emergency has been declared throughout the country and "every step is being taken and we are prepared for all eventualities."

She said We must be prepared for a long period of hardship and sacrifice.

Mrs. Gandhi declared that "wanton and unprovoked aggression of Pakistan would be decisively and timely repelled".

Aggression must be met and the people of India will meet it with fortitude with discipline and the utmost unity".

Today the war in Bangladesh had become a war on India, she said.

The Prime Minister declared "Peace cannot last if we cannot guard our freedom our democracy and our way of life. So, today we fight not merely for territorial integrity but for the basic ideals which have given strength to this country and on which alone we can progress to a better future."

The Prime Minister in her broadcast to the nation said, "I am speaking to you at a moment of great peril to our country and our people. Some hours ago soon after 5-30 p.m. on Friday Pakistan launched a full-scale war against us. The Pakistan Air Force suddenly struck at our airfields in Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra. They opened fire at our defensive positions in Sulemanki, Khem Karan, Poonch and other sectors.

Earlier addressing nearly a million people at Calcutta's Brigade Parade Ground the Prime Minister exposed the role of some foreign countries in the development of the Indo-Pakistani conflict and reiterated India's determination to defend its national interest at any cost, says our reporters.

Mrs. Gandhi, reminded the Powers which had a sneaking sympathy for Pakistan that "India is not what it was before independence or even what it was five years ago. The

country is prepared today to make any sacrifice to give as much blood and sweat as necessary to meet any threat to its security."

The Prime Minister who was given a tremendous ovation on her arrival in the city discussed the West Bengal situation with the Governor and the Chief Secretary and met some writers, film artists and other prominent citizens before leaving for Delhi.

The meeting one of the biggest held in recent years was organized by the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee(R). Mr. Abdus Sattar Presided. Wearing a printed sari, Mrs. Gandhi addressed the vast gathering from a decorated 12 ft rostrum. About 200 Indian and foreign journalists attended the meeting.

Cheers and claps greeted Mrs. Gandhi when she appeared on the dais. She was profusely garlanded by a number of organizations affiliated to the Congress (R). Patriotic songs by Mr. Hemanta Mukhopadhyaya and other artists had by then created an atmosphere appropriate to the occasion.

The Prime Minister, who spoke in Hindi for about an hour, said in the critical days ahead everyone would have to suffer but she was sure that the people here had the inherent strength to endure hardship and overcome difficulties.

Mrs. Gandhi was aware that a war would cause immense suffering particularly for the poor. But if a war was essential to maintain territorial integrity it had to be fought. The youths and the women had a special responsibility to ensure that normal life was maintained. Such a role was played by women in England during the last war when all men below 45 were called out.

She said the influx of refugees gave rise to a host of financial, administrative, social and political problems. But the problem that caused the utmost concern was the threat to "our security". Previously, the East Pakistan Rifles and the East Bengal Regiment used to be posted on the East Bengal border, while the BSF were on India's border.

But after the EPR and the EBR men joined the Mukti Bahini the Pakistani troops were brought to the border in both East Bengal and the western sector. She said when the U.N. observers in Kashmir were told about the movement of Pakistani troops, they said the troops had been brought to the border for training exercises.

"Who can believe this?" the Prime Minister asked. "It was not possible for us to believe this since we had been attacked thrice in the past by Pakistan." However, it was only after about 10 days that Indian troops were moved to the border the Prime Minister said.

Continuing, she said it was strange that when Pakistan moved its troops up to the border, most of the Big Powers felt no concern about the danger to India's security. But when India moved its troops they raised a hue and cry and said peace was threatened in the sub-continent.

She remarked that no responsible Government could take the risk of leaving the border unguarded at such a critical juncture.

"Since our cantonments are far from the borders, it is not possible for India to move her troops backwards over just a little distance.

Pakistan can do this for its cantonments are close to the borders and it can bring the troops quickly up to the border. If we are attacked, who will give us the guarantee that our lost land would be restored to us ?" she said.

If Pakistan withdrew its troops from East Bengal, there would be no war. The bringing of these troops to Bangladesh had been the cause of so much trouble, Mrs. Gandhi commented.

She said a suggestion had been mooted in some quarters that U.N. observers be posted in East Bengal. She wondered of what help this would be. "Will they be able to ensure the return of the refugees ?" The refugees say that they will go back to Bangladesh only when it is free and there is peace there.

The Prime Minister thought that the first task was to bring peace to that strife torn land. People were still being killed there and women raped. Now can we "ask the refugees to go back at this stage, although their stay in India is a burden on us as we are a poor nation."

During her foreign tour, she was given the impression that there might be a political solution of the East Bengal problem. But if the Big Powers had tried to find any solution, it had not yet yielded any result. Pakistan was threatening India. "I had waited for several month, but there had been no solution to the problem."

Referring to the role of some Big Powers, Mrs. Gandhi said these countries had the impression that Asian countries were still their "slaves." But India was no longer what it was before independence or even what it was five years ago. Five years ago, questions were being asked whether India could remain united or whether democracy in this country would survive. But such doubts had now been dispelled.

There was a new self-confidence in the country. If anyone thought that India would be unable to act in its national interest, he was badly mistaken.

If the Big Powers give us any help, it is well and good and we will accept it with gratitude. But if they do not, let them know that India is today in a position to stand on its own legs and does not have to look towards others for support, the Prime Minister remarked.

"It has been said of me." Mrs. Gandhi stated, "that I am rather obstinate. But to stop the genocide in East Bengal is not a matter of my obstinacy. It is in our national interest to save the 75 million people of Bangladesh from being decimated. It is certainly in the interest of Bangladesh also.

Pakistan had been pampered by some countries who had been supplying weapons. This had increased its belligerency towards India. She did not think that the leaders of Pakistan were following the correct policy because they were being made to do things which was not in their national interest.

The Prime Minister began by saying that every time she addressed a public rally in Calcutta, she felt that the crowd could not be bigger. Yet every time she was surprised to see how vast the gathering was.

But she said the welcome accorded by the crowd was not "to one person but to the new programme we have taken up."

After the mid-term elections, "we thought that the road was now clear for us to start implementing our socialistic programmes". But a new crisis developed on the borders and the country was faced with a massive influx of people free from the terror unleashed by the Pakistani Army. "Initially, we thought that the problem would last only a few days and that with help from foreign countries we would be able to tide over the difficulties." But this did not happen. In the first place not much aid was received and in the second, the aid-giving countries did not go to the root of the problems to find out why the refugees were coming away from their homeland in such large number. To cure a disease the Prime Minister said, one must go to the root of the problem."

Referring to the Congress (R) election pledges, she said what the party was trying to achieve nothing new. This was the original programme of the party, which could not be implemented because of opposition from some of its members.

The Congress (R) was not against the "maharajahs or millionaires as such" but it was against the system under which a minority prospered while the rest of the population remained steeped in poverty. There was much poverty and unemployment in West Bengal, she said, because of frequent bands and other disruptions. No attempt was made to solve these problems by those parties which considered themselves revolutionary. These parties enticed the poor peasants to grab land but this did not solve the problem of land hunger.

To give long lasting benefits to the poor peasantry, there was need for enacting laws such as the 25th Amendment to the Constitution under which property might be taken over in national interest. Mrs. Gandhi said that the Swatantra party often alleged that nationalization or taking over of property would not help judging from the performance of public sector industries which were running at a loss. She agreed that this was sometimes true but referred to the closure of textile mills in Ahmedabad because of the failure of the mill owners to plough back their profits for the benefit of the industry. Mrs. Gandhi commended the efforts of the Yuva Congress and the Chhatra Parishad to root out the politics of murder and violence in West Bengal but said that a lot still remained to be done. Peace was all the more essential in West Bengal today because of the threat to our borders. She urged the people to ensure normal life in the cities and to check the activities of hoarders and profiteers not by attacking shop owners but through peaceful means. Calcutta had an unfortunate reputation for being a dirty city she said. The fault was probably the Corporation's but the citizens had also a responsibility in this matter. The city should be kept clean during such an emergency to prevent the outbreak of an epidemic.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯০। পাক-ভারত-বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধের খবর	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

### করাচী ও ঢাকায় বোমাবর্ষণঃ

### বাংলাদেশের ১১টি বিমান বন্দরে ভারতীয় বিমানের হানা

### চট্টগ্রাম ও কক্সবাজারে ভারতীয় নৌ-আক্রমণ

৪ঠা ডিসেম্বর- আজ রাতে একজন সরকারী মুখপাত্র বলেন যে, গত ১৮ ঘণ্টায় তিনটি মিরাজ এবং দুটি এফ-১০৪ ষ্টার ফাইটারসহ ৩৩টি পাকিস্তানী বিমান ভূপাতিত অথবা ধ্বংস করা হয়েছে। গত রাতে ভারতীয় বিমান ঘাঁটিগুলির ওপর বিনা প্ররোচনায় পাকিস্তানের নির্লজ্জ আকস্মিক আক্রমণের বিরুদ্ধে ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী গতকাল মধ্য রাত্র থেকে আক্রমণ শুরু করেছে। বাংলাদেশে পাকিস্তানী বিমান বাহিনী প্রায় খতম হয়েছে, আর দুই-তিনটি বিমা সম্ভবত অক্ষত আছে। ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনীর ১১টি বিমান ধ্বংস হয়েছে-৬টি পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানে, ৫টি বাংলাদেশে।

পূর্ব সীমান্তে ময়মনসিংহ জেলার কমলপুর ঘাঁটির পতন ঘটেছে। এই ঘাঁটির ৩১তম বালুচ বাহিনী ও ভেজার্ট রেঞ্জাররা ভারতীয় বাহিনীর কাছে আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে। শনিবার চট্টগ্রাম ও কক্সবাজার বন্দর শহরের ওপর ভারতীয় নৌবহন প্রচণ্ড আক্রমণ চালায় এবং বাংলাদেশের পাক দখলীকৃত এলাকার বন্দরগুলোকে অবরুদ্ধ করে রেখেছে। আজ অপরাহ্নে দ্বিতীয়বার চট্টগ্রাম পোতাশ্রয় আক্রমণ করে এবং প্রভূত ক্ষতিসাধন করে।

ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী ঢাকা-যশোর খন্ডে ১৭০ বার ঝাঁক বেঁধে গিয়ে আক্রমণ করে ১৪টি বিমান ভূপাতিত করেছে এবং সামরিক লক্ষ্যবস্তুর উপর আঘাত হেনেছে।

পশ্চিম সীমান্তে ভারতীয় সৈন্য বাহিনী শত্রু এলাকার ৭ কিলোমিটার অভ্যন্তরে প্রবেশ করে খেরি ও নুসিহ পাকিস্তানের ৯টি গ্রাম দখল করেছে। মেহ্কার খন্ডের বিপরীত দিকে একটি পাকিস্তানী ঘাঁটি দখল করেছে- এখানে বহু পাকিস্তানী সৈন্য হতাহত হয়েছে। ভারতীয় বাহিনী ছান্দ-জোরিয়ান খন্ডের বিপরীতে মাতোয়ালী শহরটি দখল করেছে।

ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী করাচী বন্দর ও নৌবন্দর সারগোদা, পোরকোট প্রভৃতি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ স্থানগুলোর ওপর বোমা ফেলে এসছে। এই সীমান্তে ১৯টি পাক বিমান ধ্বংস করা হয়েছে। বিভিন্ন স্থানে ৮০ জন পাক সৈন্য ভারতীয়দের কাছে আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে। হুসেনীওয়ালাতে ১২টি পাকিস্তানী ট্যাঙ্ক ধ্বংস করা হয়েছে। হুদিয়ারা নালায় এক কন্টিনজেন্ট পাক সৈন্য অবরুদ্ধ হয়ে আছে।

### ঢাকা চট্টগ্রাম করাচী-শত্রু ঘাঁটিতে ঘাঁটিতে বোমাবর্ষণ

### বাংলাদেশে চতুর্দিক থেকে জওয়ানেরা আগুয়ান

### বরুণ সেন গুপ্ত

যুদ্ধের প্রথম দিনই ভারতীয় সেনা, নৌ এবং বিমানবাহিনী বাংলাদেশের দখলদার পাক বাহিনীর ওপর প্রচণ্ড আক্রমণ চালিয়েছে। চতুর্দিক থেকে ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী এগোচ্ছে। চূড়ান্ত লক্ষ্য ঢাকা দখল এবং পাক বাহিনীকে আত্মসমর্পণে বাধ্য করা। প্রথম দিনের প্রাথমিক ধাক্কাতেই বিভিন্ন সেকটরে পাক বাহিনী বিপর্যস্ত,



বাংলাদেশে পাক বিমান বাহিনীর অর্ধেকের বেশী বিধ্বস্ত এবং জলপথে তারা সম্পূর্ণ অবরুদ্ধ। সর্বত্র ভারতীয় বাহিনীর সাহায্যে এগিয়ে এসেছেন বীর মুক্তিবাহিনী।

এই খবর যখন আপনি পড়ছেন ততক্ষণে পূর্ব বাংলার বহু শত বর্গমাইল এলাকা থেকে পাক সেনাবাহিনী বিতাড়িত। শনিবার সন্ধ্যায়ই সরকারী হিসাবমত ২০০ বর্গকিলোমিটার এলাকা ভারতীয় বাহিনীর দখলে। কিন্তু এই হিসাব এতক্ষণে অনেক পালটে গিয়েছে। ভারতীয় বাহিনী আরও বহুদূর এগিয়েছেন। শনিবার সকালে যশোর সীমান্তে গিয়েছিলাম। ভারতীয় বাহিনীর অধিনায়ক বললেনঃ আজ আমরা যশোর থেকে মাত্র সাত আট মাইল দূরে। কাল সকালে যদি আসেন দেখবেন আমরা অনেক দূর এগিয়ে গিয়েছি।

তিনটি ভারতীয় বাহিনী তিনভাবে আক্রমণ করেছে। একই সঙ্গে বিমানবাহিনী ভোরেই সমগ্র বাংলাদেশে সবকটি পাক বিমানঘাঁটির ওপর আক্রমণ চালায়। এই আঘাতে এই দিন তাদের ১৪টি বিমান ধ্বংস হয়ে গিয়েছে তার মধ্যে ৭টি স্যাবর জেট। এছাড়া আমাদের বিমানগুলি ঢাকা, যশোর, হিলি, লালমনিরহাট, আখাউড়া, কক্সবাজার, মালাপুর প্রভৃতি ১১টি বিমানবন্দরের ওপর আক্রমণ চালিয়ে ওগুলিকে অনেকটা অকেজো করে দিয়ে এসেছে।

আমাদের বিমান বাহিনীর আক্রমণে এইদিন সৈয়দপুরে কয়েকটি পাক সেনা বোঝাই ট্রেন এবং যমুনায় ছ'টি স্টীমারও ধ্বংস হয়েছে।

চট্টগ্রাম এবং নারায়নগঞ্জে তৈল ডিপোর ওপরও প্রচণ্ড আক্রমণ চালায় ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী। দুটো এলাকায়ই এখনও আগুন জ্বলছে। বিমান আক্রমণ চলছে খুলনা স্টীমারঘাটের ওপরও। চট্টগ্রামে দুটি পাক জাহাজও বিধ্বস্ত।

অবশ্য এই ধ্বংসলীলা ছাড়াও পূর্ব বাংলার সমুদ্রপথ পাক বাহিনীর কাছে সম্পূর্ণ অবরুদ্ধ। কারণ, নৌবাহিনী গোটা বঙ্গোপসাগরে অবরোধ সৃষ্টি করেছেন। সমুদ্রপথে বাংলাদেশের দিকে এগোনো পাক বাহিনীর পক্ষে অসম্ভব। স্বয়ং আই এন এস বিক্রান্ত চট্টগ্রাম বন্দরের মুখে। বিক্রান্ত বিমানবাহী জাহাজ। বিক্রান্ত থেকে বার বার বিমান উড়ে গিয়ে চট্টগ্রাম এবং নারায়নগঞ্জ আক্রমণ করেছে। একটি পাক বাণিজ্য জাহাজ কলম্বো থেকে সামরিক উপকরণ নিয়ে বাংলাদেশের দিকে যাওয়ার চেষ্টা করেছিল। ভারতীয় নৌবাহিনী তাকে আটক করেছে।

বিমান ও নৌবাহিনী যখন গোটা পূর্ব খন্ডে আক্রমণে পাক দখলদারদের বিধ্বস্ত করছে ঠিক তখনই ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী খুব দ্রুত আঘাত হেনে স্থলপথে অগ্রসর হচ্ছে। ভারতীয় বিমান ও নৌবাহিনী গোটা পূর্ব বাংলায় পাক ঘাঁটিগুলির ওপর আক্রমণ চালিয়েছে। আর সেনাবাহিনী এগোচ্ছে কতকগুলি নির্দিষ্ট সেক্টর দিয়ে। মূল লক্ষ্য ঢাকা। কতকগুলি এলাকায় পাক বাহিনী শেষ পর্যন্ত লড়াই করেছে। কতকগুলি অঞ্চলে আবার সামান্য যুদ্ধের পরই তারা আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে। ভারতীয় বিমান ও নৌবাহিনী এইদিন প্রচণ্ডভাবে রকেট ব্যবহার করেছে।

এই সার্বিক বিমান আক্রমণের ফলে একদিকে যেমন গোটা বাংলাদেশে পাক সেনাবাহিনী প্রচণ্ড অসুবিধায় পড়েছে, তেমনি সুবিধা হয়েছে ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর। অগ্রবর্তী ভারতীয় পদাতিক সেনাবাহিনীর ওপর বিমান আক্রমণ চালাবার তেমন ক্ষমতা আর পাক প্রতিরক্ষা বাহিনীর নেই। এবং পাক ক্যান্টনমেন্ট ও গ্যারিসনগুলির ওপর যখন ভারতীয় বিমানবাহিনী আক্রমণ চালাবে তখন তা প্রতিরোধের ক্ষমতাও পূর্ব বাংলায় পাক বিমান বাহিনীর থাকবে না। এখন পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান থেকে আর বিমান আনাও তাদের পক্ষে সম্ভব নয়।

ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর অগ্রগতি আসলে শুরু হয়েছে শনিবার বেশি রাত থেকে। শনিবার গোটা দিনে তাঁরা প্রধানত আক্রমণের প্রস্তুতি গড়েছেন। এবার চতুর্দিক থেকে ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর অগ্রসর হতে থাকবেন।

দর্শনা স্টেশন, ঠাকুরগাঁও, চরখাই, কমলপুর, কুলাউড়া, গাজিপুর এবং চৌদ্দগ্রামের পতন ঘটেছে। এখন ওগুলি ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর দখলে। সাতক্ষীরা এবং আখাউড়ায় শনিবার বিকেলবেলা প্রচণ্ড লড়াই চলছিল।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

আজ যশোর, সিলেট, কুমিল্লা, রাজশাহী, রংপুর প্রভৃতি শহরের ওপর আক্রমণ বাড়বে। শনিবার রাতে ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী ওই শহরগুলির দিকে এগিয়েছেন।

এছাড়া বাংলাদেশের ভেতরের কতকগুলি শহর থেকেও পাক সেনাবাহিনী দ্রুতগতিতে ক্যান্টনমেন্টগুলির দিকে চলে আসছে। ফলে বরিশাল, ফরিদপুর এবং পটুয়াখালি এখন সম্পূর্ণ মুক্ত। ওই সব জেলায় আর কোন পাক কর্তৃত্ব নেই।

এই স্থল ও বিমানযুদ্ধে এইদিন বিকাল পর্যন্ত বিভিন্ন সেকটরে অন্তত তিনশত পাকসেনা নিহত হয়েছে। আর প্রায় একশত আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে। এক চরখাইতেই দু'জন অফিসারসহ ৫০ জন পাকসেনা আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে।

আসল স্থলযুদ্ধ অবশ্য হবে আজ রবিবার থেকে।

ভারতীয় প্রতিরক্ষা দফতরের এক মুখপাত্র জানান, এই দিনের যুদ্ধে ভারত চারটি জঙ্গী বিমান হারিয়েছে এবং কিছু সৈন্য মারা গিয়েছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯১। পূর্ববঙ্গে পাক বাহিনীকে আত্মসমর্পণে বাধ্য করা আমার লক্ষ্য- লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

## পূর্ববঙ্গে পাক বাহিনীকে আত্মসমর্পণে বাধ্য করা

### আমার লক্ষ্য- লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা

(স্টাফ রিপোর্টার)

কলকাতা, ৪ঠা ডিসেম্বর- বাংলাদেশের ব্যাপারে ভারতীয় বাহিনীর উদ্দেশ্য সম্বন্ধে পূর্বাঞ্চলের অধিনায়ক লেঃ জেনারেল জগজিৎ সিং অরোরা আজ সাংবাদিকদের বলেছেন, পূর্ববঙ্গ দখল করা ভারতীয় বাহিনীর উদ্দেশ্য নয়। এ সম্পর্কে আমার সরকারের নীতি খুবই পরিষ্কার। আমার সরকার চান, বাংলাদেশে যথার্থ জনপ্রতিনিধিমূলক সরকার প্রতিষ্ঠিত হোক।

পাকিস্তানের যুদ্ধ ঘোষণার অব্যবহিত পরেই পূর্ব খন্ডে ভারতীয় জোওয়ানরা দুর্বীরগতিতে পাকিস্তানী সেনাদের আঘাত দিয়ে চলেছে। আজ সকাল থেকে সন্ধ্যার মধ্যে ভারতীয় জোওয়ানরা স্থলে, জলে ও অন্তরীক্ষে একের পর এক সাফল্য অর্জন করে চলেছে বলে প্রতিরক্ষা বাহিনীর একজন জানান।

ইস্টার্ন কমান্ডের জি ও সি লেঃ জেনারেল জগজিৎ সিং অরোরা আজ কলকাতায় ভারতীয় ও বিদেশী সাংবাদিকদের এক সম্মেলনে বলেন যে, ভারতীয় বিমানবাহিনী প্রধানতঃ সামরিক ঘাঁটি, লক্ষবস্তু এবং বিশেষ করে বিমানঘাঁটির উপর আক্রমণ চালিয়েছে।

ভারতের সামরিক অভিপ্রায় সম্পর্কে তিনি বলেন যে, বাংলাদেশে মোতায়েন পাক সৈন্য বাহিনীকে আত্মসমর্পণে বাধ্য করাই আমার লক্ষ্য। বাংলাদেশে সংগ্রামরত পাকবাহিনী যুদ্ধ থেকে বিরত এবং আত্মসমর্পণ না করা পর্যন্ত আমাদের সামরিক অভিযান চলবে।

### বাংলাদেশে ৮০ হাজার পাকসৈন্য

লেঃ জেঃ অরোরার অনুমান বাংলাদেশে চার ডিভিশন অর্থাৎ ৭০ থেকে ৮০ হাজার পাকিস্তানী সৈন্য আছে। এর মধ্যে দুই ডিভিশন যশোর থেকে বাংলাদেশের পশ্চিম খন্ডে এবং নাটোর অথবা বগুড়ায় আক্রমণ চালাচ্ছে আর তৃতীয় ডিভিশনটি রয়েছে ঢাকার সামরিক সদরঘাঁটিতে।

### তিনটা দিন সময় দিন

যশোরে আক্রমণাত্মক অভিযান সম্পর্কে তাঁর পরিকল্পনা সম্বন্ধে বিদেশী সাংবাদিকরা বার বার প্রশ্ন করতে থাকলে তিনি বলে, আমাকে দয়া করে তিনটা দিন সময় দিন।

লেঃ জেনারেল অরোরা বলেন যে, বয়রার অদূরে ভারতীয় ঘাঁটিগুলির সৈন্যশক্তি গতকাল রাত্রে বৃদ্ধি করা হয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশে পাক বিমান বাহিনীর শক্তি সম্পর্কে প্রশ্ন করা হলে লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা বলেন যে, গত মাসে বয়রায় সংঘর্ষের সময় পাকিস্তানের তিনখানি স্যাভর জেট খতম হয়েছে। তাঁর বিশ্বাস ভারতীয় বিমানবাহিনী আগামী ৪৮ ঘণ্টার মধ্যে বাংলাদেশে জঙ্গীশাহীর আর যে কয়খানি বিমান আছে তা খতমের কাজ শেষ করতে পারবে। বাংলাদেশে পাক বিমানবহরকে নির্মূল করতে পারলে আমাদের স্থলসৈন্যদের কাজে খুবই সুবিধা হবে।

তিনি বলেন, কিছুকাল যাবতই বাংলাদেশের অবস্থা উত্তেজনাপূর্ণ হয়ে আছে। আমরা কোনো কোনো অঞ্চলে আক্রমণাত্মক ও প্রতিরক্ষামূলক তৎপরতার জন্য সৈন্য পাঠিয়েছি।

লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা বলেন যে, তাঁর কিছু আক্রমণাত্মক পরিকল্পনাও আছে। তবে তিনি এখন ফাঁস করবেন না। তবে আমার উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে আক্রমণ করেই পূর্ববঙ্গ রণাঙ্গনের সমস্যার মোকাবিলা করা এবং যত শিগগির সম্ভব পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যবাহিনীকে ‘টিট’ করার চেষ্টা করবেন। এর অর্থ হলো পাক-বাহিনীর মোকাবিলা করার জন্যে ভারতীয় জওয়ানরা বাংলাদেশে ঢুকবে।

### প্রতিরোধ অতীতের বস্তু

পাকিস্তানী বাহিনীর প্রতিরোধ প্রসঙ্গে প্রশ্ন করা হলে লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা বলেন যে, বাংলাদেশে মোতায়েন পাক বাহিনীর প্রতিরোধ এখন অতীতের বস্তু। তিনি বলেন, আগরতলা এলাকায় সব চেয়ে জোর লড়াই চলছে। অন্যান্য এলাকাতেও মোটের ওপর তাই। পূর্ব রণাঙ্গনের কোথাও পাকিস্তানী বাহিনী সীমান্ত অতিক্রম করে ভারতীয় এলাকায় প্রবেশ করেছে কিনা- এই প্রশ্ন করা হলে লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা বলেন, এই ধরনের কোনো খবর আমার জানা নেই। তবে পশ্চিম রণাঙ্গনে কোথাও কোথাও তারা সীমান্ত অতিক্রম করেছে।

তিনি বলেন, ১৯৭০ সালের নির্বাচনে জাতীয় পরিষদ ও প্রাদেশিক আইনসভায় মুজিবর রহমান ও তার দলকে বিপুল ভোটাধিক্যে জিতিয়ে বাংলাদেশের জনগণ চেয়েছিলেন মুজিবরের নেতৃত্বে গঠিত সরকার। ভারত সরকারও চান বাংলাদেশে এই সরকার প্রতিষ্ঠিত হোক।

### মূলত মার্কিন ও চীনা অস্ত্র

পূর্ববঙ্গে অবস্থিত পাক বাহিনীর অস্ত্রসম্ভার সম্পর্কে প্রশ্ন করা হলে লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা বলেন যে, পাক বাহিনী মূলত মার্কিন ও চীনা অস্ত্রশস্ত্র নিয়ে লড়ছে। এছাড়া তাদের কাছে কিছু ১০৫ মিলিমিটারের ইতালীয় কামানও পাওয়া গেছে।

### তেজগাঁ কুর্মিটোলায় আক্রমণ

ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী আজ সকালে যে আক্রমণ চালায় তার সম্পর্কে প্রশ্ন করা হলে লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা বলেন যে, ভারতীয় বাহিনীর আক্রমণ একান্তভাবেই সামরিক লক্ষ্যবস্তুর মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল। ভারতীয় বাহিনী আজ ঢাকার তেজগাঁও ও কুর্মিটোলা বিমানঘাঁটি এবং অন্যান্য স্থানের বিমানঘাঁটির উপর আক্রমণ চালায়। এই আক্রমণের উদ্দেশ্য হচ্ছে পূর্ব রণাঙ্গনে পাক বিমান বাহিনীকে খতম করা। তিনি বলেন যে, আমরা রানওয়ে নষ্ট করছি না এবং পূর্ববঙ্গের অর্থনৈতিক কাঠামো বজায় রাখার দিক থেকে প্রয়োজনীয় অসামরিক লক্ষ্যবস্তুও আমরা নষ্ট করছি না।

### হতাহতের সংখ্যা জানা যায়নি

তিনি বলেন যে, ভারতীয় বাহিনীর হতাহতের সংখ্যা এখনও জানা যায়নি। তবে কোন কোন অঞ্চলে ভাল যুদ্ধ হয়েছে। পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা ভালই লড়ছে। তবে আমি আমার জওয়ানদের কৃতিত্বে গর্বিত।

মুক্তিবাহিনীর উচ্ছ্বসিত প্রশংসা করে অপর এক প্রশ্নের উত্তরে তিনি বলেন যে, গত দু’মাসে তারা যে কৃতিত্ব দেখিয়েছে তা তারিফ করার মতো।

ভারতীয় বাহিনী মুক্তি ফৌজকে কোন রকম সাহায্য দিয়েছে কিনা এই প্রশ্ন করা হলে তিনি বলেন, আমরা তাদের কোন সাহায্যই দিইনি। তবে আমি এ বিষয়ে নিঃসন্দেহ যে আমার সরকার শীঘ্রই মুক্তিবাহিনীর সঙ্গে মিশে একই কমান্ডের অধীনে থেকে কাজ করা সম্পর্কে সিদ্ধান্ত নেবেন।...

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯২। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে সোভিয়েট ভেটোঃ বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধান দাবী	যুগান্তর	৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

## নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে সোভিয়েট ভেটো বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধান দাবী

রাষ্ট্রসংঘ, ৫ ডিসেম্বর (ইউ পি আই, এ পি)- আজ নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে আমেরিকা, ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের উদ্দেশ্যে অস্ত্রসংবরণ ও সৈন্য প্রত্যাহারের আহবান জানিয়ে যে প্রস্তাব তুলেছিল, রাশিয়া তাতে ভেটো প্রয়োগ করেছেন। পক্ষান্তরে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের প্রস্তাবে বলা হয়েছে, বাংলাদেশের সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক সমাধান এবং বাংলাদেশে পাক সেনাদের হত্যাকাণ্ড বন্ধ করা হোক। কারণ এইটাই মূল বিরোধের উৎস এবং এগুলি বন্ধ হলেই বর্তমান সংঘর্ষের অবসান ঘটবে।

সোভিয়েট প্রস্তাব উত্থাপন করেন সহকারী পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রী জ্যাকব এ মালিক। তিনি দৃঢ়তার সঙ্গে জানান, আমেরিকা যে প্রস্তাব উত্থাপন করেছে, তা পক্ষপাতিত্বপূর্ণ এবং গ্রহণযোগ্য নয়। আমেরিকার প্রস্তাবের পক্ষে ভোট দেয় এগার জন প্রতিনিধি। তবে বৃটেন ও ফ্রান্স ভোটদানে বিরত থাকে। সোভিয়েট ও পোল্যান্ড বিপক্ষে ভোট দেয়।

মিঃ জ্যাকব বলেন, আমেরিকার প্রস্তাবে এই সংঘর্ষের দায়িত্ব প্রকৃত দোষীর ওপর না চাপিয়ে অন্য পক্ষের ওপর চাপানো হচ্ছে। তা ছাড়া পাকিস্তান, তার বড় বড় রক্ষাকর্তারা এবং তাদের ব্লকের সদস্য রাষ্ট্রগুলি ভারত ও পাকিস্তানকে একই পর্যায়ে চেষ্টা করেছে। এটা ভীষণ ভুল কাজ। কারণ যদি পাকিস্তান সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষ পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের জনগণের বৈধ প্রতিনিধিদের সঙ্গে আলোচনায় অসম্মত না হতেন তবে আজকের এই পরিস্থিতির উদ্ভব হতোই না। গত ডিসেম্বর মাসের নির্বাচনে এই সব প্রতিনিধি যথারীতি নির্বাচিত হয়েছিলেন।

### ভারতের ওপর অকথ্য অত্যাচার ঘটছে

মিঃ মালিক বলেন, ভারতের ওপর অকথ্য অত্যাচার ঘটছে। এক কোটি শরণার্থী ভারতে এসেছে। তাদের দুঃখ কষ্ট অবর্ণনীয়। এই অবস্থায় নিরাপত্তা পরিষদ যদি বাংলাদেশের কোন প্রতিনিধির মুখ থেকে সেখানকার পরিস্থিতির কথা শোনেন তবে ভালো হয়। তা থেকে বিরোধের মূল উৎসভূমি কোথায় তা জানা যাবে।

বেলজিয়াম, ইটালি, জাপানের প্রস্তাবে বলা হয়েছিল, ভারত ও পাকিস্তানকে মীমাংসার প্রথম পদক্ষেপরূপে অস্ত্র সংবরণ ও সামরিক তৎপরতা বন্ধ করতে বলা হোক।

আরও বলা হয়, লক্ষ লক্ষ শরণার্থী যাঁরা ভারতে চলে এসেছেন তাঁরা স্বেচ্ছায় যাতে স্বদেশে ফিরে যেতে পারেন তার জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় পরিবেশ সৃষ্টি করতে হবে। সেক্রেটারী জেনারেল উ থান্টের সঙ্গেও যেন বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র ত্রাণকার্যের ব্যাপারে সহযোগিতা করেন।

### জরুরী অধিবেশন

ভারতীয় সময় রবিবার সকাল। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের জরুরী অধিবেশন বসল। বিবেচ্য বিষয়ঃ ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের কাছে অবিলম্বে অস্ত্রসংবরণ ও সৈন্য প্রত্যাহার আহবান জানানো হতে পারে কিনা।

### সোভিয়েট প্রস্তাব

সোভিয়েট প্রতিনিধি প্রস্তাব দিলেনঃ (১) বাংলাদেশের রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের আহ্বান জানানো হোক। এর দ্বারা এক্ষণি শত্রুতার অবসান ঘটবে। (২) পাকিস্তানের সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষকে আহ্বান জানানো হোক, বাংলাদেশ পাকবাহিনীর সর্বপ্রকার হত্যা ও হিংসাত্মক কাজ বন্ধ করতে হবে। কারণ এই হত্যা ও হিংসাত্মক কাজ থেকে পরিস্থিতির অবনতি ঘটেছে।

### আমেরিকা গ্রুপের

আমেরিকার প্রতিনিধি মিঃ জর্জ এইচ বুশ তাঁর প্রস্তাবে বলেন, নিরাপত্তা পরিষদ অবিলম্বে অস্ত্রসংবরণের জন্য ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের উদ্দেশ্যে আহ্বান জানান। দুটি দেশ যেন এই উদ্দেশ্যে প্রয়োজনীয় সব ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করে। উভয় সরকার ও সংশ্লিষ্ট অন্য সকল পক্ষ, শরণার্থীদের স্বদেশে প্রত্যাবর্তনের জন্য যেন সর্বতোভাবে চেষ্টা করে। সেক্রেটারী জেনারেল এই উপমহাদেশে শান্তি স্থাপনের জন্য যে প্রস্তাব দিয়েছেন তাতে উভয় দেশেরই সাড়া দেওয়া উচিত। এজন্য সীমান্ত বরাবর রাষ্ট্রসংঘের পর্যবেক্ষক নিয়োগ, অস্ত্রসংবরণ ও সৈন্য প্রত্যাহার হওয়া উচিত।

তিনি বলেন, পরিস্থিতি উত্তেজনাপূর্ণ। এই অবস্থায় সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের পক্ষে বলপ্রয়োগের পথ গ্রহণ করা উচিত হবে না।

### সমর সেনের ভাষণ

রাষ্ট্রসংঘে ভারতের স্থায়ী প্রতিনিধি শ্রী সমর সেন নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে বলেন, বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীন হবেই। এ ঘটনা সুনিশ্চিতই এবং ভারতও বাংলাদেশের মানুষকে সাহায্য করে যাবে, যে সব মানুষের মনোবল কোনভাবেই ধ্বংস করা যাবে না।

তিনি বলেন, পাকিস্তানী কামান যখন ভারতের গ্রামের ওপর অবিরত গোলাবর্ষণ করে চলল, তখন ভারতের পক্ষে তার জবাব দেওয়া ছাড়া অন্য কোন পথ ছিল না। পাকিস্তান নিজের দেশবাসীকে জবাই করতে লাগল। তারপর তারা কামানের মুখ ভারতের দিকে ফেরাল। তখন আমাদের কাছে ঐ কামানগুলিকে স্তব্ধ করে দেওয়া ছাড়া অন্য পথ ছিল না। এবং আমাদের বেসামরিক লোকদের রক্ষা করার উদ্দেশ্যে আমরা তা করার সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছি।

### আগেই সৈন্য সমাবেশ

শ্রী সেন বলেন, ভারতের বহু আগে পাকিস্তান সীমান্ত বরাবর সৈন্য সমাবেশ করেছে। বাঙ্গালী বিদ্রোহীদের কোনভাবে শায়েস্তা করতে না পেরে পাকিস্তান তাদের এই বিশেষ ধরনের সঙ্কটের যথার্থতা প্রমাণের জন্য অন্য একটা পথ খুঁজছিল। বর্তমান সংঘর্ষ সেই খোঁজার পরিণতি।

### অধিবেশন স্থগিত

সোভিয়েট ভেটোর পরে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের অধিবেশন বিকেল আড়াইটা পর্যন্ত স্থগিত রাখা হয়।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯৩। পাক-ভারত-বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধের খবর	যুগান্তর	৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

## লাকসামের পতন, লক্ষ্য ঢাকা

(স্টাফ রিপোর্টার)

কলকাতা, ৫ই ডিসেম্বর- বাংলাদেশে ভারতীয় বাহিনীর অভিযানের লক্ষ্য ঢাকা। আজ কলকাতায় ইষ্টার্ন কম্যান্ডের জনৈক মুখপাত্র ভারতীয় ও বিদেশী সাংবাদিকদের বলেছেন যে, বাংলাদেশের বিভিন্ন সেক্টরে ভারতীয় সৈন্যবাহিনী মুক্তিবাহিনী ও সীমান্ত নিরাপত্তা বাহিনীর সহযোগিতায় বাংলাদেশের রণাঙ্গনে কয়েকটা উল্লেখযোগ্য সাফল্য লাভ করেছে।

বাংলাদেশে আজকের জয়লাভের মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য হল লাকসাম আখাউড়া, বকসিগঞ্জ (ময়মনসিংহ), মিয়াবাজার, পারিকোট, লালবাগ (কুমিল্লা) ও যশোরের কোটচাঁদপুর।

যশোর শহর ও ক্যান্টনমেন্ট ভারতীয় বাহিনীর সাফল্য সম্পর্কে প্রশ্ন করা হলে ঐ মুখপাত্র বলেন যে, যশোরকে সম্পূর্ণভাবে অবরুদ্ধ করা হয়েছে। ক্যান্টনমেন্টের পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের ভারতীয় বাহিনীর পক্ষ থেকে মাইকে বলা হচ্ছে “আত্মসমর্পণ অথবা মৃত্যু, এর একটি বেছে নাও।” এদিকে ভারতীয় বাহিনী আজ সন্ধ্যায় দিনাজপুর শহর থেকে প্রায় ৬ মাইল দূরে।

ইষ্টার্ন কম্যান্ডের সামরিক মুখপাত্র আজ বলেছেন, বাংলাদেশে আমাদের অভিযানের সাফল্যের একটা বড় সুবিধা হল যে মুক্তিবাহিনী আগেই বহু এলাকা মুক্ত করে রেখেছেন।

ঐ মুখপাত্র বলেন যে, চট্টগ্রামের দরিয়া এখন ভারতীয় নৌবাহিনীর নিয়ন্ত্রণে। ভারতীয় বিমানবাহী রণতরী ‘বিক্রান্ত’ কক্সবাজার ও চট্টগ্রাম বন্দরের পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের ঘাঁটিগুলি ধ্বংস করে দিয়েছে। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের হাতে বাংলাদেশে এখন চারটির বেশী নেই।

ইষ্টার্ন এয়ার কম্যান্ডের অধিনায়ক এয়ার মার্শাল দেওয়ান শিলংয়ে বলেছেন যে, বাংলাদেশের আকাশে এখন ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনীর পূর্ণ আধিপত্য। আজ ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী ময়মনসিংহের জামালপুরে পাকিস্তানী কলামের উপর আক্রমণ চালিয়ে ৯০টি সামরিক গাড়ী ও কয়েকশ’ পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যকে নিহত করেছে।

## রেল সংযোগ বিচ্ছিন্ন

আখাউড়া ও লাকসামের পতনের ফলে চট্টগ্রাম, ফেনী, চাঁদপুর, কুমিল্লা, শ্রীহট্ট ও ঢাকার মধ্যে রেল সংযোগ বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়েছে।

কলকাতায় ইষ্টার্ন কম্যান্ডের মুখপাত্র বলেছেন যে, ১২ নম্বর ফ্রন্টিয়ার ফোর্স রাইফেলসের একটি ব্যাটেলিয়ান আখাউড়ায় যুদ্ধ করছিল। তাদের সঙ্গে ট্যাংক ছিল। সকাল সাড়ে ছটায় ভারতীয় বাহিনী চূড়ান্ত আঘাত দিলে আখাউড়ার প্রতিরক্ষা ভেঙ্গে পড়ে। বহু পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীকে বন্দী করা ছাড়াও ২টি ট্যাংক ও কয়েকটি ফিল্ডগান ভারতীয় সৈন্যদের কাছে ধরা পড়েছে।

কুমিল্লা সেক্টরের মিয়াবাজারে ভারতীয় বাহিনী পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের ২৫ নম্বর ফ্রন্টিয়ার ফোর্স রাইফেলসের অধিনায়ক লেঃ কর্নেল বেগকে আটক করেছে। তিনি তাঁর সকল সৈন্য ও অস্ত্রশস্ত্র নিয়ে আত্মসমর্পণ করেছেন। লেঃ কর্নেল তাঁর ২৩৫ জন লোক নিয়ে ভারতের প্রচণ্ড আক্রমণের মুখে হাত তুলে আত্মসমর্পণ করেছেন।

খুলনা জেলার সাতক্ষীরা মহকুমায় মুক্তিবাহিনীর সঙ্গে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের তুমুল লড়াই চলছে।

ময়মনসিংহ সেক্টরের মিয়াবাজারে ৩১ নম্বর বালুচ ও ৭১ নম্বর উইং রেঞ্জার্সের ১৬০ জন লোক তাদের অস্ত্রশস্ত্র সহ আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে। শ্রীহট্ট সেক্টরের মুন্সিবাজার ভারতীয় বাহিনী দখল করেছে। মুন্সীবাজারে ৩০ জন পাকিস্তানী সৈনিককে বন্দী করা হয়েছে। ভারতীয় বাহিনী পশ্চিমে হাতিকান্দা ও পূর্বে নাগেশ্বরী থেকে রংপুরের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ রেল জংশন লালমণির হাটের দিকে অভিযান করেছে।

হিলি সেক্টরে পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা চারখাই, ফুলবাড়ী দখল করে পার্বতীপুরের রেল জংশনের দিকে এগিয়ে যাচ্ছে।

### নৌবাহিনীর সাফল্য

ভারতীয় নৌবাহিনীর গোলায় চট্টগ্রামের তৈল শোধনাগারের ক্ষতি হয়েছে। ভারতের প্রতিরক্ষা দপ্তর চট্টগ্রাম বন্দরের ধারে কাছে নিরপেক্ষ জাহাজগুলিকে না যাবার নির্দেশ দিয়েছেন।

### বিমান বাহিনীর কৃতিত্ব

শিলং-এ ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনীর মুখপাত্র জানিয়েছে যে, বাংলাদেশে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সামরিক ঘাঁটিগুলির উপর ভারতীয় বিমানগুলি ২৩০ বার আক্রমণ চালিয়ে বিপুল ক্ষতি করেছে। বাংলাদেশে কোন ভারতীয় বিমানের ক্ষতি হয়নি। সবগুলি বিমান নিরাপদে ঘাঁটিতে ফিরে এসেছে। তিনি বলেন যে, ভারতীয় বিমানগুলি ঢাকা শিল্পাঞ্চলে ও বিমান ঘাঁটির রানওয়েতে ৩৪ বার বোমা ও গুলী মেরে ক্ষতি করেছে। কুর্মিটোলা ক্যান্টনমেন্টের বিমান ঘাঁটি ও তেজগাঁও বিমান ঘাঁটিতে আজ পাকিস্তানীদের কোন বিমান ওঠানাম করতে পারেনি। কুর্মিটোলা বিমান ঘাঁটিতে ভারতীয় বিমানের গোলা দশ ফুট গভীর ও ৩০ বর্গ ফুট পরিমিত এলাকায় গর্ত করেছে। গতকালের হানায় ১৪টি পাকিস্তানী বিমান ধ্বংস হয়েছে। ভারতের ৫টি বিমানের ক্ষতি হয়েছে।

### মুক্তিবাহিনীর সাফল্য

মুক্তিবাহিনী ঢাকা থেকে ৩১ কিলোমিটার উত্তরের রেল জংশন টঙ্গী দখল করেছে। ফলে ঢাকা ও ভৈরববাজারের মধ্যে রেল সংযোগ বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়েছে। ঢাকার উত্তর-পশ্চিমে মনোহরদি ও নরসিংদি থানাগুলি মুক্তিবাহিনী দখলে এনেছেন। এছাড়া মুন্সীগঞ্জ ও মানিকগঞ্জের পুরা মহকুমায় মুক্তি বাহিনী আধিপত্য বিস্তার করেছে। এর ফলে ঢাকার পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীরা অवरুদ্ধ হয়ে পড়েছে।

বাংলাদেশের রণাঙ্গন থেকে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীরা রাওয়ালপিণ্ডিতে এই এস-ও-এস পাঠাচ্ছে যে তাদের অস্ত্র ও গোলা বারুদ ফুরিয়ে যাচ্ছে। দ্রুত সমরসম্ভার পাঠানো হোক। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের কাছে যাতে কোন রসদ না পৌঁছায় সেজন্য ভারত আকাশ ও নৌপথে অবরোধ ব্যূহ রচনা করেছে।

### বাংলাদেশে পাক বাহিনী বিচ্ছিন্ন

(দিল্লী অফিস)

৫ই ডিসেম্বর- বাংলাদেশে পাক বাহিনীর মনোবল ভেঙ্গে পড়ছে। ক্রমশ, জল আর স্থলপথে পশ্চিমের সঙ্গে এখন আর এদের কোন যোগাযোগ নেই। এরা এখন সম্পূর্ণ বিচ্ছিন্ন। এখন এদের চাঙ্গা করে তোলার জন্য ইসলামাবাদে তৈরী নানা কাহিনী শোনানো হচ্ছে। এদের বলা হচ্ছে অমৃতসর, পুষ্ক, ছাম্ব আর ফিরোজপুর এখন পাকিস্তানের দখলে। অতএব মুজাহিদের দল ভয় পেওনা, জেগে ওঠো।



বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

## ২৩০ বার বিমান হানা

ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী আজ ভোর থেকে অপরাহ্ন পর্যন্ত বাংলাদেশের পাক ঘাঁটিগুলির ওপর ২৩০ বার হানা দিয়েছে।

ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী ময়মনসিংহ জেলার ব্রহ্মপুত্র নদীর দক্ষিণ তীরে জামালপুরে অবস্থিত পাক ব্রিগেড সদর দপ্তরটি ধ্বংস করে দিয়েছেন। পাক বিমান থেকে আজ কোন প্রকার বাধা আসেনি।

পাকিস্তানের ৯০টি সামরিক গাড়ীর একটি কনভয় এবং জামালপুরের কাছে পলায়নরত একদল পাক সৈন্যের ওপর পাঁচটি ভারতীয় মিগ বিমা বোমা বর্ষণ করে। কনভয়টিকে জ্বলতে দেখা গেছে। পাক সৈন্যরা জামালপুরের ফেরী অতিক্রম করার চেষ্টা করছিল।

শত্রুসৈন্যের দল রাজেন্দ্রগঞ্জ থেকে দক্ষিণ দিকে পালাবার চেষ্টায় ছিল।

## পাক সাবমেরিন ডুবেছে

গত রাত্রে বঙ্গোপসাগরে ভারতীয় নৌবহরের বিমান ও জাহাজ যে পাকিস্তানী সাবমেরিনকে আঘাত করেছিল তা ডুবে গেছে বলে আজ প্রাথমিক নৌ কমান্ড জানিয়েছে।

## চট্টগ্রামে ৬টি জাহাজ নিমজ্জিত

চট্টগ্রাম বন্দর ও কক্সবাজারের উপর বিমান আক্রমণ চালিয়ে ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী ছয়টি পাকিস্তানী জাহাজ রকেট নিক্ষেপে ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত করেছে।

বিমান বন্দরের সমস্ত সামরিক দ্রব্য, তেলের ডিপো ও কক্সবাজারের ওয়ারলেস স্টেশন অকেজো করে দেয়া হয়েছে।

আমাদের সমস্ত বিমান নিরাপদে ফিরে এসেছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯৪। পাক-ভারত-বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধের খবর	যুগান্তর	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

## ফেনী ব্রাহ্মণবাড়িয়া কসবা দখল, খানেরা প্রায় অবরুদ্ধ

(স্টাফ রিপোর্টার)

কলকাতা, ৬ই ডিসেম্বর- বাংলাদেশে ভারতীয় বাহিনীর আজকের সাফল্যগুলির মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য হল ফেনী, ব্রাহ্মণবাড়িয়া, কসবা। সন্ধ্যায় ভারত বাহিনী লালমনিরহাট রেলশহরের উপকণ্ঠে পৌঁছেছে।

ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী বাংলাদেশের দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিম রণাঙ্গণে আজ যশোর ক্যান্টনমেন্ট ও ঝিনাইদহের পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের সামরিক ঘাঁটি ও লক্ষ্যবস্তুগুলির উপর আক্রমণ চালিয়েছে। স্থলবাহিনী ঝিনাইদহ-যশোর রোড ধরে এগিয়ে কালিগঞ্জ দখল করেছে।

ইস্টার্ন কমান্ডের জৈনিক মুখপাত্র কলকাতায় রাতে সাংবাদিকদের বলেন যে, যশোরে অসামরিক লোকদের ক্ষয়ক্ষতি যাতে না হয়, সেদিকে লক্ষ্য রেখে যশোর ভারতীয় বাহিনী তাদের আক্রমণ সীমাবদ্ধ রেখেছে। তবে তিনি পরিস্কারভাবে জানান যে, বাংলাদেশে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের পালিয়ে যাবার কোন পথ নেই। তাদের সরবরাহেরও কোন ব্যবস্থা নেই। ফলে সেখানে তাদের অবস্থা খুবই সংকটজনক।

সকালে ইস্টার্ন কমান্ডের চীফ অফ স্টাফ মেজর জেনারেল জ্যাকব এক সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে জানান যে, পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে বাংলাদেশে দখলদারী পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের যোগাযোগের সকল সূত্র স্তব্ধ করে দেওয়া হয়েছে।

ভারতীয় নৌবাহিনীর বিমানবাহী তরী বিক্রান্ত থেকে উড়ে গিয়ে বিমান বহর আজ খুব ভোরে খুলনার মঙ্গলা বন্দরের কাছে পদ্মার নদীতে দুটি গানবোট উড়িয়ে দিয়েছে।

সাতক্ষীরা সেষ্টরে মুক্তিবাহিনী আজ তুমুল লড়াইর পর সাতক্ষীরা শহরে প্রবেশ করেছে। সাতক্ষীরা থেকে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীরা এখন খুলনা রোড ধরে পিছিয়ে যাচ্ছে।

মুক্তিবাহিনীর বৈমানিকেরা আজ প্রথম বিমান নিয়ে শ্রীহট্ট জেলার পাকিস্তানী ঘাঁটিগুলিতে বোমাবর্ষণ করে নির্বিঘ্নে নিজেদের ঘাঁটিতে ফিরে এসেছে।

ইস্টার্ন কমান্ডের মুখপাত্র জানান যে, লাকসাম থেকে ভারতীয় বাহিনী ঢাকার পথ ধরেছে। লাকসাম থেকে ঢাকার দূরত্ব সড়ক পথে প্রায় ৭০ মাইল।

ভারতীয় বাহিনী আজ পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের হাতে যে সকল জায়গা মুক্ত করেছে, তা হল ময়মনসিংহ সেষ্টরে জয়ন্তীয়াপুর ও গোঁয়াইঘাট, শ্রীহট্ট সেষ্টরে লাটু, জুরি, কুলাউড়া ও মুন্সীবাজার, ব্রাহ্মণবাড়িয়া, কসবা ও কুড়ি। এখানে তিতাস নদীর উপর উজানীসার ব্রিজটি ভারতীয় বাহিনী অক্ষত অবস্থায় দখল করেছে।

## পঞ্চমুখী অভিযান

বাংলাদেশের ভেতরে পঞ্চমুখী অভিযান চালিয়ে সৈন্যবাহিনী যে দুর্বার গতিতে এগিয়ে চলেছে, আজ সকালে ফেনী, কুলাউড়া ও লাটু দখলের মধ্যে দিয়ে তা প্রমাণিত হয়েছে।

পূর্বাঞ্চল কম্যান্ডের চীফ অব স্টাফ মেজর জেনারেল জে এফ আর জ্যাকব এদিক সকাল এগারটায় এক সাংবাদিক বৈঠকে ঘোষণা করেনঃ একদিকে যশোর শহরের থেকে প্রায় চার মাইল দূরে প্রচণ্ড লড়াই চলেছে।

ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর অগ্রগতি বিশ্লেষণ করতে গিয়ে মেজর জেনারেল জানানঃ ভৌগোলিক দিক থেকে এবং মাটি ও নদী নালার জন্য আমাদের স্থলবাহিনী বাংলাদেশের ভেতরে অগ্রসর হতে অসুবিধে অবশ্যই দেখা দিচ্ছে। বিশেষ করে যোগাযোগ ব্যবস্থা অত্যন্ত খারাপ।

সামরিক বাহিনীর জনৈক মুখপাত্র আরো বলেনঃ প্রথম সেক্টরে অর্থাৎ গঙ্গা পদ্মা ও সমুদ্রের ধারা ঘেরা এলাকায় ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী আপাততঃ এগিয়ে গিয়ে যশোর শহরের সীমান্তে পৌঁছে গেছে। প্রায় তিন মাইল দূরে প্রচণ্ড লড়াই চলেছে। দর্শনা, জীবননগর দখল করেছে। আর সেনাবাহিনী চুয়াডাঙ্গা ও মেহেরপুরের ওপর প্রবল চাপ দিয়ে চলেছে। তাছাড়া মুখপাত্র বলেন, ব্রহ্মপুত্রের কাছে উত্তর সেক্টরে পার্বত্য অঞ্চলে প্রবল লড়াই চলেছে। নবাবগঞ্জের সামনে যুদ্ধ হচ্ছে। বোদা, ঠাকুরগাঁও দখল করে ভারতীয় জোয়ানরা আরো নীচের দিকে নেমে চলেছে।

কালিগঞ্জের দিকে ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর অগ্রগতির উল্লেখ করে মুখপাত্র জানান, কালিগঞ্জ, কমলপুর আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে। বকসিগঞ্জ শহরও দখল হয়েছে। কানারিঘাটের দিকে ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী দুর্বারগতিতে এগিয়ে চলেছে। শামসের নগর বিমান ঘাঁটি সম্পূর্ণরূপে বিধ্বস্ত। মৌলভীবাজার দখলে এসেছে। পাক বাহিনীর ১২ নম্বর ফ্রন্টিয়ার ফোর্স রেজিমেন্ট সম্পূর্ণভাবে বিধ্বস্ত হয়েছে। লাকসাম দখলের পর তারা মুকাদ্দরগঞ্জের দিকে এগিয়ে যাচ্ছে।

মেজর জেনারেল জানিয়েছেনঃ বেলোনিয়া পকেট সম্পূর্ণভাবে ভারতীয় সেনার হাতে এসে গেছে।

বিদেশী সাংবাদিকদের প্রশ্নের উত্তরে মেজর জেনারেল বলেন, পাক সৈন্যদের হতাহতের তুলনায় ভারতীয়দের কমসংখ্যক সৈন্য আহত বা নিহত হয়েছে। তবে পাকিস্তানী সেনারা প্রবলভাবে লড়াই করেছে। তিনি আরো বলেন এখন পর্যন্ত ৩১৭ জন পাক সৈন্য নিহত হয়েছে। ১৯৯ জন আহত এবং ৪২৬ জনকে আজ পর্যন্ত আটক করা হয়েছে। একজন মুখপাত্র একথাও বলেন, কিন্টনের সাতটি লরী ভর্তি পাক সেনা ধৃত হয়েছে। পাক সেনাবাহিনী সবচেয়ে যে কয়টি জায়গায় ভারতীয় সেনাকে বাধা দিয়েছিল ও দিচ্ছে, তার মধ্যে আখাউড়া, লাকসাম যশোর আছে।

অপর এক প্রশ্নের উত্তরে সামরিক বাহিনীর মুখপাত্র বলেন, ধৃত পাক সেনাদের সঙ্গে জেনেভা চুক্তি অনুযায়ী সৌজন্যমূলক ব্যবহার করা হচ্ছে। শত্রুসেনাদের আত্মসমর্পণ করতে বলা হয়েছে। তারা যদি আত্মসমর্পণ করে, তবে রক্তক্ষয় কম হবে। তিনি আরো জানান, ধৃত পাক সেনারা বলেছে, তাদের কাছে সর্বশেষ যে বার্তা এসেছে, তাতে বলা হয়েছে, ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীকে আটকে রাখ। আমরা সাহায্য পাঠাচ্ছি। ইতিমধ্যে পশ্চিমাঞ্চলে আমরা অমৃতশহর, শ্রীনগর দখল করে নিয়েছি। তিনি একথাও বলেন, এসব মিথ্যা বলা হচ্ছে। পাক সেনাদের মধ্যে নিহতের সখ্যা তিন-চার শয়ের মত হবে।

পাকিস্তানের পনেরোটি স্যাভার জেট এই ভূখণ্ডে ভূপাতিত করা সম্ভব হয়েছে। তাদের ২২টি মার্কিনী ট্যাংক বিধ্বস্ত হয়েছে। তারা বিভিন্ন স্থানে পোড়া মাটি নীতি অনুসরণ করে চলেছে।

মেজর জেনারেল বলেন, ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী তীব্রবেগে এগিয়ে চলেছে। আমাদের নৌবাহিনী সমুদ্রপথে বাঁধা দিচ্ছে এবং আমাদের বিমান বাংলাদেশের আকাশের ওপর প্রভূত্ব করছে।

ইষ্টার্ন কম্যান্ডের মুখপাত্র বলেন যে, কুষ্টিয়া জেলার মেহেরপুর মহকুমার কাজিপুর পাক সৈন্য মুক্ত হয়েছে। ঝিনাইদহে পাক সেনাবাহিনীর সদর দপ্তরের দিকে অগ্রসর হওয়ার সময় ভারতীয় সৈন্যরা গুরুত্বপূর্ণ খালিসপুর সেতুটি দখল করেছে।

মুখপাত্রটি বলেন, হাতিবান্ধা থেকে অগ্রসরমান ভারতীয় সৈন্যরা রংপুর জেলার উত্তরে লালমনিরহাটের দিকে অনেক দূর এগিয়ে গেছে।

কুমিল্লাখন্ডে আমাদের সৈন্যরা বরচাঁদ ও একতাবপুর মুক্ত করার পর গোমতী নদী পার হয়ে গেছে।

মেঘালয়খন্ডে ভারতীয় সৈন্যরা কমলপুরের ৪০ কিঃ মিঃ দক্ষিণে জামালপুর ও চরবাংলি দখল করার পর ময়মনসিংহ জেলার দিকে অনেক দূর এগিয়ে গেছে। পশ্চিমবঙ্গখন্ডে ভারতীয় সৈন্যরা ঠাকুরগাঁও-এর ২৭ কিঃ মিঃ দক্ষিণ-পূর্বে বীরগঞ্জ এবং রংপুরের ২৫ কিঃ মিঃ উত্তরে কালিগঞ্জ আজ সকালে দখল করেছে।

হিলির ১৫ কিঃ মিঃ উত্তর-পূর্বে নবাবগঞ্জ এবং যশোরের ৩০ কিঃ মিঃ উত্তর-পশ্চিমে কোটচাঁদপুরও ভারতীয় বাহিনীর দখলে এসেছে।

ভারতীয় সৈন্যবাহিনী মুক্তিবাহিনীর সহযোগিতায় সমস্ত খন্ডেই পাক সৈন্যদের ওপর প্রবল চাপ সৃষ্টি করে চলেছে।

### বিমান বাহিনীর ভূমিকা

শিলং-এ ইস্টার্ন এয়ার কমান্ডের এয়ার মার্শাল দেওয়ান সাংবাদিকদের বলেছেন যে, কুমিল্লার উপর ভারতীয় বিমান আর একটি পাকিস্তানী স্যাবর জেট বিমানকে গুলিবিদ্ধ করে ভূপাতিত করেছে। এই নিয়ে বাংলাদেশে ১৫টি পাকিস্তানী বিমান ধ্বংস হলো। এখন পর্যন্ত এই খন্ডে ভারতের ৫টি বিমানের ক্ষতি হয়েছে।

#### ১৮৬ বার হানা

তিনি বলেন যে, ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী ১৮৬ বার আক্রমণাত্মক হানা দিয়ে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের সামরিক লক্ষ্যবস্তু ও ঘাঁটিগুলির ব্যাপক ক্ষতি করেছে। ভারতীয় বিমান আজ কুর্মিটোলা ও তেজগাঁও বিমান ঘাঁটিতে ২৪ পাউন্ডের বোমা ফেলে বিমান ঘাঁটি দুটিকে সম্পূর্ণ অকেজো করে তুলেছে।

নয়াদিল্লী, ৬ই ডিসেম্বর (ইউ এন আই)- ভারতের সঙ্গে বাংলাদেশে আখাউড়ার ট্রান্স টেলিফোন অফিস চালু হয়েছে বলে আজ এখানে সরকারীভাবে জানান হয়েছে। জনসাধারণ এই টেলিফোনে যোগাযোগ করতে পারেন বলেও জানান হয়েছে।

### ২টি পাক ট্যাঙ্কার আটক

দিল্লীতে সরকারী মুখপাত্র জানিয়েছেন যে, পাকিস্তানের জন্য সস্তারবাহী ২টি বড় ট্যাংকারকে আজ ভারতীয় নৌ বাহিনী মেঘনা নদীর উপকূলে আটক করেছে। বিমানবাহী নৌবহন খুলনার চালনা ও মঙ্গলা বন্দরের লক্ষ্যবস্তুগুলির উপর আক্রমণ চালিয়েছে। খুলনার উপকূলে একটি পাক বাণিজ্য জাহাজ ভারতীয় বিমানকে লক্ষ্য করে গোলা ছুড়লে বিমান বাহিনী জাহাজটিকে আক্রমণ করে।

### আগরতলা বিপদমুক্ত

আগরতলা অফিস থেকে অনিল ভট্টাচার্য জানাচ্ছেন, মুক্তিবাহিনী ও ভারতীয় বাহিনী এখন আখাউড়া এবং কুমিল্লা জেলায় আরও কয়েকটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ পাকিস্তানী ঘাঁটি অধিকার করায় আগরতলা এখন বিপদমুক্ত বলা যেতে পারে।

ভারতীয় বাহিনী এখন আগরতলার সর্ব উত্তরে অবস্থিত ধর্মনগর থেকে জুড়ি রেল স্টেশন পর্যন্ত (ধর্মনগর থেকে ১২ মাইল) এলাকা দখল করে নিয়েছে।

শ্রীহট্টের শালুটিকর বিমান ক্ষেত্রের তিন মাইলের মধ্যে ভারতীয় বাহিনী পৌঁছে গেছে। শ্রীহট্টের কোটাক ও লালখন্ড চা-বাগান ভারতীয় বাহিনী দখল করেছে এবং শ্রীমঙ্গল ও শায়েস্তাগঞ্জের মধ্যে যোগাযোগ বিচ্ছিন্ন করে দিয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশের পূর্বাঞ্চলে পাক বাহিনীর সেরা দূর্গ ময়নামতি ক্যান্টনমেন্ট ছেড়ে পাক বাহিনীর একাংশ চাঁদপুর চলে গিয়েছিল। এখন চাঁদপুর ও ময়নামতির মধ্যে তাদের যোগাযোগ বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে গেছে। পাকবাহিনী এখন ক্রমশঃ পিছু হটে যাচ্ছে।

কুমিল্লা-ফেনী খণ্ডে ৭০০ জন পাক সৈন্য নিহত হয়েছে।

শ্রীহট্টের কয়েকটি থানা এলাকা মুক্তিবাহিনী দখল করেছে এবং সেখানে বাংলাদেশ সরকার চালু হয়েছে। ৩রা ডিসেম্বর ভারতীয় বাহিনী যখন চট্টগ্রাম আক্রমণ করে তখন স্থানীয় অধিবাসীরা ‘জয় বাংলা’ ও বিভিন্ন ধ্বনি দিয়ে অভিনন্দন জানায়। চট্টগ্রাম বেতার কেন্দ্রের নাট্যরূপ লেখককে মুক্তিবাহিনী গুলি করে খতম করেছে।

আগরতলা থেকে ১০ কিলোমিটার দূরে বাংলাদেশের মুন্সিগঞ্জ আখাউড়াতে আজ এক বিরাট সমাবেশের মাঝে বাংলাদেশের পতাকা উত্তোলিত হয়। মুক্তিপরিষদের সশস্ত্র বাহিনীর সহযোগিতায় অসামরিক প্রশাসন দেখার জন্য ঐ এলাকায় প্রশাসনিক কাঠামো স্থাপিত হয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশের দক্ষিণ পূর্ব অঞ্চলের মুক্তি পরিষদের চেয়ারম্যান শ্রী জহুর আহমদ চৌধুরী পতাকা উত্তোলন করে বলেন, বাংলাদেশের রাজধানী ঢাকায় স্থানান্তরিত করার দিন আর দূরে নেই।

বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি এবং বাংলাদেশের জনগণকে সাহায্যদানের জন্য তিনি প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতী ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর, তাঁর সরকার ও ভারতের জনগণের কাছে কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ করেন।

### ই বি আর-এর বিশেষ ভূমিকা

কলকাতায় ইষ্টার্ন কম্যান্ডের মুখপাত্র জানিয়েছেন যে, লাকসাম সেক্টরে ভারতীয় বাহিনীকে সক্রিয়ভাবে সাবেক ইষ্টবেঙ্গল রেজিমেন্টের লোকেরা সাহায্য করেছে এবং ফেনী দখলে ইষ্টবেঙ্গল রেজিমেন্ট উল্লেখযোগ্য ভূমিকা নিয়েছে।

হিলির উত্তর পশ্চিমে রংপুরের হাতীবান্দা ভারতীয় বাহিনী দখল করেছে। ব্রাহ্মণবাড়িয়া থেকে ৯ কিলোমিটার দূরে সুলতানপুরে ভারতীয় বাহিনী এক কোম্পানী ইঞ্জিনিয়ার, ৭টি গাড়ী ও সামরিক সাজ-সরঞ্জাম, আটক করেছে। ব্রাহ্মণবাড়িয়া দখলের পর ভারতীয় বাহিনীকে ভৈরববাজারের দিকে রওনা হতে হবে। ভৈরববাজার ঢাকার উত্তরে টঙ্গি যাবার পথে।

### প্রত্যক্ষদর্শীর বিবরণ

ঢাকা, ৬ই ডিসেম্বর- ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনীর বিমানগুলি পশ্চিম দিক থেকে আঘাত হেনে আজ ঢাকা শহরকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে দিয়েছে।

ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনীর মিগ ২১ ওয়াই এবং সুই-৭ এস গত শনিবার ভোরে শহরের ওপর বোমা বর্ষণ শুরু করে এবং আধ ঘণ্টা পর বিকেল পর্যন্ত বোমা বর্ষণ চলে। পরে রাতের অন্ধকারে আবার শুরু হয়।

প্রত্যক্ষদর্শীদের বিবরণীতে প্রকাশ, বিমান হানার ফলে সম্ভবতঃ ১২ জন পাকিস্তানী মারা গেছে। ভারতের দুটি বিমান খোয়া গেছে। উইং কম্যান্ডার বলে চিহ্নিত জনৈক বিমান চালককে বন্দী করা হয়েছে।

বিমানগুলোর মূল লক্ষ্য ছিল ঢাকা বিমান বন্দর। পূর্বাঞ্চলে এখানেই পাকিস্তান বিমান বাহিনীর প্রধান ঘাঁটি এবং বহির্বিশ্বের সঙ্গে যোগাযোগের ইহাই একমাত্র প্রাণকেন্দ্র।

রাষ্ট্রসংঘ বিভিন্ন বেসরকারী সংস্থা এবং বিভিন্ন দূতাবাসের ইউরোপীয়দের পরিবারবর্গকে ইন্টার কন্টিনেন্টাল হোটেলে সরিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে। তারা সেখানে দেশ ত্যাগের অপেক্ষায় আছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯৫। বাংলাদেশ স্বীকৃতি পেলঃ ‘জয় বাংলা’ ধ্বনির মধ্যে লোকসভায় ঘোষণা	যুগান্তর	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

**বাংলাদেশ স্বীকৃতি পেলঃ**  
**‘জয় বাংলা’ ধ্বনির মধ্যে লোকসভায় ঘোষণা**  
 (দিল্লী অফিস)

৬ই ডিসেম্বর-ভারত সরকার আজ গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি দিয়েছেন। এই স্বীকৃতির ফলে এই উপ-মহাদেশে একটি স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম গণতান্ত্রিক সাধারণতন্ত্রের অভ্যুদয় আনুষ্ঠানিকভাবে ঘোষণা হলো।

প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতী ইন্দিরা গান্ধী আজ সকালে সংসদের যুক্ত অধিবেশনে বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতিদানের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ঘোষণাটি করেন এবং উভয় সভার সদস্যগণই দাঁড়িয়ে এই ঘোষণাকে স্বাগত জানান। সেই সঙ্গে সংসদ কক্ষে প্রবল হর্ষধ্বনি উঠিত হয় এবং সদস্যবর্গ উৎসাহ আবেগে মিলিত ধ্বনি তুলেন- ‘জয় বাংলা, ‘বাংলাদেশ জিন্দাবাদ’।

প্রধানমন্ত্রী বলেন, বাংলাদেশের নতুন সরকার ‘গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ’ নামে অভিহিত হবে। এই সভা নিশ্চয়ই চান যে, আমি বাংলাদেশের অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপতি, প্রধানমন্ত্রী ও তাঁদের অন্যান্য সহকর্মীদের কাছে আমাদের ঐকান্তিক সম্বর্ধনা ও আন্তরিক অভিনন্দন পৌঁছে দিই।

সংসদের অধিবেশন আরম্ভ হওয়ার অব্যবহিত পরেই শ্রীমতী গান্ধী একটি বিবৃতি দিয়ে বলেন, বাংলাদেশের জনগণ বিরাট বাধার বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম করে ‘স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের ইতিহাসে এক নতুন অধ্যায়ের সূচনা করেছেন।

শ্রীমতী গান্ধী বলেন যে, বাংলাদেশ ও ভারতের সরকার ও জনগণ স্বাধীনতা ও গণতন্ত্রের জন্য যে একসাথে কাজ করছেন, তার ভাল প্রতিবেশীর দৃষ্টান্ত স্থাপন করবে।

শ্রীমতী গান্ধী বলেন, একমাত্র এরূপ একটি নীতিই এই অঞ্চলে শান্তি, স্থায়িত্ব ও প্রগতির দৃঢ় প্রতিষ্ঠা করতে পারে।

প্রধানমন্ত্রী ঘোষণা করেন যে, বাংলাদেশ সরকার ভারতে আগত শরণার্থীদের দ্রুত প্রত্যাবর্তনের এবং তাঁদের জমিজমা ও জিনিসপত্র ফিরিয়ে দেবার ব্যবস্থা করার জন্য পুনরায় উৎকর্ষ প্রকাশ করেছেন। ভারত স্বাভাবিকভাবেই এই প্রচেষ্টা কার্যকরী করার ব্যাপারে সর্বতোভাবে সাহায্য করবে।

বেলা সাড়ে দশটার সময় শ্রীমতী গান্ধী এই নাটকীয় বিবৃতি প্রদানের জন্য উঠে দাঁড়ান এবং বিবৃতি পাঠের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে হর্ষধ্বনি ওঠে।

শ্রীমতী গান্ধী বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতিদানের প্রসঙ্গে এলে লোকসভায় অভূতপূর্ব উৎসাহ পরিলক্ষিত হয়; সদস্যগণ দাঁড়িয়ে উঠে বিপুল হর্ষধ্বনি সহকারে ঐতিহাসিক ঘোষণাকে অভিনন্দন জানান।...

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯৬। স্বাগত বাংলাদেশঃ বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতির ওপর একটি সম্পাদকীয়	যুগান্তর	৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

### স্বাগত বাংলাদেশ

সোমবার, ৬ই ডিসেম্বর। ইতিহাসের এক যুগান্তকারী দিন। অধীর আগ্রহের বাঞ্ছিত অবসান। বাংলাদেশকে কূটনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি দিয়েছেন নয়াদিল্লী। প্রায় আট মাস আগে সার্বভৌম রাষ্ট্ররূপে যার প্রথম আবির্ভাব, আজ তার পূর্ণ অভিষেক সমাপ্ত। নবজাতকের মাথায় কল্যাণ বারি বর্ষণ করেছেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতী ইন্দিরা গান্ধী। ভারতের পঞ্চগম্ব কোটি নরনারীর অন্তরের শুভেচ্ছা মিশান রয়েছে তার সঙ্গে। লোকসভায় প্রধানমন্ত্রী যখন ঘোষণা করছিলেন ভারত সরকারের সিদ্ধান্ত তখন আনন্দমুখর হয়ে উঠেছিল পরিষদ কক্ষ। দলমত নির্বিশেষে সবার কণ্ঠ গিয়েছিল মিশে। স্বাগত জানাচ্ছিলেন তাঁরা বিশ্বের সর্বকনিষ্ঠ রাষ্ট্রটিকে। উচ্চল হৃদয়ের এই সাদর অভিবাদন গোটা ভারতের তৃপ্ত বাসনার প্রতিধ্বনি। হয়ত চমক লেগেছে ইসলামাবাদের জঙ্গীশাহীর। সাড়ে সাত কোটি বাঙালীকে ধ্বংস করার জন্য তাঁরা ছুড়েছিলেন কামানের গোলা। তাঁদের সেই নিষ্ফল গোলা থেকে জন্ম নিয়েছে নতুন রাষ্ট্র। ভবিষ্যৎ সমৃদ্ধির সম্ভাবনায় সে প্রাণবন্ত। তাকে দাবিয়ে রাখতে পারে না দুনিয়ার কোন স্বৈরাচারী শক্তি।

বাংলাদেশ তার স্বাধীনতা আপোষে পায়নি, লড়াই করে ছিনিয়ে নিয়েছে। দিতে হয়েছে তাকে রক্ত মূল্য। যা সে পেয়েছে তা রাখার জন্য দরকার আরও রক্তের। পূর্বের বাঙালী তার জন্য তৈরি। বাংলাদেশের প্রতিবেশী ভারত। গত আট মাস ধরে অসহ্য যন্ত্রণা ভোগ করেছে সে। সীমান্তের ওপার থেকে প্রতিদিন ভেসে আসত আত্মহত্যার বুক ফাটা কান্না, ধর্মিতা নারীর রক্ষার মিনতি এবং মায়ের কোল জড়িয়ে ধরা অসহায় শিশুর ভয়াবহ চীৎকার। আবার পরক্ষণেই পাক পশুদের উন্মত্ত উল্লাসের মধ্যে মিলিয়ে যেত সব। সীমান্তের বাঁধ ভেঙ্গে ঘাতকের খাঁড়া কেড়ে নিতে পারেনি ভারত। তাঁদের চোখের জল মুছাতে ত্রুটি করেননি এদেশের পঞ্চগম্ব কোটি নরনারী। সাময়িক সান্তনায় ভরেছে ওদের মন, কিন্তু প্রানে আসেনি শান্তি। স্বদেশ যাদের শত্রুকবলিত তারা কি করে পাথর চাপা দিতে পারেন জীবনের সমস্ত অনুভূতি? আহত সিংহের মত গর্জে উঠেছিল বাঙালী। করেছিল স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের প্রতিষ্ঠা। মুক্তিবাহিনী ধরেছিল অস্ত্র। আঘাতে আঘাতে জর্জর করে তুলেছিল দখলদার পাক বাহিনীকে। ইয়াহিয়ার অত্যাচারে নিরস্ত্র জনতার রূপান্তর ঘটেছে জাতীয় সেনা বাহিনীতে। তাদের ভরসা স্থল ভারত, পঞ্চগম্ব কোটি নরনারীর আশীর্বাদ তাদের পাথেয় এবং স্বাধীনতার উদগ্র আকাংক্ষা তাদের প্রেরণা। আধুনিক অস্ত্রসজ্জিত একটি দস্যুদলের সঙ্গে ক্ষীণকায় বাঙালীর দীর্ঘস্থায়ী লড়াই সাম্প্রতিক ইতিহাসের এক অনন্য সাধারণ ঘটনা। ওরা গোটা দুনিয়ার বিস্ময় এবং ভবিষ্যৎ মুক্তিসেনানীদের সার্থক পথিকৃৎ। এঁদের ভাগ্যের সঙ্গে নিজের ভাগ্য মিশিয়ে দিয়েছে ভারত। ইয়াহিয়া দিয়েছে তাঁর জঙ্গী উত্তর। ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা করেছেন তিনি। জলে, স্থলে এবং অন্তরীক্ষে চলেছে রক্তক্ষয়ী সংগ্রাম। বাংলাদেশে পাকবাহিনী পর্যুদস্ত। এখন শুধু তাদের আত্মসমর্পণের অপেক্ষা। পশ্চিম রণাঙ্গন জ্বলছে। জঙ্গীশাহীর শোষণ দুর্গ পুড়ে একেবারে ছাই হবার আগে তা নিভবে না। কোনমতেই ভারত এ আগুন নিভাতে দেবে না। গত তেইশ বছরের পাক আবর্জনার কোন চিহ্নই সে রাখবে না বর্তমান সংগ্রাম- সামন্ততন্ত্রী পাক দস্যুদের নিঃশেষ করার শেষ সংগ্রাম।

ইচ্ছা করে নয়াদিল্লী নেননি এই রক্ত পিছল বন্ধুর পথ। ইসলামাবাদের উন্মাদের দল তাদের ঠেলে দিয়েছে এ পথে। আজ ভারত এবং স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ সহযাত্রী। মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের খুন মিশে যাচ্ছে ভারতীয় জওয়ানদের রক্তের সঙ্গে। ওদের সম্মিলিত আঘাত পড়ছে নরপশুদের উপর। কিসের বন্ধনে বাধা পড়েছে অসমসাহসী ভারতীয় জওয়ান এবং দুর্বীর মুক্তিসেনা। কোথায় পেয়েছে তারা উদ্ধার গতি? কেন একসঙ্গে মিশে যাচ্ছে তাদের

প্রাণের স্পন্দন? ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ এবং গণতন্ত্রী ভারত আদর্শের মূল্য দিতে জান। পাকিস্তানের সাম্প্রদায়িক বন্ধ জলার মধ্যে বাংলাদেশ ফুটন্ত পদ্ম। তার সারা অঙ্গে রয়েছে গণতন্ত্র এবং ধর্মনিরপেক্ষতার ছাপ। আদর্শের এই ঐক্য চেতনা ভারত এবং বাংলাদেশকে টেনে এনেছে কাছাকাছি। তাই নবীনে মাথায় প্রবীণ ঢেলেছে প্রথম অভিষেকের কল্যাণ বারি। তার হাতে পরিয়ে দিয়েছে সৌভ্রাতৃত্বের রাখী। আন্তর্জাতিক সমাজের পাদপ্রদীপের সামনে আসার আগেই নবজাতককে গলা টিপে মারতে চেয়েছিল কায়েমী স্বার্থবাদীর দল। দুহাতে তাকে আড়াল করে রেখেছে ভারত। ইয়াহিয়ার অস্ত্র পড়েছে তার পিঠে। ভ্রক্ষেপ করেনি সে। জমির লোভ তার নেই। আদর্শের জন্য যেকোন ত্যাগ স্বীকারে সে প্রস্তুত। বাংলাদেশকে কূটনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি দানের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ভারতের সঙ্গে কূটনৈতিক সম্পর্ক ছিন্ন করেছে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান। এটা অপ্রত্যাশিত নয়। একসঙ্গে থাকতে পারে না কল্যাণব্রতী এবং মানবদ্রোহী দু'টি রাষ্ট্র। বাংলাদেশে যারা গণহত্যার নায়ক, যারা লক্ষ লক্ষ নরনারীকে ভিটে ছাড়া করার নিপীড়ক যন্ত্র এবং যারা নারীর ইজ্জত অপহারক তারা নিঃসন্দেহে সভ্য সমাজের অপাণ্ডিত্য। পূর্বের নবীন সূর্যকে অভিনন্দন জানাতে ভারত যখন ব্যস্ত তখন অন্ধকারের জীবগুলো খুঁজে বেড়াচ্ছে বিবরাশ্রয়। রেহাই পাবে না ওরা। ভারতের সার্বভৌম মর্যাদার উপর আঘাত হেনেছে বর্বরের দল। চরম শাস্তি তাদের পাওনা। কোথায় আজ পাক দোস্তুদের শয়তানি চক্র? একসঙ্গে গাঁটছড়া বেঁধে তারা করেছে উন্মত্ত নর্তন। ঠেকাতে পেরেছে কি স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের অগ্রগতি? থামাতে পেরেছে কি তারা জওয়ানদের প্রচণ্ড প্রত্যাঘাত? নির্বোধ ইয়াহিয়া এবং নির্বোধ তাঁর পারিষদ দল। ওদের ধ্বংস অনিবার্য। বাংলাদেশ খুঁড়েছে অত্যাচারী স্বৈরতন্ত্রীর কবর। তাতে ইসলামাবাদের শব নামাবে ভারত। আর এই কবরে মাটি দেবে ভারত এবং বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে বাষট্টি কোটি নরনারী। এ দু'টি রাষ্ট্রের বন্ধুত্বের বুনিয়াদ পরস্পরের বুকের পাঁজরে গড়া এবং শহীদের তাজা রক্তে সিঁধিত। এ বন্ধন অক্ষয় এবং ভবিষ্যতের অপরূপ আলোকে ভাস্বর। স্বাগত সার্বভৌম বাংলাদেশ, স্বাগত তার রাষ্ট্রমুক্ত জনতা এবং স্বাগত তার সরকার। জয় বাংলা।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯৭। পাক-ভারত-বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধের খবর	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	৮ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

HINDUSTAN STANDARD. DECEMBER 8, 1971

**JAWANS LIBERATE JESSORE, SYLHET**

By Amitava Das Gupta

With the liberation of Jessore and Sylhet by the Indian Army on Tuesday the war in Bangladesh seems to have entered a crucial stage. Liberation of these two important towns marked the first anniversary of the election in Bangladesh, which was the turning point in the liberation movement.

The crackdown on the defense positions of the Pakistani Army at Jessore by the advancing Indian columns was quite spectacular and remarkable in the sense that the enemy had dug in for a bitter fight at this divisional headquarters at the cantonment (the other two divisional headquarters of the Pakistani forces are located at Natore and Dacca). The disintegration of the Pakistani defense at this strategic position has really opened up a wide area in the Khulna sector for steady advance of the Indian troops. In fact, the Pakistanis had already abandoned Mongla Port and evacuated Khulna.

The liberation of Jessore and Sylhet, an important tea town at the Surma valley in Bangladesh, precisely indicates that the Indian Army has established total supremacy over the Pakistani armed forces in most of the strategic areas in the eastern sector. Barring Dacca no other important place is now left to the Pakistani Army for purposes of organizing serious resistance to the advancing Indian columns.

Insofar as fighting in the Jessore sector is concerned, the Pakistani troops, deeply entrenched in the cantonment, had been trying to offer resistance to the Indian Army for the last 36 hours. In fact, when contact was established by the Indian troops with the Pakistani Army in the Jessore cantonment on Monday morning, bitter fighting followed. It was estimated that the Pakistani troops in brigade strength was offering resistance from their defense positions. On Tuesday morning, however, when the Indian troops made a determined push towards the cantonment the backbone of the Pakistani defense started cracking. This was indicated by the fact that the Indian troops could liberate the strategic airfield near the cantonment on Tuesday morning. This was possible by a determined attack by the Indian Army on the cantonment and its defense positions all around.

This was followed by another attack on the cantonment proper by the Indian Army and this indeed completely broke the Pakistani defense in this area. Following heavy fighting the Indian troops succeeded in taking possession of the cantonment by Tuesday afternoon. The Pakistanis actually withdrew to Jessore town itself but this too proved ineffective in the face of continuing pressure from the Indians. By nightfall the Pakistani troops had to withdraw to the eastern side of the river cutting through Jessore town possibly to gain some time to cover up their retreat. In the process, Jessore town became wholly free of Pakistani troops.

A significant feature about the fighting in Jessore is that the Indian troops after liberation of the town and the cantonment did not have to face a serious mopping up problem. This was perhaps explained by the hurried retreat made by the Pakistanis essentially to reinforce the defense positions around Dacca. This retreat was covered up by the resistance the enemy offered to the Indian troops for two days and a night. At any rate, it was reported that the Pakistani troops were withdrawing in the direction of Magura.

The same picture actually emerged from the fighting around Sylhet town. Eight IAF helicopters dropped Indian troops on this town which took the Pakistanis completely by surprise.

Although details of this fighting were not immediately known it appeared that the Pakistani troops gave up considering the hopelessness of the entire situation. If the bulk of the Pakistani forces in this sector was being withdrawn to Dacca the same was the process in the case of Faridpur and Kushtia. Whatever might be the objective of such withdrawal the fact remained that the Indian troops had by a remarkable move cut off Comilla from the Moynamoti cantonment. Simultaneously, Comilla town was bypassed and the Indians were heading towards an important road-link between Comilla and Daudkandi possibly to reach the nearest point on Meghna. In another thrust the Indian troops had liberated Maulvi Bazar by advancing from the side of Shamsernagar and were steadily proceeding towards Chandpur, an important riverine port serving Dacca and Sylhet.

An Army spokesman explained major and quick thrusts were being maintained all over the eastern sector essentially to keep the enemy guessing all the time. In the Jessore sector, Jhenida, an important communication centre was liberated. This place about 25 miles north of Jessore was quite important from the point of view of Pakistan's defense in this area. The Army spokesman made it quite clear to newsmen that in the entire operation the Indian Army had received excellent cooperation from the Mukti Bahini. He made it clear as well that in the overall strategy liberation of important towns was not quite militarily important. The Indian Army was only trying to smash the Pakistani defense wherever possible.

Agencies add: "The Pakistanis are on the run and the pace of retreat is quite fast since last night," an official spokesman said in Delhi.

Pakistanis virtually acknowledged its deteriorating position in occupied Bangladesh when the official radio said that Jessore had been vacated by its troops. Similar reports have been received from Brahmanbaria.

Pakistani forces have abandoned Mongla and evacuated Khulna, according to reports reaching Eastern Naval Command headquarters in Vishakhapatnam.

The Navy attack mounted by units and naval aircraft of the eastern fleet resulted in all Pakistani naval craft and army troops leaving these two places.

Sylhet town was liberated by the Indian Army at 11.30 a.m. on Tuesday.

Earlier, the Indian troops liberated Shalutikor airfield on the outskirts of Sylhet.

Sylhet town and the airport were captured in a two-pronged attack mounted by the Indian land and the airborne troops.

Disclosing this, Air Marshal H. C. Dewan, said that eight helicopters were pressed into operation for the first time in the presenoffensive with over 100 troops to hasten the fall of Sylhet town and the airport.

An army spokesman said, advancing columns after crossing the Gomti river, had succeeded in isolating the well fortified Moynamoti cantonment from the west by cutting the road to Brahmanbaria.

Other Pakistani bastions liberated in the last 24 hours included Meherpur, Kaliganj, Sunamganj, Chhatak. Pakistani forces were converging on Faridpur and Kushtia towns with the ostensible aim of finding a way to the capital city of Dacca through Goalundo Ghat on the Padma.

Further up in the Hili area of Dinajpur district, fighting was still going on against the heavily fortified Pakistani positions. The Indian forces launched a new thrust towards the Pakistani brigade at Hili from Phulbari in the rear sandwiching the enemy forces both from the north and west.

In the Mymensingh sector, Indian columns had reached the outskirts of Jamalpur and operations were well in progress to clear this town on the route to Jagannathganj Ghat on the Jamuna-which would ultimately provide a bridgehead to Bogra on the west bank.

In a resume of operations over the last 24 hours Maj. Gen, J. F. R. Jacob, Chief of the General Staff, Eastern Command, told newsmen in Calcutta that other notable gains recorded were the liberation of Lalmonirhat airfield of Rangpur district in the north and the total "isolation" of Comilla cantonment and town in the south-east sector of Bangladesh.

Regarding the thrust on Dacca through Akhaura, the General said Indian forces had made contact with the enemy's defenses at Brahmanbaria on the route to Bhairab Bazar and Tongi junction, which is just south of the capital city.

Summing the progress of operations, Gen. Jacob said that once the outer crust of the Pakistani defenses was smashed, the advance would be more rapid than at present. He explained the Pakistanis had heavily fortified certain towns and centers with bunkers, minefields and artillery positions to block the Indian advance.

The emphasis on the present operations, Gen. Jacob said, was not on taking the towns as such "We do not want to attack the civilian population. It is just not our policy." He added.

In the Meghalaya sector, Sunamganj in Sylhet district was liberated by Indian forces.

As one sub-divisional head quarters after the other fell to the Indian forces and Mukti Bahini there were reports of increased activity against the Pakistani occupation forces in rural areas of Dacca district.

Men of the former East Bengal Rifles, fighting shoulder to shoulder with Indian liberation forces, liberated a number of thanes in the Mymensingh district.

In fact, they spearheaded the liberation of Lalmonirhat and were the first to reach the town where the Pakistani occupation forces had an air base. The Bangladesh freedom fighters were now cutting the enemy lines of communication and logistic support.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯৮। পাক-ভারত-বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধের খবর	যুগান্তর	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

### কুমিল্লা দখল, ময়নামতীতে প্রচণ্ড লড়াই

(স্টাফ রিপোর্টার)

কলকাতা, ৮ই ডিসেম্বর-ভারতীয় বাহিনী এবং বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিবাহিনী আজ বাংলাদেশের পূর্বাঞ্চলে অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ কুমিল্লা শহর, কুমিল্লা বিমানক্ষেত্র এবং কুমিল্লা জেলার ব্রাহ্মণবাড়িয়া শহর দখল করেছে। তারপর কুমিল্লা শহরের অদূরে ময়নামতী ক্যান্টনমেন্টের ওপর প্রচণ্ড চাপ দিয়ে চলেছে। তারা ময়নামতী ক্যান্টনমেন্টকে সম্পূর্ণ ঘিরে ফেলেছে।

যশোর খন্ডে ভারতীয় বাহিনী আজ ঝিনাইদহ থেকে এগিয়ে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ যোগাযোগ কেন্দ্র মাগুরা দখল করেছে। খুলনার দিকে রূপদিয়া দখল করেছে এবং খুলনার দিকে এগিয়ে চলেছে।

বিমানবাহী রণতরী থেকে বিমানবাহিনী চট্টগ্রাম বিমান ক্ষেত্র, মিলিটারী ব্যারাক এবং কক্সবাজারে বোমা ফেলেছে। চালনা ও মঙ্গলা বন্দরের ওপরও আক্রমণ চালাচ্ছে। গতকাল অধিকৃত রংপুর-দিনাজপুর খন্ডের পীরগঞ্জ আজ পাক বাহিনীর প্রচণ্ড প্রতি-আক্রমণ রোধ করা হয়েছে। এখানে পাক বাহিনীর প্রচুর ক্ষতি হয়েছে।

মুক্তিবাহিনী চট্টগ্রাম জেলার রামগড় এলাকা মুক্ত করেছে।

ভারতীয় বাহিনীর ইষ্টার্ণ কমান্ডের সর্বাধিনায়ক লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা আজ দুপুরে দখলীকৃত কুমিল্লা বিমানঘাঁটি পরিদর্শন করেন। তিনি যখন বিমানঘাঁটিতে অবতরণ করেন, তখন স্থানীয় লোকেরা তাঁকে বিপুলভাবে সম্বর্ধনা জানান।

শ্রীহট্ট খন্ডে ভারতীয় বাহিনী শ্রীমঙ্গল অধিকার করেছে।

ভারতীয় নৌবাহিনী বঙ্গোপসাগরে বাংলাদেশের সমস্ত বন্দরগুলি অবরোধ করে সাগরে পূর্ণ কর্তৃত্ব স্থাপন করেছে।

ভারতীয় বাহিনী অগ্রবর্তী সৈন্যদলগুলি এখন রাজধানী ঢাকা দখল করার জন্য জোর কদমে এগিয়ে চলেছে।

যে সৈন্যদল দু'দিন আগে ফেনী দখল করেছিল, তারা গতকাল রাতে চাঁদপুর নদী বন্দরের সঙ্গে সংযোগ স্থাপন করেছে। বিস্তারিত বিবরণ জানা যায়নি। যে দলটি আখাউড়া মুক্ত করেছে তারাও গতকাল রাতে কুমিল্লার ৩২ কিলোমিটার পশ্চিমে এলিয়টগঞ্জ মুক্ত করেছে এবং আজ ঢাকা ৩৫ কিলোমিটার পূর্বে দাউদকান্দির সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ করেছে।

পাকিস্তানী বাহিনীর একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ক্যান্টনমেন্ট সৈয়দপুরের ওপর মুক্তিবাহিনী প্রচণ্ড আক্রমণ চালাচ্ছে। খবর পাওয়া গেছে যে উত্তর দিক থেকে সৈয়দপুরে যাবার রাস্তায় একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ মোড় মুক্তিবাহিনী দখল করেছে।

জানা গেছে যে, ভারতীয় বাহিনী ও মুক্তিবাহিনী দিনাজপুর জেলা শহরের ওপর তিনদিক থেকে আক্রমণ চালাচ্ছে।

বীরগঞ্জ-দিনাজপুর খন্ডে কান্তনগরে একটি সেতু উড়িয়ে পাকিস্তানী বাহিনী ভারতীয় বাহিনীর অগ্রগতি রোধ করার চেষ্টা করেছে। এখানে প্রচন্ড লড়াই চলছে।

ময়মনসিংহ খন্ডে ভারতীয় বাহিনী জামালপুর মহকুমা শহরের দক্ষিণে ঘাঁটি গোড়ে বসেছে। জামালপুর শহর দখলের জন্য জোর লড়াই চলছে।

ময়মনসিংহ সদর শহর দখলের জন্য সৈন্য বাহিনী এগিয়ে চলেছে।

পদ্মার পশ্চিম তীরে কুষ্টিয়া শহর ভারতীয় বাহিনী ও মুক্তিবাহিনী একযোগে ঘিরে ফেলেছে তারা পদ্মার উত্তরে রাজশাহী ও পাবনার সঙ্গে দক্ষিণ তীরে গোয়ালনন্দ ঘাঁটের সঙ্গে সংযোগ বিচ্ছিন্ন করে দিয়েছে।

ভারতীয় বাহিনী ও মুক্তিবাহিনী একযোগে খুলনার ওপর গোলাবর্ষণ করছে। আশেপাশে থেকে পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা এখানে এসে জড়ো হয়েছে। চুড়াডাঙ্গা শহরে ওপরও প্রচন্ড গোলাবর্ষণ করা হচ্ছে।

শীহট্ট খন্ডে শ্রীহট্ট শহর এবং খাদিমনগরসহ শহরের উপকণ্ঠ এলাকা পাকসৈন্য মুক্ত করা হচ্ছে। কুষ্টিয়া জেলার বৈদ্যকুটচৌরা টেম্পলহীল এবং হাজিগঞ্জ রেল স্টেশনগুলি ভারতীয় বাহিনীর দখলে এসেছে।

ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী ও মুক্তিবাহিনী সম্মিলিতভাবে অভিযান চালিয়ে খুলনা জেলার সাতক্ষীরা শত্রুকবল মুক্ত করছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯৯। পাক-ভারত-বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধের খবর	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	১০ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

**চাঁদপুর মুক্ত, চুয়াডাঙ্গা মুক্ত, জওয়ানরা কুষ্টিয়ার উপকণ্ঠে**  
সুখরঞ্জন দাসগুপ্ত

মুক্তির নিশান উড়ছে চুয়াডাঙ্গায়। উড়ছে চাঁদপুরে। এদিকে বিনাইদহ থেকে এড়িয়ে একটি ভারতীয় বাহিনী কুষ্টিয়ার উপকণ্ঠেও পৌঁছে গিয়েছে।

বৃহস্পতিবার সংসদে প্রতিরক্ষা মন্ত্রী শ্রী জগজীবন রাম বলেন, রংপুর আর দিনাজপুরের পতন আসন্ন।

এই অঞ্চলে ভারতীয় বাহিনী নতুন করে ঝড় হয়ে নতুন উদ্যমে রংপুরের দিকে এগিয়ে চলেছে। আর দিনাজপুর শহরের দশ মাইল ভিতরে কাউঠানগর সেতুর ওপর তীব্র লড়াই চলছে।

কুমিল্লার সন্নিহিত ময়নামতি এখন খান সেনার হাতে। তবে তাদের পালাবার সব রাস্তা বন্ধ করে দেওয়া হয়েছে। ময়নামতি ছাউনির আশপাশের পাহাড়ে আর শত্রুসৈন্য নেই। ঢাকার ২২ মাইল উত্তর-পূর্বে আশুগঞ্জ ফেরীঘাট মিত্রসেনার দখলে।

যশোহর এলাকায় ভারতীয় সেনা এক হাজার টন গোলাগুলি ফোকটে পেয়ে যায়। পালাবার তাড়ায়, দখলদারের এসব ফেলে গিয়েছে। যশোহরের দক্ষিণে রূপদিয়ায় একজন মেজর এবং ৪০ জন সৈন্য নিহত।

ভারতীয় বাহিনী ক্রমে ক্রমে খুলনার দিকে এগোচ্ছে।

ময়মনসিংহ অঞ্চলে মিত্র সেনা জামালপুর সম্পূর্ণভাবে ঘিরে ফেলেছে। যে কোন মুহূর্তে এর পতন হতে পারে।

প্রতিরক্ষা বাহিনীর এক প্রেসনোটে বলা হয় : কোন শত্রু যাতে জল পথে পালাতে না পারে সেজন্য নৌবাহিনীর বঙ্গোপসাগরে নজর রেখেছে।

ভারতীয় বাহিনী এখন মেঘনার তীরে, চাঁদপুরের পূর্বদিকে। সেখানে থেকে নদীর উপর নজর রেখে চলেছে। প্রায় ৫০০ পাক সেনাসহ একটি বড় জাহাজকে প্রথমে ট্যাংক থেকে তারপর বিমান থেকে বোমা ফেলে আক্রমণ করা হয়। জাহাজটিতে আগুন জ্বলতে দেখা যায়।

নির্ভরযোগ্য সূত্রে জানা যায়, বাংলাদেশের রাজধানী ঢাকা থেকে শত্রুসৈন্য নিশ্চিহ্ন করার জন্য রাড্রে আমাদের জওয়ানেরা বিমান পথে আঘাত হানছে।

পাক বাহিনী নদী পথে পলায়নের জন্য বরিশাল, খুলনা ও চট্টগ্রামের আশেপাশের নদী হয়ে সমুদ্র পথে বঙ্গোপসাগরের দিকে ছুটছে। ভারতীয় বাহিনী এদিন সন্ধ্যার মধ্যে অন্তত সৈন্য বোঝাই তিনটি জাহাজ আটক করে। একটি জাহাজের সৈন্যরা সাদা পতাকা উড়িয়ে ভারতীয় জওয়ানদের কাছে আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে।

ভারতীয় বাহিনী উত্তরে পলাশবাড়ি, দক্ষিণে চাঁদপুর এবং পশ্চিমে আশুগঞ্জ দিয়ে ঢাকা এলাকায় পাক বাহিনীকে ঘিরে রেখেছে।

পূর্বাঞ্চলের জিওসি লেঃ জেঃ কজগজিৎ সিং অরোরা বৃহস্পতিবার সন্ধ্যায় জানান, বাংলাদেশের ভিতরে এবং যশোহর ও খুলনার মধ্যে আটকে পড়া পাক বাহিনী মেঘনা ও পদ্মা দিয়ে পালাবার চেষ্টা করছে। তাদের উপর ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী ক্রমাগত বিমান থেকে বোমা ফেলেছে।

জেনারেল বলেন, এখন পাকিস্তানী বাহিনী দু’দিকে বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে পড়েছে। একটি অংশ রয়েছে হিলির উত্তরে আর অন্যটি বাংলাদেশের দক্ষিণ দিকে। উত্তরে যে বাহিনী আছে তার সংখ্যা এক ব্রিগেড। তিনি বলেন, ভারতীয় বাহিনী পাক বাহিনীকে যশোহর থেকে দক্ষিণ দিকে তাড়িয়ে নিয়ে গিয়েছে।

জেনারেল আরও বলেন, ব্রহ্মপুত্রের তীর ঘেঁষে উত্তর দিক থেকে যে ভারতীয় বাহিনী অগ্রসর হচ্ছে-তারা ময়মনসিংহ সদর শহর থেকে প্রায় ৫০ কিলোমিটার দূরে জামালপুর ঘিরে রেখেছে। মেঘালয় সীমান্তের হাওয়াঘাটের দিক থেকে আর একটি সৈন্যদল ময়মনসিংহ এর দিকে এগোচ্ছে। শ্রীহট্ট এলাকায় লড়াই চলছে।

জনৈক সাংবাদিকের প্রশ্নের উত্তরে তিনি বলেন, ময়নামতি দুর্গে পাকবাহিনীকে ভারতীয় বাহিনী ঘিরে রেখেছে।। সৈয়দপুর ক্যান্টনমেন্টেও লড়াই চলছে।

একজন বিদেশী সাংবাদিকের প্রশ্নের জবাবে জেনারেল দৃঢ়তার সঙ্গে জানান, শরণার্থীদের জন্য রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ যেসব যানবাহন দিয়েছিলেন, তার একটিকেও বাংলাদেশের এই অভিযানে নামানো হয়নি।

তিনি বলেন, মুক্তিবাহিনী ভারত বাহিনীর সঙ্গে কাঁধে কাঁধ মিলিয়ে লড়াই করছে। এছাড়া যোগাযোগ বিচ্ছিন্ন করা, আগে থেকে খবরাখবর সংগ্রহ করা ইত্যাদি ব্যাপারে মুক্তিবাহিনীর গেরিলাদের কার্যকলাপ যুদ্ধরত ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীকে যথেষ্ট সাহায্য করছে।

জেনারেল অরোরা আরো বলেন, মুক্তিবাহিনীর লোকজনেরা কয়েকটি থানার ভার হাতে নিয়েছেন এবং স্থানীয় লোকদের দেখাশুনা করছেন।

### তিতাস নদী পেরিয়ে অমীয়া দেবরায়

আগরতলা, ৯ ডিসেম্বর-তিতাস নদী পেরিয়ে সকালে ব্রাহ্মণবাড়িয়া যেতে যেতে দেখলাম পথের দু’ধারে পাক সেনারা পরিত্যক্ত শত শত বাংকার পড়ে রয়েছে। সারা শহর আনন্দ উৎসবে মেতে উঠেছে। মাইকে মুজিবের গলা শুনে চমকে উঠলাম। মুজিব কি ফিরে এসেছে? না-মুজিব নয়, এ মুজিবের কণ্ঠস্বর রেকর্ড করা। ঢাকার মাঠে তার ঐতিহাসিক বক্তৃতার রেকর্ডটি চালিয়ে লোকে বারবার তার কণ্ঠস্বর শুনছে।

এখান থেকে আখাউড়া প্রায় ১৩/১৪ মাইল। আখাউড়ার দিকে এগোচ্ছি। দেখি বহু লোক যারা বাড়িঘর ছেড়ে চলে গিয়েছিলেন তারা ফিরে আসছেন। তারা বলেন, গত চার মাসের মধ্যে এই প্রথম গ্রামে ফেরার সুযোগ হচ্ছে। এর আগে পাক সেনাদের ভয়ে তারা আসতে পারেননি।

### উত্তর খন্ডে

শিলিগুড়ি থেকে দীনেন চক্রবর্তী জানান, ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী আজ উত্তর রণাঙ্গণে সর্বাপেক্ষা গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সড়কঘাটি রংপুর জেলার পলাশবাড়ি ও শাদুল্লাপুর দখল করে নিয়েছেন। সামরিক দিক থেকে এই দুইটি ঘাটি দখলের তাৎপর্য বাংলাদেশের উত্তর খন্ডে রংপুর-দিনাজপুর ও বগুড়া জেলায় পাকবাহিনী এখন সম্পূর্ণরূপে বিচ্ছিন্ন এবং অবরুদ্ধ।

কোনদিক থেকে আর পালানোর রাস্তা নেই। যমুনা পেরিয়ে ঢাকা-তাও না। ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর একজন পদস্থ অফিসার সাংবাদিকদের বলেন, রংপুর জেলার গাইবান্ধার উত্তরে রেলপথটিও তারা সম্পূর্ণরূপে বিধ্বস্ত করে দিয়েছেন। ফলে রংপুর ও গাইবান্ধার মধ্যে রেল সংযোগ বিচ্ছিন্ন।



পীরগঞ্জের এগার মাইল দক্ষিণে পলাশবাড়ি এবং পলাশবাড়ির প্রায় ২৫ মাইল দক্ষিণ-পূর্ব শাদুল্লাপুর। ওই দুইটি ঘাঁটি দখল করার পর আজ মুক্তিবাহিনী এবং ভারতীয় জওয়ানরা এখন রংপুর ও দিনাজপুর শহরের দিকে এগোচ্ছে।

#### অল্পের জন্য

পাকবাহিনীর মেজর জেনারেল নাজির হোসেন ও তার দু'জন বিগ্রেডিয়ার এবং একজন লেঃ কর্নেল গত মঙ্গলবার ভারতীয় জওয়ানদের তোপের মুখে থেকে বেঁচে গিয়েছেন। মেজর জেনারেল হোসেন বগুড়া থেকে রংপুর গিয়েছিলেন শলাপরামর্শের জন্য। পীরগঞ্জ যে ভারতীয় বাহিনী দখল করেছে সে খবর তারা রাখতেন না। তাই পীরগঞ্জ দিয়ে যখন মেজর জেনারেল বগুড়ার দিকে যাচ্ছিলেন তখন ভারতীয় বাহিনী গুলিবর্ষণ করে। নাজির হোসেনের গাড়িটি দ্রুতগতিতে বাঁদিকে ঘুরে চলে যায়। কিন্তু পাক বাহিনীর একজন লেঃ কর্নেল মারা যায়।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০০। মুক্তিসংগ্রাম ঢাকার দ্বারপ্রান্তে	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	১০ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

## মুক্তি সংগ্রাম ঢাকার দ্বারপ্রান্তে

রাজনৈতিক সংবাদদাতা

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার লড়াই এখন বাংলার রাজধানীর দ্বারপ্রান্তে চতুর্দিক থেকে ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী এবং মুক্তিসেনারা ঢাকার দিকে এগোচ্ছে। মাঝে কয়েকটা নদী, পদ্মা আর মেঘনার শাখা-প্রশাখা। তারপরই ঢাকা। এবং তারপরই ঢাকার লড়াই-বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের চূড়ান্ত লড়াই।

এই চূড়ান্ত লড়াই-ই কি বাংলাদেশের সবচেয়ে বড় লড়াই হবে, পাক সেনাবাহিনী কি ঢাকায় দখল বাজায় রাখার জন্য মাটি কামড়ে যুদ্ধে করবে? কেউ জানে না। তবে ভারতীয় বাহিনী সেই বড় লড়াইর জন্য প্রস্তুত হয়েই ঢাকার দিকে এগোচ্ছে। বৃহস্পতিবার বিকেলে পূর্বাঞ্চলীয় সেনাধ্যক্ষ লেঃ জেঃ জগজিৎ অরোরা সাংবাদিকদের সেই কথাই জানালেন।

বললেনঃ ওরা কী করবে জানি না। তবে আমরা সেজন্য প্রস্তুত হয়েই এগোচ্ছি।

মুক্তিসংগ্রামীরা এগোচ্ছেন সব দিক থেকে। আশুগঞ্জ এখন মুক্ত। কিন্তু ওখানে মেঘনার ওপারের বিরাট পুলটা পাক সেনাবাহিনী ভেঙ্গে দিয়ে গিয়েছে। আর একটা বাহিনী এগোচ্ছেন দাউদকান্দির দিক দিয়ে। দাউদকান্দি থেকে পাক বাহিনী পালিয়েছে। উত্তর দিক থেকে মুক্তিসংগ্রামীরা এগোচ্ছেন জামালপুর হয়ে। ওদিক থেকে অবশ্যই পথ এখনও অনেকটা। তবে পথে কোনও বড় নদী নেই। এদিকে অর্থাৎ পদ্মার দিকে আমাদের সেনাবাহিনী মধুমতীর তীরে। মধুমতী পার হলেই পদ্মা-তারপরই ঢাকা। কুষ্টিয়া মুক্ত করে আর একটা বাহিনী এগোতে চলেছে গোয়ালন্দ ঘাটের দিকে। গুরুত্বপূর্ণ নদীবন্দর চাঁদপুর থেকেও আমাদের বাহিনী ঢাকার দিকে এগোবার জন্য প্রস্তুত।

ঢাকা মুক্ত করার চূড়ান্ত লড়াইয়ে পুরোদমে যোগ দেবেন সব কটা বাহিনী-সেনা, বিমান এবং নৌ। বিমান বাহিনী লড়াইর প্রথম দিন থেকেই ঢাকা আক্রমণ শুরু করে দিয়েছেন। ঢাকার সামরিক এবং অসামরিক দুই বিমানবন্দরই এখন অকেজো। নৌবাহিনীও এগিয়ে আসছেন দুই নদীতে-পদ্মা এবং মেঘনায়। ঢাকা দখলের চূড়ান্ত লড়াইয়ে নৌবাহিনীর গানবোটগুলিও পুরোদমে যোগ দেবেন।

জেনারেল অরোরাকে সাংবাদিকরা জিজ্ঞেস করেছিলেন, ঢাকাকে মুক্ত করার পথে আপনার সামনে সবচেয়ে বড় বাধা কী? জেনারেল একটা কথায় জবাব দিলেনঃ নদী। এবং তারপরই বললেন, নদী অতিক্রমের ব্যবস্থা আমরা করে ফেলেছি।

আমাদের পদাতিক বাহিনী ও রসদ পারাপারের জন্য ব্যবস্থা চাই, কিন্তু আমাদের পিটি-৬৭ ট্যাংকগুলি নিজে থেকেই নদী সাঁতরে যেতে পারবে। তার জন্য স্টীমার বা লবির প্রয়োজন নেই।

বাইরে থেকে বা গোটা বাংলাদেশের অন্যান্য অঞ্চল থেকে ঢাকা রক্ষার জন্য সৈন্য আনাও পাক বাহিনীর পক্ষে এখন আর সম্ভব নয়। এর দুটো কারণ; প্রথম কারণ, আমাদের সেনাবাহিনী তাদের পালাবার পথ আটকে দিয়েছেন। সিলেট সেক্টরে তারা অবরুদ্ধ। উত্তরখন্ডে দিনাজপুর-রংপুর অঞ্চলেও আটকে গিয়েছে। দ্বিতীয় কারণ, বাংলাদেশের আকাশে ঢাকার সব পথের ওপর নজর রাখছেন। পাকসৈন্যবাহী স্টীমার বা বোট দেখলেই আক্রমণ চালাচ্ছেন।

ঢাকার পাক বাহিনীর কত সেনা আছে? সে হিসাবও কেউই জানেন না। জেনারেল আরোরা এইদিনও বলেন, গোটা বাংলাদেশে ওদের চারটা ডিভিশন ছিল। এবং আমাদের সামরিক বাহিনী আগে বলেছিলেন, ঢাকায় রয়েছে একটা ডিভিশন। যদি তাই হয় এবং যশোর সিলেট ও কুমিল্লা অঞ্চল থেকে কিছু পাকসৈন্য গিয়ে সত্যিই ঢাকায় আশ্রয় নিয়ে থাকে তাহলে ঢাকায় অন্তত দেড় ডিভিশন সৈন্য রয়েছে। কিন্তু সত্যিই কি ওদের অত সৈন্য ঢাকায় আছে? ঢাকার লড়াই শেষ হলেই তা জানা যাবে-তার আগে নয়।

ঢাকায় ওদের দূরপাল্লার ভারী কামানই বা কত রয়েছে? বাংলাদেশে এখন পাক বিমান বাহিনীর কোনও অস্তিত্ব নেই। তাই ঢাকার লড়াইয়ে ওদের মূলত নির্ভর করতে হবে দূরপাল্লার ভারী কামানের উপর। গোটা বাংলা যুদ্ধে এখন পর্যন্ত কোথাও পাক বাহিনী ভারী দূরপাল্লার কামান ফেলে যায়নি। যদি ওরা আগেভাগেই ভারী দূরপাল্লার কামানগুলি পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের জন্য সরিয়ে না নিয়ে গিয়ে থাকে তাহলে ঢাকার চূড়ান্ত লড়াইয়ে সে সব কামান দেখা যাবেই। হিলির যুদ্ধে নভেম্বর মাসেই ওরা ৩৫ মাইল পাল্লার কামান ব্যবহার করেছিল। ৩৫ মাইল পাল্লার দু'চারটি কামান শুধু সীমান্তের লড়াইয়ে ব্যবহার করে ওরা ভারতীয় বাহিনীকে ধাপ্লা দিতে চেয়েছিল, না সত্যিই ওই ধরনের কামান ওরা বাংলাদেশে আরও অনেক রেখেছিল ঢাকার লড়াইয়ে তাও বোঝা যাবে।

ঢাকা থেকে ইউ পিআই এক খবরে জানিয়েছেন, আজ ভারতীয় সৈন্যরা অগ্রসর হওয়ায় পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা আত্মরক্ষামূলক ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের অগ্রবর্তী ঘাঁটিগুলি থেকে নগরীর মধ্যে পশ্চাদপসরণ করেছে।

ভারতীয় সৈন্যরা অগ্রসর হওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে গোলার আওয়াজও শোনা যাচ্ছে।

আমাদের লন্ডন অফিসের খবরে বলা হয়েছে, ঢাকা থেকে সেখানে টেলিফোনে প্রাপ্ত সংবাদে জানা গিয়েছে, অগ্রসরমান ভারতীয় বাহিনীর গোলার আওয়াজ শোনা যাচ্ছে। অবস্থা খুবই সংকটজনক। ঢাকা শহর প্রায় বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে পড়েছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০১। পাক-ভারত-বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধের খবর	যুগান্তর	১১ ও ১২ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

দুর্বার গতিতে ঢাকার পথে  
হেলিকপ্টার ও স্টিমারে মেঘনা অতিক্রমঃ নোয়াখালী মুক্ত  
চালনা ও মঙ্গলা বন্দরে ভারতীয় নৌ-বহর  
(সুখরঞ্জন সেনগুপ্ত)

কলকাতা, ১০ই ডিসেম্বর-ঢাকার পথে ভারতীয় সৈন্যবাহিনী আজ দূরন্ত মেঘনা অতিক্রম করেছে। মেঘনার পূর্ব পাড়ে আগুগঞ্জ থেকে বিদ্যুৎগতিতে স্টিমার ও হেলিকপ্টারে ভারতীয় বাহিনী পশ্চিম পাড়ে ভৈরব বাজারে অবতরণ করেছে।

এখানে মেঘনা উত্তর-দক্ষিণে প্রবাহিত এবং নদীর প্রস্থ দু'মাইলেরও বেশী। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা এখানে ভৈরববাজারের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সেতু ভেঙ্গে দিয়েছে।

মুক্তিবাহিনীর কলাম ভারতীয় বাহিনীর সাহায্যে আজ নোয়াখালী মুক্ত করেছে। চট্টগ্রাম বন্দরের উত্তরে নোয়াখালীর মুক্তি অত্যন্ত উল্লেখযোগ্য। নোয়াখালীর মুক্তির বিশদ বিবরণ জানা যায়নি।

**চালনা-মঙ্গলা দখল**

খুলনার কাছে চালনা ও মঙ্গলা বন্দর আজ মুক্তি বাহিনী ও ভারতীয় সীমান্ত নিরাপত্তা বাহিনী মুক্ত করেছে। ভারতীয় নৌবাহিনী এদের সাহায্য করেছে। ভারতীয় নৌবাহিনীর জাহাজগুলো আজ সকাল সাতটায় বন্দরে প্রবেশ করে।

ইস্টার্ন কম্যান্ডের একজন মুখপাত্র সাংবাদিকদের জানান যে, চাঁদপুর থেকে পলায়নের চেষ্টা করে ব্যর্থ হওয়ার পর প্রায় ৯০ জন পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যকে আটক করা হয়েছে।

যশোর সেক্টরে ভারতীয় বাহিনী খুলনার পথে রূপদিয়া, চেঙ্গুটিয়া, হরিশংকরা, ডাঙ্গামারা দখল করে ফুলতলার কাছাকাছি পৌঁছেছে। ভারতীয় বাহিনী সড়কের উপর একটি অতিকায় ব্যারিকেড বানিয়ে খুলনার উত্তরে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের একটি কলামকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে দিয়েছে। এই অভিযানে ৩০টি গাড়ী, ৬টি রিকয়েললেস গান ও ৪টি ভারী মর্টার দখল করা হয়েছে।

দিনহাটা থেকে আমাদের নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা জানাচ্ছেন যে, রংপুর জেলার গুরুত্বপূর্ণ শহর লালমনিরহাট এবং একটি থানা সদর দপ্তরও পাকিস্তানীদের হাত থেকে কেড়ে নেয়া হয়েছে। এই অঞ্চল থেকে পাক সেনাদের এত তাড়াতাড়ি চলে যেতে হয়েছিল যে, পাক চমুদের অর্ধভুক্ত পাত্র এবং কাগজের ওপর খাপ খোলা ফাউন্টেনপেনও সেখানে পাওয়া গিয়েছে।

রংপুর সেক্টরে ভারতীয় বাহিনী দুরা, বরচাংগ্রাম মুক্ত করে বীরগঞ্জকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে দিয়েছে। রংপুর এলাকায় পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের একটি ব্রিগেড রয়েছে এবং এই ব্রিগেডের সৈন্যরা ভারতীয় বাহিনীর অগ্রগতিকে কোন কোন জায়গায় অল্প বাধা দিচ্ছে। ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী রংপুর, বিসপাড়া গাইবান্ধা ও সৈয়দপুরের ওপর আক্রমণ চালিয়ে রেল যোগাযোগ ব্যবস্থা বিপর্যস্ত করে দিয়েছে।

ময়মনসিংহ সেক্টরে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের সৈন্য ছাউনীগুলিকে ভারতীয় বাহিনী সম্পূর্ণভাবে অবরুদ্ধ করেছে এবং শত্রুদের পলায়নের কোন পথ নেই।

ইস্টার্ন কমান্ডের মুখপাত্র বলেন যে, পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা বাংলাদেশের তেরশ মাইল সীমান্ত সৈন্য সমাবেশ করেছিল। এখন বিভিন্ন দিক তারা বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে পড়ায় কোন স্থানে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের বিশেষ কোন জমায়েত নেই।

যশোর সেক্টরে কুষ্টিয়া, ভেড়ামারা ও নবাবপাড়ায় ভারতীয় সৈন্যদের সঙ্গে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের তুমুল লড়াই চলছে।

বাংলাদেশের পূর্বাংশে লাকসামে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীরা তুমুল লড়াইর পর পরাস্ত হয়েছে। ২৩ নম্বর পাঞ্জাব ব্যাটেলিয়ানের দু'জন অফিসার ও ৪১৫ জন সৈন্যকে বন্দী করা হয়েছে।

কুমিল্লার ময়নামতি ক্যান্টনমেন্টের অবরুদ্ধ পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা গতকাল সম্ভবত পালিয়ে যাবার পথ খুঁজবার জন্য ভারতীয় বাহিনীর উপর গুলিবর্ষণ করে। ভারতীয় সৈন্যদের পাল্টা গুলিবর্ষণে ৩০ জন পাক সৈন্য নিহত হয়েছে। ভারতের দু'জন মারা গেছে। এখানে পাকিস্তানীরা ট্যাংক ব্যবহার করেছিল।

### ময়মনসিংহ, হিলি, কুষ্টিয়া শত্রুমুক্ত

(সুখরঞ্জন সেনগুপ্ত)

কলকাতা, ১১ই ডিসেম্বর-ভারতীয় ও মুক্তি বাহিনীর সম্মিলিত সেনাদলের অভিযানের মুখে আজ কুষ্টিয়া, ময়মনসিংহ, জামালপুর, হিলির পতন হয়েছে।

মেঘনার পশ্চিম পাড়ে ভৈরব বাজার থেকে ভারতীয় বাহিনীর যথেষ্ট অগ্রগমন হয়েছে। কিন্তু এখানে ভারতীয় বাহিনী ঢাকার পথে কতটা এগিয়েছে তা নির্দিষ্টভাবে বলতে ইস্টার্ন কমান্ডের মুখপাত্র অস্বীকার করেন। তবে তিনি বলেন যে, ভারতীয় বাহিনী ও মুক্তিবাহিনী মেঘনার পূর্বপাড়ে বিভিন্ন দিক থেকে ঢাকার পথে অগ্রসরমান।

খুলনার পথে ভারতীয় বাহিনী নোয়াপাড়া দখল করার পর এখন দৌলতপুর ক্যান্টনমেন্ট থেকে মাত্র ৮ কিলোমিটার দূরে।

ভারতীয় বাহিনী আজকের অভিযানে ছোটবড় ১২টি শহর দখল করেছে এবং ১ জন ব্যাটেলিয়ন কমান্ডার, ১৬ জন জেসিও সহ ২ হাজারের বেশী পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যকে বন্দী করেছে।

### হিলি শহর মুক্ত

সামরিক বাহিনীর ঐ মুখপাত্র আরও জানান যে, দিনাজপুর-রংপুর খন্ডে ভারতীয় বাহিনী পাক-বাহিনীকে ঘেরাও করে রেখেছে। ওখানে আনুমানিক চার হাজার পাকসেনা আছে। তাদের আর বেরিয়ে যাবার কোন পথ নেই।

বাংলাদেশের উত্তরাঞ্চলে পাক-বাহিনীর বড় ঘাঁটি বগুড়ায় প্রায় ২০ মাইলের মধ্যে ভারতীয় বাহিনী আজ দুপুরে পৌঁছে গেছে।

দিনাজপুর ও রংপুর শহর দু'টির যে কোন সময়ে পতন ঘটতে পারে

পাক বাহিনীর ক্ষয়ক্ষতি হিলি থেকে স্টাফ রিপোর্টার শ্রীকল্যাণ বসু আরও জানিয়েছেনঃ হিলির নিকটবর্তী বাহাদুরিয়া ও গোবিন্দগঞ্জ যুদ্ধে ১২০ জন পাক সেনা ও একজন অফিসার নিহত হয়েছে। বিধ্বস্ত অবস্থায় ৪টি পাকিস্তানী ট্যাঙ্ক কামানসহ দখল করা হয়েছে। ২৪ ঘণ্টার যুদ্ধের পরিণতিতে ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর পক্ষে হিলি, গোবিন্দগঞ্জ, বাহাদুরিয়া, ফুলঝুরি সম্পূর্ণভাবে শত্রুমুক্ত হয়েছে।

হতাবশিষ্ট পাকসেনারা সিরাজগঞ্জ হয়ে ঢাকায় পালাবার জন্য মরিয়া হয়ে পথে খুঁজছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০২। পালাতে দেব না, হুঁশিয়ার-মানেকশ	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	১২ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

## পালাতে দেব না, হুঁশিয়ার

### -মানেকশ

#### বিশেষ সংবাদদাতা

নয়াদিল্লী, ১২ ডিসেম্বর-বাংলাদেশ থেকে পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যদের পালাতে দেওয়া হবে না। তাদের পালাবার পথ বন্ধ করার জন্য ভারতীয় সশস্ত্র বাহিনীগুলিকে নির্দেশ দেওয়া হয়েছে। স্থল বাহিনীর সর্বাধিনায়ক জেনারেল মানেকশ আজ বেতারে বাংলাদেশে দখলদার বাহিনীর সেনাপতিদের উদ্দেশ্যে এই হুঁশিয়ারি প্রচার করেছেন।

জেনারেল মানেকশ বলেন, পাকিস্তানীরা যে পাঁচটি বাণিজ্যিক জাহাজে করে পালাতে মতলব করেছে তা তিনি জানতে পেরেছেন। তিনি হুঁশিয়ার করেন দেন-“খবরদার এরকম চেষ্টা করবেন না। যদি করেন আপনাদের বাণিজ্যিক জাহাজগুলি তো ধ্বংস হবেই-সেই সঙ্গে আপনাদের সৈন্যরাও মারা যাবে।”

মেজর জেনারেল রাও ফারমান আলির উদ্দেশ্যে এই বেতারবার্তা। রাও ফারমান আলি হচ্ছেন বাংলাদেশের অসামরিক পুতুল সরকারের সামরিক উপদেষ্টা এবং চট্টগ্রামে পাকিস্তানী নৌবাহিনীর ফ্লাগ অফিসার কম্যান্ডিং।

জেনারেল মানেকশর এটিই শেষ হুঁশিয়ারী। জেনারেল বলেন, “আমি সৈনিকদের জীবন বাঁচাতে চাই। এজন্যই আমার হুঁশিয়ার।”

এই বেতার বার্তার আগে জেনারেল মানেকশ বিশেষভাবে জেনারেল ফারমান আলির নিকট আর একটি হুঁশিয়ারি প্রচার করেছিলেন। এতে তিনি পাকিস্তানী সশস্ত্র বাহিনীগুলিকে বাংলাদেশে অগ্রসরমান ভারতীয় বাহিনীর নিকট আত্মসমর্পণের পরামর্শ দেন। পাকিস্তানী সেনাপতিকে তিনি বলেন, অন্যথায় আপনার অধীনস্থ সৈনিক ও নাগরিকদের জীবনহানির জন্য একমাত্র আপনিই দায়ী হবেন।”

জেনারেল মানেকশ অধিকৃত বাংলাদেশে পাকিস্তানী সেনাপতির উদ্দেশ্যে আবার বলেন, আমার সৈন্যবাহিনী চার দিক থেকে আপনাদের ঘিরে ধরছে। আমি আপনার সৈন্যদের এখনই আমার সেনাবাহিনীর নিকট আত্মসমর্পণ করার জন্য বারবার পরামর্শ দিয়ে আসছি। সমুদ্রপথে কিংবা আকাশ পথে কোন দিকেই তাদের আর পালাবার জো নেই। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান থেকে যে আপনাদের নিকট কোন সাহায্য আসবে সে আশাও নেই। প্রতিরোধ নিরর্থক। প্রতিরোধ করা মানেই আপনার অধীনস্থ বহু নির্দোষ সৈনিকের মৃত্যু।”

তিনি বলেন, “আপনার যেসব সামরিক ও আধাসামরিক লোক ইতিমধ্যে আমার বাহিনীর নিকট আত্মসমর্পণ করেছেন তাদের জন্য আমি পূর্ণ নিরাপত্তা ও জেনেভা চুক্তি অনুযায়ী সদ্যবহারের ব্যবস্থা করেছি। আপনারা যদি আত্মসমর্পণ করে আমার রক্ষণাবেক্ষণে না আসেন তবে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী নারী-পুরুষ ও শিশুদেরও জীবন খুবই বিপন্ন। আমি আপনার সেনা ছাউনিগুলির বিরুদ্ধে যথেষ্ট কম বল প্রয়োগ করেছি যাতে লোকক্ষয় বেশী না হয়, কিন্তু আমি আর সময় দিতে অক্ষম। আমি আবার বলছি, আপনারা আমার পরামর্শে কান দিন। অন্যথায় সৈন্য ও অন্যান্য নাগরিকদের মৃত্যুর পুরা দায়িত্ব আপনার উপরই বর্তাবে।”

জেনারেল মানেকশ’র বেতার বার্তা আজ প্রথমে বেলা দেড়টায় এবং আবার বিকাল তিনটায় জেনারেল ফারমান আলির উদ্দেশ্যে আকাশবাণী থেকে প্রচারিত হয়।

### জাহাজঘাঁটায় জাহাজ তৈরি

জেনারেল ফারমান আলির উদ্দেশ্যে প্রচারিত হুঁশিয়ারিতে জেনারেল মানেকশ বলেন, ‘আমি জানতে পেরেছি গুপ্তা খেয়ায় (চট্টগ্রাম) দু’টি উপকূল জাহাজ তৈরী হয়ে আছে। আপনাদের রানওয়ে অক্ষত এবং আপনাদের বিমান প্রতিরক্ষা জোরদার করেছেন। আমি আরও জানি আপনাদের পাঁচটি বাণিজ্য জাহাজ আত্মগোপন করে আছে এবং পাইলট আর কে ৬২৩ সন্ধ্যা ছ’টা নাগাদ স্পীড বোটে রওয়ানা হবার জন্য তৈরী। এই অবস্থায় মোকাবিলার জন্য আমি আমার বাহিনীগুলিকে নির্দেশ দিয়েছি।’

জেনারেল মানেকশ বলেন, ‘আপনারা যদি এরকম কোন চেষ্টা করেন আপনাদের বাণিজ্য জাহাজগুলি তো ধ্বংস হবেই আপনার সৈন্যরাও মারা যাবে। সৈনিকদের জীবন বাঁচাতে চাই বলেই আমার হুঁশিয়ারী।’

জেনারেল ফারমান আলি পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্য ও বেসামরিক লোকজনদের বাংলাদেশ থেকে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানে সরিয়ে নেবার জন্য ইতিমধ্যেই রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সাহায্য চান বলে জানা গিয়েছে। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের সদস্যরা তার অনুরোধ বিবেচনা করতেও নাকি বলেন। কিন্তু ইয়াহিয়া খান জেনারেল ফারমান আলির অনুরোধ অগ্রাহ্য করতে বলেন। পাকিস্তান রেডিও নাকি বলেছে, ফারমান আলির আবেদন অনুমোদিত।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০৩। পাক-ভারত-বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধের খবর	হিন্দুস্তান স্ট্যান্ডার্ড	১৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

HINDUSTAN STANDARD, DECEMBER 13, 1971  
**INDIAN TROOPS PARA DROPPED NEAR DACCA**  
 By Amitava Das Gupta

Indian troops were paratropped in selected areas in the vicinity of Dacca at 4 p.m. on Saturday. Simultaneously, Indian ground forces were closing in on the capital from more than one direction.

The advancing column from the bridge head established on the west bank of the Meghna on Friday liberated Narshingdi on Sunday and maintained their march towards Dacca. On Sunday night the column was within 30 miles of the city.

With this the war for the liberation of Bangladesh can be said to have reached its final stage. Operation Dacca is proceeding extremely well and according to plan.

The paratroopers landed in strength were in contact with the enemy and have inflicted heavy casualties on the later. Fighting was going on as last reports came in. according to an Eastern Command spokesman. One Pak officer and 22 other ranks were killed and 12 were taken prisoners. A curfew, it is learnt, has meanwhile been clamped on Dacca by the Pakistani authorities.

Reporting continued fighting and a Pakistani counter offensive in the area, the spokesman said, "We are satisfied with the progress to Dacca".

On the Bhairabbazar-Dacca axis, Indian forces from Narsingdi were racing forward for a link up with the Indian paratroopers and the columns moving down south from Mymensingh town, he said.

Maj. Gen. Jacob, Chief of Staff, Eastern Command, told newsmen on Sunday the major part of Bangladesh all around Dacca had been liberated.

This perhaps has given an additional advantage to the Indian troops. However in the matter of Operation Dacca they have to operate within the limits of difficulties posed by the terrain around Dacca. The maneuverability of the troops is extremely limited because of rivers and marshy land. But considering all this they are doing extremely well.

To give additional support to the Indian troops engaged in operation Dacca the Mukti Bahini has already begun harassing tactics inside Dacca. They have already contacted the enemy at several points and given them a good fight.

Right now operations Dacca is being developed on the basis of two major thrusts one from Mymensingh via Tangail and the other from the bridgehead across the Meghna south of Bhairabbazar. The thrust from the Bhairabbazar point towards the south is



proceeding satisfactorily white in the north. Indian troops have been moving quite rapidly from Mymensingh in the directions of Tangail.

Maj. Gen. Jacob told newsmen that several thrusts were actually being developed towards Dacca. Considering the terrain, the rivers and marshes and the large number of bridges destroyed by the Pakistani troops some problems of logistics were bound to develop. Even then Indian troops were advancing extremely fast especially because the Pakistanis were fighting quite desperately. The tempo of the fighting was quite bitter he said.

The important point about operation Dacca is that Indian troops have crossed the Meghna, which is about 1,200 yards wide and they are all proceeding towards Dacca. For purposes of reinforcements every effort is being made to get the advantage of local experience, steamers etc. Without disclosing any part of the Indian strategy it can be said that building up of forces is continuing with the help of steamers, helicopters and other rivercraft.

Against this background perhaps can be explained the efforts of the key Pakistani personnel at Dacca to get out of Bangladesh. This they had tried to do by stealthy air fights and other means, but it is presumed they have not succeeded in their attempt so far.

Explaining the advances now being made by Indian troops along various sectors. Maj. Gen. Jacob said that the Indian troops were right now launching a major attack on Khulna and "we hope to be there soon".

Kushtia which was heavily defended was liberated on Saturday. There was bitter fighting there. The enemy engaged Indian tanks and set up numerous bunkers. But after overpowering the enemy at this point Indian troops were now proceeding towards the Padma.

Further east, after taking Mymensingh Indian troops are marching towards Tangail. Right now they are near the dense Madhupur forest. Similarly Indian troops are proceeding south from Jamalpur. In the Sylhet sector mopping up operation is going on and Pakistani troops are moving about in a scattered manner and occasionally shots are being fired in the air to signal them about the position of Indian troops giving them a chance to surrender.

Giving a description of the casualties Maj. Gen. Jacob said that Pakistani casualties were quite heavy. In one action Indian casualties have also been heavy in most cases these have been light to moderate. The Pakistanis are still holding out at Mainamati garrison. It was not the intention of Indian troops to indulge in unnecessary killing. They will therefore be given another chance to surrender. If they do not they will be adequately dealt with.

Agencies add : Indian troops on Sunday reached Khulna Cantonment (Daulatpur) and heavy fighting was going on when last reports came in.

Replying to questions the Army spokesman said the Pakistanis appeared to be making "a last ditch stand" in the Khulna area before they surrendered. Since both

Chalna and Mongla ports were blocked by naval action. They had no route of escape, he added.

Further up in north western Bangladesh, Indian forces have maintained pressure on the enemy in a two-pronged thrust from Hili and Gaibandha Goraghat and Govindgunj. The Indian columns have captured four Chaffee tanks, seven guns and two RCLs in the Govindgunj action. Also destroyed were two Chaffees while 60 Pak troops were killed. Forty enemy troops were taken prisoner.

The Indian Air Force which started Kushtia garrison on Saturday destroyed 10 railway wagons and 15 vehicles. They also engaged enemy troops withdrawing in Sirajganj and Phulcharighat.

Extending mopping up of the Pakistani regulars and Razakars who have donned civilian clothes to escape from Bangladesh have started in full swing in all the liberated areas.

Our troops ended the last resistance at Hili and Dinajpur by destroying the armor and capturing a large amount of arms and ammunition. Goraghat south west of Palasbari which held out for some fell to the liberation forces on Sunday. Govindgunj 17 km south of Palasbari was liberated by the Mukti Bahini.

With the liberation of Goraghat and govindgunj. the 120 km road from Hili to Gaibandha is now completely cleared of Pakistani troops.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০৪। পাক-ভারত-বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধের খবর	যুগান্তর	১৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

ভারতীয় গোলার আওতায় ঢাকা  
জওয়ানেরা শহরের উপকণ্ঠে  
পরিমল ভট্টাচার্য

যুদ্ধ এখন ঢাকা, দখলদারেরা ভারতীয় কামানের পাল্লার আওতায়। খানসেনসা তিনদিক থেকে বেষ্টিত হয় পড়ছে। তাদের স্বরচিত এবং স্বনির্ভাচিত মৃত্যুফাঁদ ক্রমশ ছোট হয়ে আসছে।

ভারতের ছত্রী বাহিনী সংগঠিত, মুক্তিবাহিনী সক্রিয়। ভৈরববাজার থেকে আগুয়ান একদল জওয়ান নরসিংদী পেরিয়ে রাজধানীর উপকণ্ঠে। আর একদল ধেয়ে আসছে জেলাসদর টাঙ্গাইল, মিরজাপুর সোমবারই মুক্ত করে জয়দেবপুর।

এটি একটা বিখ্যাত অরডন্যান্স ফ্যাকটরির আস্তানা। শীতলক্ষ্যা নদী পার হওয়ারও চেষ্টা চলছে। যমুনার বাধাও অতিক্রান্ত। চাঁদপুর বিজয়ী বাহিনী মেঘনা পার হয়েছেন দাউদকান্দিতে। মুক্তিবাহিনীর আছে মিত্রবাহিনীর পাশে।

তিন দিক থেকে তিনটি ইউনিট ঢাকার গায়ে গায়ে।

অবরুদ্ধ ঢাকা শহর থেকে ভয়েস অব আমেরিকার সংবাদদাতা জানিয়েছেন, ভারতীয় সৈন্য ঢাকার কেন্দ্র থেকে মাত্র ১১/১২ মাইল দূরে। লড়াই এখন প্রায় শহর এলাকাতেই।

দিল্লীতে একজন সরকারি মুখপাত্র বলেছেন, আর একটি দিন কি দুই দিন মাত্র, তার মধ্যেই ঢাকা এলাকায় আমরা বেশ জোরালে হয়ে এঁটে বসবো।

কিন্তু মনে রাখতে হবে বাংলাদেশের রাজধানী ঢাকা এবং এখানেই দখলদারদের বৃহত্তর সমাবেশ। জঙ্গী নেতারা ঢাকা মুক্তির লড়াইয়ে বাধা দিতে বদ্ধপরিকর। ভারতের জওয়ানদের দ্রুত অগ্রগতির খবরে দখলদার বাহিনী দিশাহারা। ফিল্ড কমান্ডাররা পরস্পরের মধ্যে যোগাযোগ রাখতে পারছেন না। বিমান নেই। গোলন্দাজরাও প্রায় সাবাড়। ট্যাঙ্ক বা কোথায়? সেনাপতিদের মধ্যে আছেন ছয়জন মেজর জেনারেল। বারো তের দিনের লড়াইয়ে বাংলাদেশে দখলদার বাহিনী হ্রস্বছাড়া। অথচ যুদ্ধ যখন শুরু হয় তখন দখলদারদের কম করেও ষাট হাজার সেনা ছিল।

পাকিস্তানী দখলদাররা একদিক ঢাকা মুক্তির লড়াইয়ে বাধা দেওয়ার জন্য ফন্দি আঁটছে। শহরে কারফিউ সমানে চলছে, রাতে ঘুটঘুটে অন্ধকার। বেসরকারী বাড়িতেও দখলদার সেনারা ঢুকে পড়েছে। ঘন ঘন গোলা ফাটিয়ে তাদের চাঙ্গা রাখার চেষ্টা হচ্ছে। নির্দেশ জারী হয়েছে, এই সেনাদের কেউ বিন্দুমাত্র এদিক ওদিক করলে তাকে গুলি করা হবে। অন্যদিকে ভারতীয় জওয়ানদের কাছে পাক সেনাদের আত্মসমর্পণের পালা সমানে চলেছে। সোমবার লাকসাম ও কুমিল্লায় আরও এক হাজার একশ' চৌত্রিশজন আত্মসমর্পণের পালা সমানে চলেছে। সোমবার লাকসাম ও কুমিল্লায় আরও এক হাজার একশ' চৌত্রিশজন আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে। তাদের মধ্যে চৌদ্দজন অফিসার ও পঁচিশজন জেসিও আছেন তারা ৫৩ ব্রিগেড, ২৩ পানজাব, ১৫ বালুচ, ৩৯ বালুচ, ৫২ ফিল্ড রেজিমেন্ট, ৪৭ ফিল্ড কোম্পানী ইডজিনয়ার ও ২১ আজাদ কাশ্মীর রেজিমেন্টের।

ঢাকা ছাড়া খুলনা, বগুড়া ও চট্টগ্রাম সেক্টরে তুমুল লড়াই হচ্ছে। খুলনার কাছে তিন দিন ধরে লড়াই চলছে। এখানে ওরা মরীয়া, কারণ শত্রু বাহিনীর পালাবার পথ নেই। ভারতের জওয়ানরা তাদের চেপে ধরেছেন। শত্রু সেনারা যশোর ক্যান্টনমেন্ট থেকে পালিয়ে সেখানে আশ্রয় নিয়েছে। খুলনা যাওয়ার পথ জলাভূমি। এই সুযোগ

তারা ভারতের জওয়ানদের বাধা দিয়ে যেতে চেষ্টা করেছে। আর ভারতের জওয়ানরা যতটা সম্ভব কম প্রাণনাশ করে তাদের আত্মসমর্পণের সুযোগ দিচ্ছেন।

হিলির দিক থেকে ভারতের জওয়ানরা পাঁচবিবি মুক্ত করেছেন। তাদের আর একদল লক্ষ্মীপুর মুক্ত করার পর বগুড়ার শহরতলিতে পৌঁছে গিয়েছেন। বগুড়ায় উত্তরাঞ্চলে পাক বাহিনীর সদর দফতর। লক্ষ্মীপুরে ৩২ বালুচ রেজিমেন্টের চারজন অফিসারকে বন্দী করা হয়েছে।

ভারতীয় জওয়ানরা চট্টগ্রামের পথে সীতাকুন্ডুর দক্ষিণে পৌঁছেছেন। সীতাকুন্ডু চট্টগ্রামের উত্তর-পশ্চিমে ছত্রিশ কিলোমিটার। চালনা থেকে কক্সবাজার পর্যন্ত শত্রুপোতের কোন চিহ্ন নেই।

ভারতের জওয়ান ও মুক্তিবাহিনীর লোকজন ঈশ্বরদির কাছে পদ্মা নদীর উপরে হারডিঞ্জ ব্রিজ বা সারা সেতুর দখল নিয়েছেন। পূর্বে পাবনার দিকে পালিয়ে যাওয়ার সময় পাক সেনারা ব্রিজটির তিনটি খিলান ডিনামাইট দিয়ে উড়িয়ে দেয়। পালাবার সময় তারা কিছু অস্ত্রশস্ত্র ও গাড়িও ফেলে যায়।

সোমবার ভারতের বিমান সেনারা ভেড়ামারা, হারিডিনজ ব্রিজ, রংপুর, ময়নামতি, নরসিংদী, চট্টগ্রাম ও কক্সবাজারের কাছে শত্রু ঘাঁটির উপর আক্রমণ চালান। গোয়ালন্দঘাটেও শত্রুদের কিছু মোটরবোট ও সেনাবাহিনী বহনের যান ধ্বংস করে। ময়নামতি ক্যান্টনমেন্ট এখনও শত্রুদের দখলে। লড়াই চলছে।

সোমবার সন্ধ্যায় নয়াদিল্লীতে প্রতিরক্ষা দফতরের এক মুখপাত্র বলেন, পরিকল্পনা অনুসারে ঢাকা মুক্তির লড়াই ঠিকঠিক চলছে। এদিন কলকাতায় পূর্বাঞ্চলীয় কমান্ডের এক মুখপাত্র সাংবাদিকদের প্রশ্নের উত্তরে বলেন, ‘আমাদের বাহিনী ভালভাবে এগোচ্ছেন।’ তিনি ঢাকা অপারেশন সম্বন্ধে বিস্তারিত জানাতে চান না। প্রতিরক্ষা দফতরের মুখপাত্রও নয়। একজন আমেরিকান সাংবাদিক পূর্বাঞ্চলীয় কমান্ডের মুখপাত্রকে প্রশ্ন করেন-তা হলে কি ঢাকার খবর ব্ল্যাকআউট করা হচ্ছে?

মুখপাত্র কর্নেল হেসে জবাব দেন, না মশায়। পরিকল্পনা অনুসারে লড়াই হচ্ছে। আগে থেকে সবকিছু বলা সম্ভব নয়।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০৫। সপ্তম নৌবহর সিঙ্গাপুরের পথে	টাইমস অব ইন্ডিয়া	১৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

*TIMES OF INDIA, DECEMBER 14, 1971*

**SEVENTH FLEET ON WAY TO SINGAPORE AMERICAN  
BID TO PLAY ON INDIA'S NERVES**

*"The Times of India", News Service, New Delhi, December 13*

While the U. N. Security Council debated a U. S. resolution calling upon India to halt its 'armed attack against Pakistan, a task force of the U. S. Seventh fleet headed by a nuclear powered aircraft cruiser headed towards Singapore from its normal station off the coast of North Viet Nam.

There are also unconfirmed reports of Chinese moves, diplomatic and otherwise in certain areas. These may be intended to demonstrate Peking's solidarity with Islamabad.

The Seventh Fleets task force which includes several destroyers according to an American news agency's report from Saigon, has evidently been asked to wait off Singapore. The stated reason for this movements is that the task force may have to be used to rescue stranded U. S. citizens in Dacca.

As an official spokesman here acknowledged in response to persistent questions at a briefing this evening the movement of the Seventh Fleet "Would have formed part of the larger picture" discussed today with Mr. Vassil Kuznetsov. Soviet Union's first Deputy Prime Minister, by the Prime Minister and her Principal Secretary, Mr. P. N. Haskar.

**Psychological Pressure**

The official spokesman hinted that the task force might have been mounted to exert psychological pressure on India. Although he carefully refrained from making any direct criticism of the U. S. action he did say that it was hardly necessary to make a display of U. S. naval might to evacuate only a few nationals now left in Dacca.

The spokesman pointed out that three RAF aircraft from the British base in Singapore and a Canadian C-130 had evacuated several hundred foreigners from Dacca yesterday under Indian safe conduct arrangement. The Government of India would be happy to provide similar facilities to the USA.

Apart from the Dacca evacuation the Soviet Union appeared to be reinforcing its naval strength in the Indian Ocean.

One report said quoting officers of the Seventh Fleet that the mission to the Bay of Bengal might be cancelled if evacuation of Americans in Dacca could be arranged by other means.

Intervening at today's briefing a ranking Defense Ministry spokesman sought to discourage speculation about U. S. and Chinese intentions vis-a-vis the conflict in the

sub-continent. He said "I am almost certain that there is no intention of the part of either the U. S. A. or China to complicate the situation in the sub-continent."

The Seventh Fleet he said, enjoyed the freedom of high seas. No significance need

attach to its sending a task force to stand off Singapore unless a particular interpretation is placed on this initiative.

Likewise the Defense Ministry is still assessing whether reports of Chinese movements have been "planted" to scare New Delhi or are based upon facts. The investigations necessary to make a considered judgment are as yet incomplete.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০৬। ঢাকা দখলের লড়াই	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	১৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

## বগুড়া মুক্ত। চট্টগ্রাম ও ঢাকার গভর্ণরের প্রাসাদ জ্বলছে

### ঢাকা দখলের লড়াই

#### খান শাহীর সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক ছিন্ন করে মন্ত্রিসভাসহ

#### ডঃ মালিকের পদত্যাগ : নিরপেক্ষ এলাকায় আশ্রয়

নয়াদিল্লী, ১৪ই ডিসেম্বর (ইউএনআই)-ঢাকায় ‘গভর্ণরের’ বাড়ী ও অন্যান্য কয়েকটি লক্ষ্যস্থলে এখন আগুন জ্বলছে। গভর্ণর ডঃ এ মালিক, তার মন্ত্রী পরিষদ ও উর্ধ্বতন অসামরিক কর্মচারীরা ইতিমধ্যে তাদের নিজ নিজ পদে ইস্তফা দিয়ে নিরপেক্ষ এলাকা ইন্টারকন্টিনেন্টাল হোটেলে পালিয়ে গিয়েছেন।

এই খবরে আরও জানা যায় যে, ভারতীয় সৈন্য ও মুক্তিবাহিনীর সদস্যরা রাজধানী ঢাকার উপকণ্ঠে প্রবেশ করেছে এবং সেখানে এখন যুদ্ধ চলছে।

বাংলাদেশের জনসাধারণের যুগান্তকারী স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম এখন শেষ পর্যায়ে এসে পৌঁছেছে। ঢাকায় পাকিস্তানীদের চূড়ান্তভাবে উচ্ছেদ করে একটি প্রতিনিধি স্থানীয় সরকার গঠনের জন্য ভারতীয় সৈন্যদের নির্দেশ দেওয়া হয়েছে।

পূর্ব পাকিস্তান সরকার আজ বিকেলে সদলবলে পদত্যাগ করেছেন এবং ইসলামাবাদে ইয়াহিয়া সরকারের কেন্দ্রীয় প্রশাসন থেকে নিজেদের সরিয়ে এনেছেন।

ঢাকার শহরতলীতে প্রচণ্ড হাভাহাতি লড়াই চলছে। মুক্তিবাহিনী ও ভারতীয় জওয়ানরা তীব্রবেগে আক্রমণ চালিয়ে যাচ্ছেন। একটা শক্তিশালী পাকবাহিনীর মোকাবেলা করে তাঁরা তাদের সম্পূর্ণভাবে পর্যুদস্ত করেছেন। ঢাকা শহরের সেনাবাহিনীর ছাউনির ওপর ভারতীয় গোলন্দাজ বাহিনী গোলা নিষ্ক্ষেপ করে চলেছে।

এদিন রংপুর সেক্টরে শত্রু সেনাবাহিনীর গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ডিভিশনাল হেডকোয়ার্টার বগুড়ার পতনের মধ্যদিয়ে ঐ সেক্টর মোটামুটিভাবে শত্রুমুক্ত হয়েছে বলে অনুমান করা হচ্ছে।

গভীর রাতে ঢাকা সেক্টরের আরো যে সংবাদ এসেছে, তাতে দেখা যায়, ভারতীয় জওয়ানরা শুধু জয়দেবপুর, টঙ্গী কালিক্টর দখল করেই ক্ষান্ত হন নি, তাঁরা আরো দ্রুত গতিতে এগিয়ে চলেছেন। শহরতলীতে পাক সেনাবাহিনীর পুরো একটা ব্রিগেড আটক পড়েছে। ঐ বাহিনীর অধ্যক্ষ একজন ব্রিগেডিয়ার ও ময়মনসিংহ এর মার্শাল ল’এ্যাডমিনিস্ট্রেটরসহ কমপক্ষে ১২ জন জাঁদরেল পাক সেনাপতি আত্মসমর্পণ করেছেন। অনুমান করা হচ্ছে, সর্বত্র ভারতীয় জওয়ানদের তাড়া খেয়ে পাক সেনাবাহিনীর এই ব্রিগেড জয়দেবপুর-টঙ্গীর নিকটে গিয়ে জমায়েত হয়েছিল। কিন্তু অতর্কিতে ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনী উপস্থিত হওয়ায় তারা আটক পড়েন।

চট্টগ্রাম সেক্টরে কুমিরার দক্ষিণে ভারতীয় জওয়ানরা বেশ জোরের সঙ্গে এগিয়ে যাচ্ছে। চট্টগ্রাম বন্দর জ্বলছে। তাছাড়া শ্রীহট্টের নিকটে একটি পেট্রোলিয়ামের পরিশোধনাগারও দখলে এসেছে।

দখলদার বাহিনীর প্রধান অধিনায়ক জেনারেল এ এ কে নিয়াজী অনিচ্ছা সত্ত্বেও শেষ পর্যন্ত যুদ্ধ চালিয়ে যেতে বাধ্য হওয়ায় ভারতীয় সৈন্যরা ও মুক্তিবাহিনীর সদস্যরা ঢাকার অভ্যন্তরে সামরিক লক্ষ্যস্থলগুলির উপর প্রচণ্ড বোমা বর্ষণ করেন এবং তারা এখন শহরের মধ্যে এগিয়ে চলেছেন। ঢাকায় এবার তাদের রক্তাক্ত সংগ্রাম শুরু হয়েছে।

ভারতীয় সৈন্যদের একটি দল ঢাকা নগরীর ১১ কিলোমিটারের মধ্যে এগিয়ে গিয়েছেন। আর একটি মাত্র নদী অতিক্রম করলেই তারা শহরের অভ্যন্তরে যেয়ে পৌঁছবেন।

আজ দুপুরের দিকে একটি পাক পরিবহন বিমান থেকে পুস্তিকা ফেলে বলা হয়েছে যে, পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা যে সব অবাংগালীদের হাতে অস্ত্র দিয়েছে তারা যেন নিজ নিজ এলাকা থেকে দ্রুত সরে যায়।

প্রকাশ, বাঙ্গালী পুলিশের মধ্যে বিদ্রোহ দেখা দিতে পারে, এই সম্ভাবনায় পাক কর্তৃপক্ষ তাদের হাত থেকে অস্ত্র কেড়ে নিয়েছে।

### উর্ধ্বতন অফিসারদের পদত্যাগের হিড়িক

বাংলাদেশে পাক সরকারের অধীনস্থ উচ্চপদস্থ অসামরিক অফিসাররা পদত্যাগ করেছেন বলে নয়াদিল্লীর এক সরকারী মুখপাত্র জানিয়েছেন। মুখপাত্র বলেন, সরকারের কাছে খবর এসেছে যে, এই অফিসাররা ঢাকার রেডক্রসের নিরপেক্ষ অঞ্চলে আশ্রয় নিয়েছেন। তাদের সংখ্যা প্রায় ৬৫ জন। এই সংবাদটি ঢাকা থেকে আন্তর্জাতিক রেডক্রসের প্রতিনিধি মিঃ রেনার্ড জেনিভায় রেডক্রসকে পাঠিয়েছেন। ভারতীয় রেডক্রস আজ বেলা আড়াইটায় সংবাদটি পান। রেনার্ডের বার্তায় ছিলঃ পূর্ব পাকিস্তান সরকারের সর্বোচ্চ শ্রেণীর অফিসাররা পদত্যাগ করছেন এবং রেডক্রসের নিরপেক্ষ এলাকায় আশ্রয় চেয়েছেন। অবিলম্বে ভারতীয় ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে খবরটি জানান। আমরা এখানে সামরিক বাহিনীর সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ করেছি। কিন্তু নিরাপত্তার গ্যারান্টি দেওয়া হয়নি।

ভারত সরকার নয়াদিল্লীর আন্তর্জাতিক রেডক্রস প্রতিনিধির উপরোক্ত অনুরোধে সম্মত হয়ে ঢাকার হোলিফ্যামিলি হাসপাতাল এবং ইন্টারকন্টিনেন্টাল হোটেলকে নিরপেক্ষ এলাকা বলে ঘোষণা করেছেন।

এছাড়া ভারত বর্ষের মধ্যে রেডক্রসের আন্তর্জাতিক কমিটিকে কাজ করবার সুযোগ ভারত সরকার দিয়েছেন। মুখপাত্র আরো বলেন, নিরপেক্ষ এলাকা এবং ঢাকা সম্পর্কে ভারত সরকার জেনিভা চুক্তি অনুসরণ করছেন। এর অর্থ হচ্ছে আহত এবং অসুস্থ সৈন্য এবং অসামরিক নাগরিকদের আশ্রয়দান, রাষ্ট্রসংঘ এবং বিদেশীদের যুদ্ধের প্রতিক্রিয়া থেকে রক্ষা করা। ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর সর্বাধিনায়কও এই মর্মে ভারতীয় কমান্ডারদের নির্দেশ দিয়েছেন। তবে মুখপাত্র বলেন, ব্যবস্থাগুলি কার্যকরী করতে হলে ঢাকার পাক দখলদার বাহিনীর সহযোগিতা প্রয়োজন। তাঁরা যেন নিরপেক্ষ এলাকা সামরিক প্রয়োজনে ব্যবহার না করেন। পিটিআই ইউএনআই।

ঢাকা থেকে রয়টারের অপর এক খবরে জানা যায় যে, পূর্ববঙ্গে অসামরিক সরকারের সমস্ত কাজ-কারবার সব বন্ধ হয়েছে।

পুলিশ ইন্সপেক্টর জেনারেল মিঃ এম এ চৌধুরীসহ প্রায় ১৬ জন পদস্থ সিনিয়র অসামরিক অফিসার আজ সকালে এখানে রেডক্রসের নিরপেক্ষ এলাকা বলে ঘোষিত ইন্টারকন্টিনেন্টালে পালিয়ে আশ্রয় নিয়েছেন।

‘গভর্নর’ মিঃ এ এম মালিকের বর্তমান মতলব জানা যায়নি। যারা হোটেল ইন্টারকন্টিনেন্টালে আশ্রয় নিয়েছেন, তাঁরা মিঃ মালিকের লিখিত আদেশেই তা করেছেন। মিঃ মালিক তাঁদের নির্দেশ দিয়েছেন তাঁরা, যেন কাজকর্ম বন্ধ করে নিরপেক্ষ এলাকায় পালিয়ে যান।

খুলনাকে সবদিক থেকে ঘিরে ফেলা হয়েছে। পাক সেনাবাহিনী সেখানে ‘শেষ যুদ্ধ’ লড়ে চলেছে।

রংপুর সেক্টরে এদিন আরো যে কয়েকটি শহর ও অঞ্চল দখল করা হয়েছে, তার মধ্যে আছে খেতলাল, জয়পুর হাট ও খানসামা।



ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী এদিনও খুলনা, দৌলতপুর, গোকুল, খাসনামা, জয়দেবপুর ও ময়নামতির ওপর প্রচণ্ড আক্রমণ চালিয়েছে। খুলনা, গোয়ালন্দঘাট, আড়িয়াধাট ও সিরাজগঞ্জে শত্রুসেনারা লঞ্চে, নৌকাযোগে আক্রমণ করতে উদ্যোগী হয়েছিল। তবে তারা ব্যর্থ হয়েছে। ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনীর সাফল্যজনক আক্রমণের ফলে স্থল বাহিনীর অগ্রগতি অব্যাহত আছে বলে এখানে মনে করা হচ্ছে।

#### ঢাকার দিকে

পূর্বাঞ্চল কম্যান্ডের একজন মুখপাত্র কলকাতায় সাংবাদিকদের এক প্রশ্নের উত্তর দিতে গিয়ে বলেছেন: ভৈরব বাজারের দিক থেকে ভারতীয় জোয়ানেরা নির্দিষ্ট পথে ঢাকার দিকে এগিয়ে চলছেন। ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর কাছে খবর হচ্ছে ঢাকায় পাক সেনাবাহিনীর মধ্যে বিশেষ বিভ্রান্তির সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। তাদের প্রধান জেনারেল নিয়াজি ও ফরমান আলির মধ্যে বিশেষ মতপার্থক্য দেখা দিয়েছে। একজন এই প্রচণ্ড চাপের মধ্যে আত্মসমর্পণ করতে বলছেন। অপরজন তা অস্বীকার করছেন।

তিন দিক থেকেই ভারতীয় সেনারা যে এগিয়ে চলেছেন, তা ঐ মুখপাত্র এদিন স্বীকার করেছেন। বিমান থেকে যে সকল ছত্রী ভারতীয় সৈন্যকে গত দু'দিনে ঢাকার উপকণ্ঠে নামানো হয়েছিল, তারাও আক্রমণ চালিয়ে যাচ্ছেন। তারা ঢাকা শহরের মধ্যে প্রবেশ করেছেন বলে জানা গেছে।

#### শত্রুসেনা রক্ষাব্যূহ

উক্ত মুখপাত্র মনে করেন, পাক সেনারা ঢাকায় রক্ষাব্যূহ আরো সুদৃঢ় করার চেষ্টা চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে। তবে, ভারতীয় জোয়ানরা সব অবস্থায় মোকাবিলা করতে প্রস্তুত।

আরো জানা গেছে, পাক সেনাদের হতাহতের সংখ্যা অনেক বেশী। ইতোমধ্যে ৪১০২ জন পাক সেনাকে বন্দী করা হয়েছে এবং ৪০৬৬ জন তাদের প্যারা মিলিটারী সৈন্যও ধরা পড়েছে।

#### বন্দী শত্রুসেনাপতি

কালিয়াকৈরে যে নয়জন পাক সেনাপতিকে বন্দী করা হয়েছে, তার মধ্যে আছেনঃ ৯৩নং ব্রিগেডের কম্যান্ডার খাদির খান, সিভিল আর্মড ফোর্সের সেক্টর কম্যান্ডার লেঃ কর্নেল মোহাম্মদ আকবর, ময়মনসিংহ-এর মার্শাল ল' এ্যাডমিনিস্ট্রেটর লেঃ কর্নেল আমির মোহাম্মদ খান, ৯৩নং ব্রিগেডের মেজর মোহাম্মদ আকবর, রেঞ্জার্সের উইং কম্যান্ডার মেজর আসগর, মেজর আলধর, মেজর মসজিদ, বসির আহমেদ এবং ৯৩নং ব্রিগেডের ৩ নম্বর গ্রেডের জি এস এ ক্যাপ্টেন আনজাম।

ঢাকার দিকে ময়মনসিংহের পথ ধরে ভারতীয় জোয়ানদের যে দলটি এগিয়ে যাচ্ছে, তাদের চলার পথে বিশেষ বড় কোন নদীর বাধা নেই বলে সামরিক বাহিনীর একজন অফিসার জানান। আর নরসিংদীর দিক থেকে যে দলটি রয়েছে তা ঢাকা শহর থেকে প্রায় এগার মাইল দূরে। উত্তর ও পূর্বদিক থেকে বাংলাদেশের রাজধানী অভিমুখে ধাবিত ভারতীয় বাহিনী অত্যন্ত আশাব্যঞ্জক গতিতে এগুচ্ছে বলে ধরা হয়েছে। কারণ টাংগাইল-এ ভারতীয় জোয়ান ও মুক্তিবাহিনীর সমবেত শক্তি কুমৌটোলার ক্যান্টনমেন্টের চার পাঁচ মাইলের মধ্যে পৌঁছেছে।

আরো নির্ভরযোগ্য সূত্রে জানা গেছে, পাক জঙ্গী শাসকদের প্রধানরা তাদের কর্মস্থল ত্যাগ করে রেডক্রসের কাছে নিরপেক্ষ অঞ্চলে আশ্রয় চেয়েছেন; লেঃ জেনারেল নিয়াজি ঢাকা ধ্বংস হয়ে গেলেও শেষ পর্যন্ত যুদ্ধ চালিয়ে যেতে চাইছেন। প্রকাশ, শুধু গোলন্দাজ বাহিনী নয়, ভারতীয় বিমান বাহিনী পর্যন্ত ঢাকা ক্যান্টনমেন্টের উপর বিকেলের দিকে বোমা বর্ষণ করেছেন।

ভারতীয় সামরিক বাহিনীর মুখপাত্র আরো জানিয়েছেনঃ স্থল বাহিনীর সর্বাধিনায়ক জেনারেল মানেকশা'র বাণী সম্বলিত প্রচারপত্র বিমান থেকে গতকাল রাতে ঢাকা শহরে ফেলা হয়েছে। উক্ত মুখপাত্র আশঙ্কা প্রকাশ করেছেন : অসামরিক লোকজনদের এলাকায় যাতে সংঘর্ষ না হয়, তার জন্য বিশেষ নজর রাখা হচ্ছে। তবে,

ঢাকা মিলিটারী গ্যারিসন বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় এলাকা দখল করেছে। অবশ্য তাতে বাংলাদেশের মানুষের সঙ্গে পঃ পাকিস্তানী কর্তৃপক্ষের তিক্ততা বৃদ্ধি পাবে। আজ পুনরায় সামরিক মুখপাত্র বলেন, ভারতীয় গোলান্দাজরা অসামরিক লোকজনের ওপর গোলাবর্ষণ করছে না।

#### বগুড়ার পতন

বগুড়ার পতনের পর চারজন পাক অফিসার বন্দী হয়েছে। তবে একজন পলায়ন করতে সক্ষম হয়। পাক সেনারা রংপুর সেক্টরে ক্যান্টনমেন্টকে ঘিরে এখনও যুদ্ধ চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে।

#### চট্টগ্রামের বন্দর জ্বলছে

ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর পূর্বাঞ্চল কমান্ডের যুদ্ধ জাহাজ এদিন পুনরায় চট্টগ্রাম ও কক্সবাজার বন্দরের ওপর বোমা ও রকেট নিক্ষেপ করায় বন্দরটি জ্বলতে দেখা গেছে বলে খবর এসেছে। এই দুই বন্দরের ওপর চাপ অব্যাহত রাখার জন্যই এই আক্রমণ চালানো হয়েছে বলে জানা গেছে।

এছাড়া শত্রুদের অনেক ব্যারাক, হেড কোয়ার্টার ও ট্রানজিট ক্যাম্পের ওপর আক্রমণ করা হয়েছিল। ভারতীয় নৌবাহিনীর দপ্তরখানা জানিয়েছেনঃ এই আক্রমণের ঘটনার পরে একটি জাহাজও বন্দর ছাড়তে পারেনি। চট্টগন্ম বন্দর এখন ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর চলার পথে মাত্র চার-পাঁচ মাইলের মধ্যে।

চট্টগ্রামের দিকে সাঁড়াশী অভিযান চালানো হয়েছে। তাছাড়া নৌবাহিনী শত্রুসেনাদের সব জলপথে যাতায়াতের পথ বন্ধ করে দিয়েছিল। পূর্বাঞ্চলের নৌবাহিনী যখন এই যুদ্ধ চালাচ্ছিল, তখন ফ্ল্যাগসীপ বিমানের সাহায্যে আক্রমণের পুরোভাগে ছিল। তারা ‘অপূর্ব’ কাজ করেছে বলে দাবী করা হয়েছে। নৌবাহিনীর কোন ক্ষতি হয়নি।

#### শ্রীহট্টের অগ্রগতি

শ্রীহট্ট শহর থেকে ১৯ কিলোমিটার দূরে এক গ্রামে অবস্থিত বাংলাদেশের পেট্রোলিয়াম পরিশোধনাগারটি অক্ষত অবস্থায় ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর দখল করেছেন। গতকাল বিকেলে যখন এটি দখল করা হয়, সামরিক বাহিনীর একজন মুখপাত্র জানিয়েছেন, তখন সেখানে বারো হাজার গ্যালন পেট্রোলিয়াম ও পর্যাপ্ত পরিমাণে গ্যাস ছিল। এই পরিশোধনাগার থেকে কুশিয়ারা নদীর তীরে অবস্থিত সার কারখানায়ও গ্যাস পাঠানো হতো। উক্ত মুখপাত্র আরো বলেন, পাক সেনাদের তিনটি বাহিনী ঐ পরিশোধনাগারটি রক্ষা করেছিল। কিন্তু ভারতীয় জোয়ান ও মুক্তিবাহিনী সমবেতভাবে তা আক্রমণ করেন; শত্রুপক্ষের অনেক লোক হতাহত হয়।

১৮ জন পাক সেনার মৃতদেহ এখন পর্যন্ত পাওয়া গেছে। শত্রুরা দুটি চীনের ভারী মেশিনগান, চারটি ভারী গাড়ী, কিছুসংখ্যক গোলা ও অন্যান্য অস্ত্র রসদ ফেলে গেছে। তিনজন আহত শত্রুসেনাকে বন্দী করা হয়েছে। শত্রুরা এই কারখানাটি ভেঙ্গে দেবার চেষ্টা করেছিল; কিন্তু সার্থক হয়নি।

#### খুলনা রণাঙ্গন

এই রণাঙ্গনে শত্রুসেনাদের হতাহতের সংখ্যা ক্রমেই বেড়ে চলেছে। কারণ, তারা মরণপণ করে লড়ছে। পদ্মার ওপরের হার্ডিঞ্জ ব্রীজের নিকটে ভারতীয় জওয়ানরা শত্রুদের পাঁচটি বন্দুক, একটি ট্যাঙ্ক, ৮৫টি গাড়ী এবং অন্যান্য অস্ত্রশস্ত্র পেয়েছেন।

#### ১৭৫টি পাক ট্যাঙ্ক

সামরিক বাহিনীর মুখপাত্র জানিয়েছেনঃ গতকাল পর্যন্ত বিভিন্ন রণাঙ্গনে ১৭৫টি পাক ট্যাঙ্ক ও ৮৩টি বিমান ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হয়েছে। এর মধ্যে ১৮টি ট্যাঙ্ক অক্ষত আছে। ভারতীয় সেনাবাহিনীর একদিনের যুদ্ধে নৌবাহিনীর একটি বিমান সমেত ৪১টি বিমান ও ৬১টি ট্যাঙ্ক খোয়া গেছে।

দৌলতনগরে (খুলনা ক্যান্টনমেন্ট) এদিন প্রচণ্ড লড়াই চলছে বলে খবর পাওয়া গেছে। শত্রুসেনাদের সঙ্গে তাদের গোলন্দাজ বাহিনী আছে। তবে, ভারতীয় জোয়ানরা তাদের কাছ থেকে দু'টি ট্যাঙ্ক কেড়ে নিয়েছে।

কুমিল্লা সেক্টরে ময়নামতি ক্যান্টনমেন্টের দিকেও ভারতীয় সেনারা এগিয়ে চলেছে। ঐ ক্যান্টনমেন্টে এক হাজার পাক সৈন্য আছে বলে মনে করা হচ্ছে।

যশোর সেক্টরের দিক থেকে খুলনার দিকে যখন ভারতীয় জোয়ানরা এগিয়ে যাচ্ছিলেন, তখন তারা শত্রুদের ছ'টি ট্যাঙ্কের ক্ষতি করতে সক্ষম হন।

সর্বশেষ সংবাদে জানা গেছে, বগুড়ার নিকটে ইউনিসেফ-এর গাড়ীতে করে পাক সেনাবাহিনী অস্ত্রশস্ত্র নিয়ে যাচ্ছিল। সেনাবাহিনী গাড়ীগুলি আটক করেছেন।

মালদা থেকে নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা শ্রী ধীরেন ঠাকুর জানাচ্ছেনঃ সীমান্তের ওপর থেকে পাওয়া খবরে প্রকাশ যে মুক্তিবাহিনী চাঁপাইনবাবগঞ্জ শহরের দিকে অগ্রসর হচ্ছে। সেখানে জোর লড়াই হয়েছে। শিবগঞ্জ থানা এলাকা মুক্তিবাহিনী দখল করেছে। পাক বাহিনী এখন রাজশাহী সদরে জমা হচ্ছে। মুক্তিবাহিনী সূত্রে প্রকাশ যে, চাঁপাইনবাবগঞ্জ শ্রীষই মুক্ত হবে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০৭। রাশিয়ার তৃতীয় ভেটো	দি স্টেটসম্যান	১৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE STATESMAN, DECEMBER 15, 1971

# **RUSSIA VETOES US STUBBORNNESS**

From J. K. Banerjy

United Nations, December 14,- Russia today used its third veto in nine days in the Security council to thwart the Nixon Administration's stubborn efforts, somewhat embarrassingly backed by China to freeze the military situation in the Indian subcontinent for President Yahya's benefit.

Foreseeing the fate of the US proposal Italy and Japan had introduced a nine-point resolution and the External Affairs Minister Mr. Swaran Singh said India would examine the proposal at length. The Pakistani delegate Mr. Agha Shahi however, said the proposal was unacceptable.

The proposal envisages a call to India and Pakistan to take all measures to bring about a immediate cease fire and begin disengagement of troops and "an immediate opening of negotiations with a view to achieving a comprehensive political settlement."

Mr. Shingh said later, "Because the Pakistanis reject them it does not mean we would necessarily accept the proposals." The Indian delegation will examine them at some length.

The US resolution had called for cessation of military hostilities but not calling for a simultaneous political deal acceptable to the elected representatives of Bangladesh.

The almost pathological distaste on the part of the majority in the Council to acknowledge the reality of the existence of an independent Bangladesh Government. Without whose cooperation there can be no cease fire was demonstrated when the Council refused to allow despite Soviet attempts the Bangladesh representative Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury to put before the Council his Government's views on an acceptable settlement.

Mr. Swaran Singh and Mr. Bhutto both spoke without breaking any new ground. The Indian Foreign Minister offered a firm assurance not to annex any territory east or west as well as not to station troops in Bangladesh after the threat constituted by the presence of Pakistan troops in had receded. His one pre-condition was that the Government of Bangladesh must be made a party to any arrangement dealing with a cease fire that would assure peace and stability in the area.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০৮। বঙ্গোপসাগরে সপ্তম নৌ-বহর পৌঁছেছে, কুড়িটি রুশ রণতরীও আসছে	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	১৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

**বঙ্গোপসাগরে সপ্তম নৌবহর পৌঁছেছে  
কুড়িটি রুশ রণতরীও আসছে**

মার্কিন সপ্তম নৌবহর বুধবারই বঙ্গোপসাগরে এসে হাজির হয়েছে। এই বহরে আছে পরমাণু শক্তিচালিত বিমানবাহী জাহাজ ‘এন্টারপ্রাইজ’। সঙ্গে এসেছে আরও সাতটি রণতরী। এদিন সিঙ্গাপুর থেকে পাঠানো ইউপি আইয়ের এই খবরের পাশাপাশি টোকিও থেকে এপি জানিয়েছে, কুড়িটি সোভিয়েট রণতরীও ভার মহাসাগরে এসে জড়ো হয়েছে। ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র ছুড়তে পারে এমন জাহাজও এর ভেতর আছে। জাপানী প্রতিরক্ষা মন্ত্রকের মুখপাত্ররা বলেছেন, গত ৯ ডিসেম্বর জাপানের দক্ষিণতম প্রান্ত ও কোরিয়া উপদ্বীপের মধ্যবর্তী সুসীমা প্রণালীর ভিতর দিয়ে ক্ষেপণাস্ত্রবাহী একটি সোভিয়েট ফ্রিগেট এবং ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র ছুড়তে পারে এমন একটি সোভিয়েট ডুবোজাহাজও বঙ্গোপসাগরের দিকে পাড়ি দিয়েছে।

বুধবার রাতেই নয়াদিল্লীতে কর্তৃপক্ষ মহল বলেছেন, খবর পেয়েছি-মার্কিন সপ্তম নৌবহর বঙ্গোপসাগরে ঢুকেছে। বাংলাদেশ থেকে দখলদার পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী বাহিনীকে সরিয়ে নেওয়ার কোন রকম এজিয়ারই এই নৌবহরের নেই। সপ্তম নৌবহর বা বাইরের যে কোন শক্তিই হোক-পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী বাহিনীর উপর এখন কারও কোন রকম এজিয়ার নেই। কারণ, পশ্চিম পাকবাহিনীর সঙ্গে এখন ভারতীয় ও মুক্তিবাহিনীর যুদ্ধ হচ্ছে।

নয়াদিল্লীতে একজন সরকারী মুখপাত্র আজ বলেছেন, মার্কিন নৌবহরের কয়েকটি জাহাজ মালাক্কা প্রণালীর পশ্চিম দিয়ে এগিয়ে গিয়েছে। জাহাজগুলো কোথায়, কোনদিকে যাবে এবং কেনই বা এসেছে তা এখনো যানা যায়নি। আমেরিকায় ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত মার্কিন কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছ থেকে এ ব্যাপারে এখনও পর্যন্ত সুস্পষ্ট কোন ব্যাখ্যান পাননি। গোড়ায় বলা হচ্ছিল, মার্কিন নাগরিকদের উদ্ধার করতেই মার্কিন নৌবহর আসছে। কিন্তু বিগত ৩৬ ঘণ্টা ধরে বলা হচ্ছে, ‘রক্তপাতের সম্ভাবনা’ দেখা দেওয়ায় পাকবাহিনী ও বিহারী মুসলমানদের অপসারণের জন্যই ওই নৌবহর এসেছে।

আমেরিকায় ভারতের রাষ্ট্রদূত শ্রী এল কে ঝা গত মঙ্গলবার ওয়াশিংটনে সাংবাদিকদের বৈঠকে বলেছেন, পাক সৈন্য ও অসামরিক লোকজন সরিয়ে নিতে বঙ্গোপসাগরের ওই বোম্বটে মার্কিন নৌবহর যদি বাংলাদেশে জাহাজ ভেড়াতে চায়-তাহলে এই একতরফা ব্যবস্থার দরুন পরিস্থিতি দুরূহ হয়ে উঠবে এবং সমগ্র ব্যাপারটি অনেক বিপজ্জনক হয়ে উঠবে। শ্রী ঝা আরও বলেছেন, পশ্চিম খন্ডে পাক সৈন্যের সংখ্যাবৃদ্ধির জন্য বাংলাদেশ থেকে যদি পাক সৈন্য সরিয়ে নেওয়া হয়-তাহলে এই কাজকে আমরা শত্রুতা বলেই গণ্য করব।

সপ্তম নৌবহরের অধিনায়ক অ্যাডমিরাল জরজ ম্যাকেন ফিলিপাইনের প্রেসিডেন্ট মাকসকে বলেছেন, ভারত ও পাকিস্তানকে এই নৌবহরের তৎপরতার আওতায় আনার উদ্দেশ্যে তাঁর বহরের কর্মক্ষেত্র ভারতের পশ্চিম দরিয়া অবধি প্রসারিত করা হয়েছে। এ এফ পি এই খবর দিয়ে জানাচ্ছেন, গত সোমবার ম্যানিলায় মার্কিন- ফিলিপিনো যৌথ প্রতিরক্ষা পর্যদের বৈঠকে অ্যাডমিরাল ম্যাকেন প্রেসিডেন্ট মারকসকে একথা জানিয়েছেন। মার্কিন সপ্তম নৌবহরের জাহাজগুলি দুই ভাগে ভাগ হয়ে সোমবার ও মঙ্গলবার গোপনে সিঙ্গাপুর অতিক্রম করে।

কূটনৈতিক সূত্র থেকে বলা হয় যে, ‘আটটি জাহাজ এখন বঙ্গোপসাগরে রয়েছে।’

বেসরকারী জাহাজী মহলও এন্টারপ্রাইজ এবং অন্য জাহাজগুলির চলাচলের খবরের সত্যতা সমর্থন করেছেন।

উল্লিখিত সূত্র থেকে আরও জানানো হয়, ‘এন্টারপ্রাইজ’-এর সঙ্গে রয়েছে আক্রমণক্ষম জাহাজ ‘ত্রিপোলী’। হেলিকপ্টারবাহী জাহাজ ‘ত্রিপোল’-তে ২৩ টি হেলিকপ্টার আছে। অন্যান্য জাহাজের মধ্যে আছে ডেসট্রয়ার বা ডেসট্রয়াল রক্ষী জাহাজ ও টেন্ডার জাতীয় জাহাজ। একটি মহল থেকে বলা হয়-উপকূলে অবতরণের উপযোগী জলযানও এই সঙ্গে রয়েছে।

নয়াদিল্লীর ওয়াকিবহাল মহল থেকে বলা হয়-সপ্তম নৌবহরের চলাচলের সংবাদে বাংলাদেশে মুক্তি সংগ্রামের কোন হেরফের হবে না।

### বোবা নীতি

ওয়াশিংটনের খবরঃ সপ্তম নৌবহরের চলাচলের যে কোন খবর সম্পর্কে মার্কিন পররাষ্ট্র এখনও যথারীতি সম্পূর্ণ নীরব থাকার নীতি বজায় রেখেছে।

আমেরিকায় ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত শ্রী ঝা আরও বলেন, তিনি নির্ভরযোগ্য সূত্রে সংবাদ পেয়েছেন যে, গত শুক্রবার একটি মার্কিন ‘টাসক ফোর্স’ (বিশেষ কাজের জন্য প্রেরিত মার্কিন বাহিনী) ভিয়েতনাম থেকে যাত্রা করেছে। এই বাহিনীটি বাংলাদেশ থেকে পাকিস্তানী সৈন্য, অসামরিক ব্যক্তি এবং ওই অঞ্চলে এখনও যেসব মার্কিন নাগরিক রয়েছে, তাদের সরিয়ে আনার চেষ্টা করতে পারে।

ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত বলেন, বিদেশীদের ঢাকা থেকে সরিয়ে নেওয়ার জন্য ভারত সরকার বিদেশী বিমান ব্যবহারে আপত্তি করেননি।

আমেরিকা বোম্বেটেসুলভ কূটনীতি (গানবোট ডিপলোমেসি) অনুসরণ করছে অভিযোগ করে শ্রী ঝা বলেন-এইভাবে জাহাজ পাঠিয়ে দেওয়ায় ভারসাম্যের অভাব এবং মাত্রাজ্ঞানের অভাব দেখা যাচ্ছে।

শ্রী ঝা এই নৌবহরের অগ্রগতিকে গভীর উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করেন। তিনি বলেন পূর্ব ইউরোপ ও দক্ষিণ-পূর্ব এশিয়ার ভারপ্রাপ্ত মার্কিন সহকারী পররাষ্ট্র সচিব শ্রী যোসেফ সিসকোকে ওই সংবাদ জানানো হয়। শ্রী সিসকো সংবাদের সত্যতা সরাসরি অস্বীকার করেন নি।

### সংসদে ক্ষোভ

বুধবার নয়াদিল্লীতে সংসদের উভয় কক্ষে সদস্যরা বঙ্গোপসাগরে মার্কিন সপ্তম নৌবহরের প্রবেশ সম্পর্কে সরকারের কাছ থেকে বিবৃতি দাবী করেন। অবশ্য এ ব্যাপারে কোন বিবৃতি দেন নি।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০৯। আত্মসমর্পণের জন্য নিয়াজীকে কয়েক ঘণ্টা সময় দেয়া হয়েছে	হিন্দুস্তান স্টান্ডার্ড	১৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

**HINDUSTAN STANDARD, DECEMBER 16, 1971**  
 **Niazi Given A Few Hours To Surrender**  
 From Our Special Correspondent

New Delhi, December 15 -Lt. Gen. Niazi, Commander-in-Chief of the West Pakistan occupation forces in Bangladesh has requested India for a cease-fire. General Manekshaw, Chief of the Indian Army Staff, has again called for a surrender of the occupation army and given Lt. Gen. Niazi time till 9 a.m. tomorrow to accept the surrender call.

As a token of his good faith. General Manekshaw has informed Lt. Gen. Niazi that India suspended air action against his forces with effect from 5 p.m. today till 9 a.m. tomorrow. Operations by Indian land forces and the MuktiBahini will however, not be suspended.

Lt. Gen. Niazi's request for a cease-fire in Bangladesh was conveyed in a message to General Manekshaw through the courtesy of the US Embassy at New Delhi at 12-30 p.m. The message was witnessed by Maj. Gen. Farman Ali, military adviser to the Governor under the military regime. General Manekshaw's reply was also routed through the US Embassy.

The Indian spokesman who disclosed this evening that messages had passed between Lt. Gen. Niazi and General Manekshaw would not say what the former's message said. But General Manekshaw's reply the full text of which was released gave an indication of part of the contents of the West Pakistani Army officer's message.

Gen. Manekshaw told Gen. Niazi "I have received your communication regarding cease fire in Bangladesh at 14-30 hrs, today through the American Embassy in New Delhi.

I have previously informed Gen. Farman Ali in two messages that I would guarantee (A) safety of all your military and paramilitary forces who surrender to me in Bangladesh.

(B) Complete protection to foreign nationals, ethnic minorities and personnel of West Pakistani origin, no matter who they may be. Since you have indicated your desire to stop fighting I expect you to issue orders to forces under your command in Bangladesh to cease fighting immediately and surrender to my advancing forces wherever they are located.

I give you my solemn assurance that personnel who surrender shall be treated with dignity and respect that soldiers are entitled to and I will abide by the provisions of the Geneva Conventions. Further, as you have many wounded I shall ensure that they are

well cared for and your dead given proper burial. No one need have any fear for their safety no matter where they come from. Nor shall there be any reprisal by forces operating under my command.

Immediately I receive a positive response I shall direct General Aurora Command of Indian and Bangladesh forces in the Eastern theatre to refrain from all air and ground action against your forces. As the token of my good faith I have ordered that no air action shall take place over Dacca from 17-00 hours today.

I assure you I have no desire to inflict unnecessary casualties on your troops as I abhor loss of human lives. Should however, you not comply with what I have stated you will leave me with no other alternative but to resume my offensive with the utmost vigour at 09 00 hrs on the morning (Isl) of December 16.

In order to be able to discuss and finalize matters quickly I have arranged for a radio link on listening watch from 17-00 hours P' today (December 15). Frequency will be 66.05 KH by day and 32.16 KH by night.

The call signs will be Cal-Bac. I would suggest to you to instruct your signalers to restore microwave communications immediately. Message ends.

The Voice of America quoting a report from Dacca said late tonight that Pakistan President Yahya Khan in a message to Gen. Niazi had advised him "to stop fighting if necessary."

An official spokesman in Rawalpindi however, denied that any negotiations were in progress between the Pakistani military command in Dacca and the Indian authorities. BBC reported tonight.

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শিরোনাম	উৎস	তারিখ
৪১০। ঢাকার ভিতরে ভারতীয় কামান	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা	১৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

### ‘নিরাপদ এলাকা’ ও খালি বাড়িতে পাক সৈন্যের ঘাঁটি

#### ঢাকার ভিতরে ভারতীয় কামান গোলা দাগছে

ভারতীয় পদাতিক সৈন্যেরা ঢাকার দুই কিলোমিটারের মধ্যে এসে পড়েছেন। শহরের মহল্লায় মহল্লায় তাঁরা বিভিন্ন সামরিক লক্ষ্যবস্তুর উপর কামান দেগে চলেছেন। ওদিকে মিত্রবাহিনী চট্টগ্রাম থেকে আসছেন মাত্র পাঁচ কিলোমিটার দূরে।

মেঘনার দক্ষিণ তীরে দাউদকান্দি থেকে যে সব পদাতিক বাহিনী আসছিলেন, তাঁরা পথের সমস্ত নদীর বাধাই অতিক্রম করে এগিয়ে চলেছেন। এখন চতুর্দিক থেকেই পদাতিক সৈন্যরা নগরীকে নাগপাশের মত এট্টে ধরছেন।

বুধবার কলকাতায় একজন সামরিক মুখপাত্র আরও জানান, পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা আমাদের গোলন্দাজ বাহিনীর মরটারের গোলায় জবাব দিচ্ছে।

খবর পাওয়া গিয়েছে, ঢাকার যে সব অসামরিক লোকজন বাড়িঘর ফেলে অন্যত্র চলে গিয়েছেন, শত্রুসৈন্যরা তাঁদের পরিত্যক্ত বাড়িঘরে ঢুকে ঘাঁটি গেড়েছে।

একজন বিদেশী সংবাদদাতার প্রশ্নের জবাবে মুখপাত্র বলেন, ‘আমাদের সেনাবাহিনী এসব বাড়িকে সামরিক লক্ষ্য বলে গণ্য করেছে।

নয়াদিল্লীতে জনৈক সরকারি মুখপাত্র বলেছেন, ঢাকায় দখলদার বাহিনী আত্মরক্ষার এক অভিনব কৌশল অবলম্বন করেছে। পাক জঙ্গীশাহী তাদের সেনাদের ঢাকার নিরপেক্ষ অঞ্চল ও অসামরিক এলাকায় জড়ো করেছে। খান সেনাদের সদর দফতর হয়েছে ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়। বিমান বাহিনীর সদর দফতর করা হয়েছে যক্ষ্মা হাসপাতালে। আর সামরিক পর্যবেক্ষণস্তম্ভের জন্য বেছে নেওয়া হয়েছে ঢাকার ইন্টারকন্টিনেন্টাল হোটেল। প্রসঙ্গত উল্লেখ্য, এইসব স্থানগুলি রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ-কর্মী এবং রেডক্রসের নিরাপত্তার জন্য নিরাপদ এলাকা বলে ঘোষিত হয়েছে।

আমাদের বিমান বাহিনীর কাছ থেকে পাওয়া এক নির্ভরযোগ্য সংবাদে জানা যায়, খান সেনারা ঢাকার উত্তরাঞ্চলে পাঁচটি বাংকারের উপরে অসামরিক লোকদের আটক করে রেখেছে। এর উদ্দেশ্যে, ভারতীয় আক্রমণের হাত থেকে আত্মরক্ষা করা।

কলকাতায় সামরিক মুখপাত্র বলেন, দলে দলে ছাত্রী সৈন্যরা উত্তর-পশ্চিম দিক থেকে ঢাকার ১৮ কিলোমিটার দূরবর্তী জয়দেবপুরের দিকে দ্রুত এগিয়ে আসছেন। অন্য দিকে নরসিংদীর উত্তর-পূর্ব দিক থেকে ভারতীয় সেনা ও মুক্তিবাহিনীর আর একটি দলও দ্রুতগতিতে ঢাকার দিকে আগুয়ান।

মুখপাত্র ঢাকার কাছাকাছি ভারতীয় বাহিনীর অবস্থান-স্থলের বিস্তৃত বিবরণ দিতে অস্বীকার করেন।

#### ময়নামতীর প্রতিরোধ ভেঙ্গে পড়েছে

কুমিল্লা খন্ডে ভারতীয় বাহিনীর প্রবল চাপে ময়নামতী ক্যান্টনমেন্টে শত্রুর প্রতিরোধ ভেঙ্গে পড়েছে। এখন ক্যান্টনমেন্ট এলাকায় অর্ধেক ভারতীয় নিয়ন্ত্রনে।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

ভারতীয় বাহিনী খুলনা শহরের শিরমনি অঞ্চল মুক্ত করেছেন। বিচ্ছিন্ন পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা গত পাঁচ দিন ধরে এখানে জোর লড়াই চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে। ভারতীয় সৈন্যরা খুলনার পথে ইতিমধ্যে নদী ও জলাভূমির বাধা অতিক্রম করে ফেলেছেন।

মুখপাত্র বলেন, ভারতীয় সৈন্যরা যশোরের উত্তরে মধুমতী নদী পার হয়ে অপর পারে ঘাঁটি স্থাপন করেছেন। এখান থেকে ফরিদপুর শহর ও ঢাকার পথ উন্মুক্ত।

শ্রীহট্ট খন্ডে পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা কোণঠাসা। এখানে বালুচ রেজিমেন্টের এক কোম্পানী পাক সৈন্য বুধবার ভারতীয় বাহিনীর নিকট আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে।

বুধবার ফরিদপুর খন্ডে কুমারখালি ঘাটে প্রচণ্ড লড়াই শুরু হয়েছে। মধুমতী নদী পার হয়ে ভারতীয় বাহিনী এখানে দ্বিমুখী আক্রমণ চালিয়েছে।

যশোর জেলার যোগাযোগ কেন্দ্র মাগুরা থেকেও ভারতীয় বাহিনী ও মুক্তিবাহিনীর একটি সম্মিলিত দল মধুমতী নদী পার হয়ে গোয়ালন্দে দিকে এগিয়ে চলেছে। গোয়ালন্দ মুক্ত হয়ে গেলে যে সব পাক সৈন্য এখনও মরিয়া হয়ে জলপথে পালবার চেষ্টা করছে, তাদের পথ একেবারে বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে।

যমুনা নদীর এপারে সিরাজগঞ্জ ও ওপারে জগন্নাথগঞ্জ ঘাটের দিকেও ভারতীয় বাহিনী ও মুক্তিবাহিনীর সৈন্যরা অগ্রসরমান। এই অভিযানেরও উদ্দেশ্য ছত্রভঙ্গ পাকসেনাদের পালবার পথ রোধ করা।

দিনাজপুর, রংপুর ও সৈয়দপুরে পাক ফৌজরা এখনও বাধা দিচ্ছে।

#### রামগড় মুক্ত

দুদিন যুদ্ধের পর ভারতীয় বাহিনী ও মুক্তিবাহিনী গত ১০ ডিসেম্বর পার্বত্য চট্টগ্রামের মহকুমা শহর রামগড় মুক্ত করেছেন।

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শিরোনাম	উৎস	তারিখ
৪১১। পাকিস্তান হার মানল...	আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা বিশেষ সংখ্যা	১৬ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

### পাকিস্তান হার মানল নিয়াজির বিনাশর্তে আত্মসমর্পণ

বাংলাদেশে দখলদার পাক ফৌজ বৃহস্পতিবার আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে। এবং আত্মসমর্পণ করেছে বিনাশর্তে। ঐ ফৌজের সর্বাধিনায়ক লেঃ জেঃ নিয়াজি আত্মসমর্পণের শর্তাদি নিয়ে আলোচনার জন্য ইস্তার্ন কমান্ডের অধ্যক্ষ মেঃ জেঃ জেকবকে ঢাকায় যাওয়ার আমন্ত্রণ জানান। জেঃ জেকব তদানুযায়ী বৃহস্পতিবার সকালেই হেলিকপ্টারে ঢাকা রওনা হয়ে যান।

এই সম্পর্কে নয়াদিল্লী থেকে প্রকাশিত এক সরকারী ঘোষণায় বলা হয়েছেঃ জেনারেল মানেকেশ আত্মসমর্পণের-যে আহ্বান জানিয়েছিলেন, আজ সকালে লেঃ জেঃ নিয়াজী তাতে সাড়া দেন। ঢাকা থেকে মাইক্রোওয়েভ মারপত তিনি আত্মসমর্পণে রাজি হওয়ার কথা জানান।

জেনারেল মানেকেশ আত্মসমর্পণের সময়-সীমা বেধে দিয়েছিলেন বৃহস্পতিবার সকাল ৯টা। কিন্তু তখন পর্যন্ত জেঃ নিয়াজির কাছ থেকে কোন সাড়া শব্দ না পাওয়ায় ভারতীয় বিমান বহর ঢাকার সামরিক লক্ষ্য বস্তুগুলির উপর বোমাবর্ষণ এবং সেন্য বাহিনী পুনরায় ঢাকার সামরিক ঘাটগুলির উপর গোলাবর্ষণ শুরু করে। এর কিছু পরেই পাওয়া যায় আত্মসমর্পণের খবর।

জেনারেল নিয়াজির কাছ থেকে সর্বশেষ যে বার্তা পাওয়া গিয়েছে তাতে তিনি আরও ছয় ঘণ্টা বোমাবর্ষণ বন্ধের জন্য আরজি জানিয়েছেন। সেই আরজিতে সায় দিয়ে বেলা তিনটা পর্যন্ত বোমাবর্ষণ মূলতবি রাখা হয়েছে।

### সকাল পর্যন্ত চুপচাপ

জেনারেল মানেকেশ আত্মসমর্পণের সময়-সীমা বেধে দিয়েছিলেন বৃহস্পতিবার সকাল নয়টা। কিন্তু জেনারেল নিয়াজি তখন পর্যন্ত কোন উচ্চবাচ্য করেননি। ফলে ভারতীয় ফৌজ নয়টার পর ফের গোলগুলি বর্ষণ শুরু করে। সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বিমান থেকে বোমাবর্ষণ। পাক সেনাপতির তখন চৈতন্যোদয় হয়। আত্মসমর্পণে তিনি রাজি হন, মানেকেশ'র কাছে বার্তা পাঠান এবং আত্মসমর্পণের শর্তাদি নিয়ে আলোচনার জন্য জেনারেল জেকবকে ঢাকায় আমন্ত্রণ জানান।

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শিরোনাম	উৎস	তারিখ
৪২০। নিয়াজির নিঃশর্ত আত্মসমর্পণ	যুগান্তর	১৭ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

## নিয়াজির নিঃশর্ত আত্মসমর্পণ বৃহস্পতিবার ঢাকায় দলিল স্বাক্ষর

নয়াদিল্লী, ১৬ ডিসেম্বর (ইউ এন আই)- পাকিস্তানী দখলদার বাহিনী আজ বিনাশর্তে মুক্তিবাহিনীর সহযোগী ভারতীয় সৈন্যবাহিনীর কাছে আত্মসমর্পণ করায় গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ পূর্ণ মুক্তি লাভ করলো। আত্মসমর্পণের নথিপত্র স্বাক্ষর করেন বাংলাদেশ পাক বাহিনীর প্রধান লেঃ জেঃ নিয়াজী এবং ভারতীয় ইন্টার্ণ কমান্ডের জি ও সি ইন সি লেঃ জেঃ জগজিৎ সিং অরোরা। লেঃ জেঃ অরোরা এই উদ্দেশ্যে আজ দুপুরে বিমানযোগে বাংলাদেশের রাজধানীতে গিয়েছিলেন। বিকাল ৪টা ৩১ মিনিটে এই নথি স্বাক্ষরিত হয়।

পাক দখলকার বাহিনীরা বিনাশর্তে আত্মসমর্পণের কথা প্রধানমন্ত্রী শ্রীমতি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী লোক সভায় ঘোষণা করেন এবং রাজ্যসভায় এই কথা ঘোষণা করেন প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী শ্রী জগজীবন রাম। বিকাল সাড়ে পাঁচটার সময় উভয় কক্ষে একই সঙ্গে এই ঘোষণা করা হয়।

এই ঘোষণার সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই উভয় কক্ষ উল্লাসে ফেটে পড়ে এবং নির্দিষ্ট সময়সূচীর বাইরেও তাঁরা অধিবেশন চালিয়ে যান।

আত্মসমর্পণের ব্যাপারে সমস্ত ব্যবস্থা করেন ইন্টার্ণ কমান্ডের চীফ অব স্টাফ মেজর জেনারেল জে এফ আর জেকব। আমাদের সৈন্যাধ্যক্ষ জেনারেল মানেকশ'র চরমপত্র অনুযায়ী আজ সকলা ন'টার পরেই জেনারেল নিয়াজী বিনাশর্তে আত্মসমর্পণের কথা জানান।

সকাল ন'টার দশ মিনিট পূর্বে জেনারেল নিয়াজীর বার্তা এসে পৌঁছায়।

### আত্মসমর্পণের শর্ত

পাকিস্তানী বাহিনীর লেঃ জেঃ নিয়াজী ভারতীয় বাহিনীর লেঃ জেঃ অরোরার কাছে প্রদত্ত যে আত্মসমর্পণপত্রে স্বাক্ষর করেন তাতে আছে, এতদ্বারা পূর্বাঞ্চলের ভারতীয় ও বাংলাদেশ বাহিনীর জি ও জি ইন সি লেঃ জেনারেল অরোরার কাছে পাক বাহিনীর ইন্টার্ণ কমান্ড বাংলাদেশস্থিত সমস্ত পাকিস্তানী সশস্ত্র সৈন্যের আত্মসমর্পণের কথা স্বীকার করছে। আত্মসমর্পণ যারা করেছে তাদের মধ্যে আছে পাকিস্তানী স্থল, বিমান নৌবাহিনীসহ প্যারামিলিটারী বাহিনী ও অসামরিক সশস্ত্রবাহিনীর সমস্ত সৈনিক।

এই সমস্ত বাহিনীর সৈনিকেরা যে যেখানে আছে সেখানকার লেঃ জেনারেল অরোরার অধীনস্থ সৈন্যবাহিনীর কাছে অস্ত্র ও আত্মসমর্পণ করবে। এই নথি স্বাক্ষরের সঙ্গে সঙ্গেই পাকিস্তানী ইন্টার্ণ কমান্ড লেঃ জেনারেল অরোরার অধীন হয়ে যাবে।

এই আদেশ যে অবজ্ঞা করবে তাকে আত্মসমর্পণ শর্তের পরিপন্থী বলে মনে করা হবে এবং যুদ্ধের প্রচলিত নিয়মানুযায়ী তার বিরুদ্ধে ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হবে। আত্মসমর্পণ শর্তাবলী সম্পর্কে কোন সন্দেহ দেখা দিলে লেঃ জেনারেল অরোরা সে বিষয়ে যে ব্যাখ্যা করবেন তাকেই চূড়ান্ত বলে বিবেচনা করা হবে।

লেঃ জেনারেল অরোরা এই প্রতিশ্রুতি দেন যে, যেসব সৈন্য আত্মসমর্পণ করবে তাদের প্রত্যেকের সঙ্গে জেনেভা চুক্তির শর্তানুযায়ী সম্মান ও মর্যাদামুক্ত ব্যবহার করা হবে এবং তাদের নিরাপত্তার জন্য সমস্ত ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা হবে।

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 -হাই কমিশন, ইসলামাবাদ, ৭১৯, ৭৯২  
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