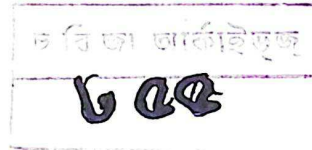




BANGLADESH

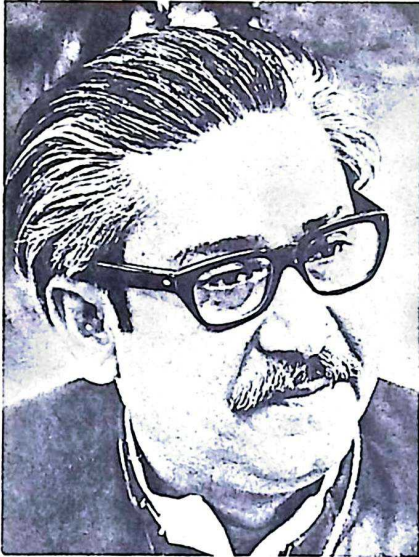
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WORLD CONCERN OVER MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S TRIAL



(Compiled from news dispatches)

Large numbers of jurists, statesmen and newspapers all over the world have condemned in the past weeks Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's secret trial by military rulers of West Pakistan. Their view is that a secret military trial of a leader elected by 75 million people is unjust and inhuman.

World Peace Council

The Secretariat of the World Peace Council in Helsinki in a statement said that in staging trial and in other acts of massacre and pillage Yahya Khan's dictatorship has revealed itself to the world as devoid of all moral scruples and contemptuous of people's rights.

"The only fault of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who also fought against British alien rulers of India while Yahya Khan and his henchmen were loyally serving the British Masters, is that the people of Bangladesh gave his party 167 of 169 seats in the first-ever general elections held."

International Commission of Jurists

The International Commission of Jurists has formally protested to West Pakistan President Yahya Khan against the secret military trial of the Bangladesh leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. A cable signed by ICJ's Secretary General said: "International Commission of Jurists protest against the secret military trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Justice has nothing to hide."

U Thant

The U.N. Secretary General, U Thant, in a press statement, said he shared the feeling of many U.N. representatives

"that any developments concerning the fate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will inevitably have repercussions outside the borders of Pakistan."

U.S. Senators

Eleven U.S. Senators have urged the American Government to convey to Pakistan their profound hope that compassion would be shown for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

New York Post

Since Washington has accumulated some dubious credits with President Yahya Khan it should use them to restrain his vengeful trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. If Rahman is found guilty in secret trial and put to death he will become a martyr for both East Pakistan and India, and the true victim will be Asian peace.

Christian Science Monitor

Many would doubt whether his (Mujibur Rahman's)
(continued on page 3)

MUKTI BAHINI

Bangladesh Mukti Bahini (freedom fighters) have sunk four Pakistani supply vessels, seriously interrupting the flow of military supplies from Karachi to Chittagong. The Mukti Bahini have also destroyed 157 major road and rail bridges.
(details on page 4)

NEW STATESMAN

With the Bangla Desh Guerrillas

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

He was a sharecropper from Noakhali. The night before he had been out on an operation in the Jessore sector which had accounted for 11 Pakistani casualties, including an officer. He and the other peasants like him make up the hard core of the Bangla Desh Mukti Foj (liberation forces). They have shed their khaki and many wear the traditional lungi which underlines their village origins. It is their look of confidence and toughness of mind and body which stands them apart. But no Pakistani major can make this fine distinction so that the Mukti Foj merge into the local landscape to strike at the time and place of their choice.

Until recently commando tactics were used to hit the Pakistani army through ambush and sorties. Sabotage action against communications links was aimed to disrupt the mobility of the Pakistani army and deny them access to economic resources. Collaborators in the villages were singled out for attention. Actions, however, were scattered and on a small scale so that they did not earn any headlines. More recently, the occasional setpiece battle, as at Belonia in the east or near Satkhira in the west, has shown the Pakistani army that the Mukti Foj can, when they choose, stand and fight. At Belonia they killed 450 Pakistani soldiers at a cost of 70 dead and it took two brigades of the Pakistani army to overrun the area. The action went on for nearly three weeks during June, and towards the end the Chief of Staff of the Pakistani army had to go down to review the action. Again near Satkhira the Pakistani army left 300 dead against a toll of about 20 Mukti Foj. But such actions are as yet limited and the tactic remains to keep the army off balance.

Faced with this invisible enemy the Pakistani army operates only during daylight hours. They move in heavily fortified concentrations on the hard-topped roads. Heavy machine guns cover the main convoy from a distance of three to four hundred yards, to be used in the event of ambush. Mobile fire control units follow the heavy machine guns to call in artillery fire on the point of ambush. This imposes both speed and mobility on the Mukti Foj during an action. Shortage of machine guns and even mortars restricts their capacity to make a fight of it and wherever one goes one meets the common refrain that more automatic weapons and heavier firepower in the shape of mortars and the Katyushka rockets used by the Vietcong would be enough to make the Pakistani army position untenable within six months.

There is no shortage of recruits. The flow of young men into the training camps is well beyond their absorptive capacity. Training is in two tiers. The initial base camp provides the rudiments of military training but is more in the form of a physical fitness camp. Students of biochemistry, and of Hobbes, talk in a new idiom punctuated with military jargon complete with references to 'Sitreps' and the merits of Chinese automatic weap-

ons.

This is the harsh lesson they have learnt at first hand and at heavy cost. These young men are now convinced that big powers, whether paying lip service to the ballot box or the ideology of revolution, only recognise the reality of force. It is a lesson of profound significance for the independent Bangla Desh of tomorrow.

The base camps can only graduate a small fraction of their inmates into Mukti Foj training camps. The main constraint is provided by the shortage of weapons. Sector commanders realise the demoralising influence on a trained soldier of being without a gun and prefer to regulate the intake until adequate arms are available.

Recruits are restricted to the 18-25 age group, which has aroused some irritation amongst able-bodied over-25s and encouraged deception by the large number of under-18 high school dropouts who are running away from home to join the camps. . . .

Unlike the US draft, it is the college educated young man who is being recruited and will probably make the Bangla Desh army one of the most highly educated in the field. This makes them much easier to train and commanders reckon that a month's basic training reinforced by their high degree of motivation make them excellent combat material. Their class origins however do not prejudice their relations with the peasant-based professional soldiers of the East Bengal Regiment and East Pakistan Rifles and they readily share the hardships of camp life and the hazards of the ambush with their less educated comrades.

The increment in confidence and numbers has now encouraged the sector commanders to inject their men into the villages and towns in increasing numbers. Instead of doing an operation and returning to base they now base themselves in the area and surface to detonate an explosion, blow a bridge or eliminate a collaborator. The Pakistanis' use of collective punishment against villages adjacent to an action has not discouraged villagers from concealing and feeding the Foj. Indeed once-demoralised villagers have been considerably fortified by the presence of the Foj. But they pay a heavy price. The unending stream of refugees across the borders of India is a direct result of army terror as they hit out blindly against their elusive enemy. As guerrilla action intensifies it is expected that the Pakistani army will escalate their terror tactics, greatly increasing the flood of displaced villagers.

Each action of the Mukti Foj converts a segment of the local population from passive enemies of the Pakistani army to active collaborators of the Mukti Foj. Already the Pakistanis have taken a disturbingly high casualty rate - one estimate reckons as many as 18,000, with a high proportion of officers - against a modest toll of Mukti Foj. It is estimated that it costs 10 Pakistani soldiers to kill an armed Bengali. As a result they are now using mixed units of Razzakars,

an admixture of Biharis and local hoodlums who have been armed by the army with 303s and para-military units from the West wing with regular army to plug gaps in the ranks left by Mukti Foj actions. The non-army units are poor material and the Foj are taking a heavy toll of them. They tend to run, leaving their weapons, when under pressure and provide a fertile source of supply to the Mukti Foj. As Mukti Foj action intensifies, the Pakistani army will be hard put to use this poor material to reinforce their ranks and already they are trying to raise new divisions in the West.

But these are needed to plug the gaps in the West wing defences created by the despatch of two divisions to the East. Faced with the growing tensions with India there are limits beyond which they cannot divert regular units from their natural role of containing India on the perimeters of West Pakistan. This awareness, coupled with an accentuating economic crisis, with its attendant political tensions, may be driving West Pakistan towards war with India. Yahya's recent bellicosity indicates that the junta may seek escape in the internationalisation of the crisis. If UN put observers on the borders to monitor Mukti Foj activity this might provide him with the breather he so desperately needs. The Indians are not buying this and argue that UN observers should be put into the villages being terrorised by the Pakistan army, which is the prime cause of the refugee problem. Nor are the Mukti Foj likely to be impressed by a UN presence at a time when they are taking the offensive, particularly when the UN was so conspicuously silent over Yahya's genocide in Bengal. Nothing short of a combined big-power action will in fact impose such a solution. Much will depend on whether the Russians will go along with Nixon in rescuing Yahya.

Yahya is in fact a captive of his own policies. He now knows he cannot pacify Bangla Desh. His attempt to manufacture a satellite civilian government in the East failed when only 15 Awami Leaguers were in hand to play quibling, and this, too, at gunpoint. The conclave in mid-July of 137 out of 167 Awami League members of the National Assembly plus three-fourths of the provincial assembly, assembled in spite of the dislocations of war, provided concrete proof that the party ranks were holding firm. Other flotsam from the Ayub era are so devoid of political credibility as to appear an embarrassment even to Yahya, so the Awami League remains integral to a solution. He, therefore, is denied even the option of a client regime and must persevere with his Nazi-style occupation by the Pakistani army to keep Bangla Desh under heel. This task becomes more untenable with each action of the Mukti Foj.

Yahya's use of terror as a response only adds to the recruits of the Foj. Faced with this fatal contradiction in his policy Yahya may be looking to a wider war. Yahya may paradoxically prefer Bangla Desh breaking away within the context of an Indo-Pakistan war rather than by its own efforts. This is likely to be more tolerable to him and his generals, who may fear for the unity of what will be left of a Pakistan consumed by regional and social tensions after 75 million Bengalis opt out of the union. They see the army as the guarantor of this unity and would need a war to justify their role to a people grown weary of military rule.

(EXTRACT)

US SENATORS URGE STOPPAGE OF ALL AID TO PAKISTAN

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, just returned from a week-long visit to the Bengali refugee camps in India and on the borders of Bangladesh, assailed the U.S. policy toward Pakistan as "bankrupt" and demanded: "We must end immediately all further U.S. arms shipments to West Pakistan. We must end all other economic support of a regime that continues to violate the most basic principles of humanity."

In an impassioned address to the National Press Club in Washington, August 26, Senator Kennedy said, "We must demonstrate to the generals of West Pakistan and to the peoples of the world that the United States has a deep and abiding revulsion of the monumental slaughter that has ravaged East Bengal."

Senator Kennedy, Chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees said the situation in Bangladesh should particularly distress Americans since "it is our military hardware—our guns, our tanks and aircraft—delivered over the decades which are contributing substantially to the suffering there."

He urged the Americans not to "support a regime that is alien to the principles for which so many of his fellow citizens have given their lives in virtually every corner of the world."

The Massachusetts Senator began by describing what he called "the most appalling tide of human misery in modern times" and asked the Americans to understand what has produced this massive human tragedy in Bangladesh.

Senator Kennedy drew comparison between American actions in Vietnam and the current U.S. involvement in Bangladesh. After sacrificing nearly \$100 billion and 45,000 lives to support democracy in Vietnam, he said, "America is being asked by its leadership . . . to cooperate in a conspiracy, against the results of a free election" in Bangladesh.

Senator Charles Percy

Senator Charles Percy said at a Press Conference in New Delhi August 28, that he was in favor of stoppage of all military and economic assistance to Pakistan.

The Republican Senator described the developments in Bangladesh as one of the greatest human tragedies recorded in history.

TRIAL (continued from page 1)

drive to obtain autonomy for East Bengalis could be considered treasonable. Harsh sentence against him after secret trial would create a deplorable impression.

Toronto Telegram

It is up to the entire international community to help save Sheikh Mujib's life and thus prevent General Yahya Khan's regime not only from committing another unnecessary killing but possibly from throwing the entire subcontinent into renewed turmoil.

Arseiter Zeitung (Austria)

Death sentence on Mujib will mean historically a death sentence on the state of Pakistan.

TORONTO CONFERENCE EXPRESSES CONCERN ON BANGLADESH

An international conference of distinguished scholars, editors and parliamentarians held in Toronto called upon all governments supplying arms and economic aid to Pakistan to stop immediately till a lasting political solution in Bangladesh was found.

The conference warned that the present situation in Bangladesh posed a great threat to peace in the Indian subcontinent. The Conference resolution called "Toronto Declaration of Concern" said that participants were "horrified by events of recent months in East Pakistan which have resulted in one of the major disasters in man's history."

It said "the present situation is a threat to peace both in the subcontinent of South Asia and throughout the world with danger of great power involvement in the familiar pattern of escalation."

Among the signatories to the Conference held from August 19-21 were former Director General of U.N. Technical Assistance, Hugh Keenleyside; former British Labor Minister, Judith Hart; British M.P., Bernard Braine; and former Canadian Ambassador to China, Chester Ronning.

FLOODS

Heavy flooding in the districts of Rajshahi, Kushtia and Faridpur August 25 increased the threat of famine in Bangladesh, already devastated by the West Pakistan Army.

The New York Times

SATURDAY, AUGUST 28, 1971

U.N. Mission to Pakistan

To the Editor:

Thirty-eight members of a United Nations team, according to Secretary General Thant, will be on the spot in East Pakistan by the end of August to administer humanitarian aid. This might sound like good news to Americans who have sympathized with the Bengalis since March 25, when the Pakistan Army began machine-gunning civilians, destroying homes and food stocks, burning villages, and driving more than seven millions of men, women and children into exile.

To get a clearer idea of the relief activities which the United Nations proposes to carry out in East Bengal, it is worth rereading The Times dispatch from Washington on Aug. 1 under the byline of Benjamin Welles. "Qualified informants" explained to Mr. Welles that the "U.N. force" would concern itself primarily with "helping the Pakistani authorities" to ward off famine and disease, and to rehouse the millions who have become homeless. Rather than operating in its own name, the U.N. will provide technical assistance and "help restore confidence in the East Pakistani administration."

The "new force," an official told Mr. Welles, is expected 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 cutting transport lines that the Bengali guerrillas have begun to score notable successes.

Striking from sanctuaries across the Indian border, from tiny "liberated" enclaves, from jungle fastnesses of the delta where the army has not been able to flush them out, Bengali sabotage squads have disrupted rail traffic, blown up road bridges, sunk river boats, blocked off channels, destroyed boat-repair yards. Transport is the very life-blood of the army's occupation of East Bengal. If the Bangla Desh Mukti Bahini (Bengal Liberation Army) can deny the West Pakistanis their lines of communication, they can eventually drive them out.

In plain English, then, the main job for which the United Nations group is being sent to East Bengal is not to succor the victimized Bengalis but rather to bolster up the shaky regime of the West Pakistani generals. The Pakistan Army has failed to bring the Bengalis to heel. The generals thought their military operation would take three days. That was more than four months ago. A strong injection of international aid represents perhaps the last chance for prolonging the grip of the ruling junta on East Bengal.

If it proves able to accomplish anything at all, the U.N. mission may strengthen temporarily the logistical position of the Pakistan Army. In this case, the chances for restoring peace in East Bengal would be set back. No genuine relief and rehabilitation measures can be undertaken until the West Pakistan Army withdraws from East Bengal.

ALICE THORNER
Paris, Aug. 16, 1971

Supply ship sabotage shatters confidence of W. Pakistan

By CLARE HOLLINGWORTH in Dacca

BANGLA DESH guerrillas have sunk four Pakistani supply vessels in the past week, seriously interrupting the flow of soldiers and military supplies from West to East Pakistan. Behind their outward attitude of supreme self-confidence, the Pakistani general staff in Dacca is deeply disturbed by the attacks.

The simultaneous sinking by timed limpet mines of two vessels in Chittagong harbour eight days ago was a brilliantly organised act of sabotage.

And yesterday's loss of an 900-ton coaster and a large barge at the hands of guerrillas near Chandpur, 30 miles south of Dacca, has increased the dilemma of the military government.

Military targets

The guerrillas have also begun attacks for the first time on well-guarded military targets, and 157 major road and rail bridges have been destroyed since they began their fight back against West Pakistan.

Nearly a thousand minor bridges and culverts have also been blown up.

The Army has not been able to repair the most important of the rail bridges, connecting the main port of Chittagong with Dacca.

On Friday an important railway bridge was wrecked between Comilla and Chittagong, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to transport all kinds

of foodstuffs and supplies from the ports. Little jute is now getting through, despite optimistic forecasts made two months ago.

The Army, like the people of West Pakistan, know little or nothing of what the guerrillas are doing, so the attacks are unlikely to have any immediate effect on the high morale of the Pakistani forces. This may soon become strained, however, by the constant dangers of hidden road mines, the derailment of troop trains and the unexpected shot from a hidden sniper.

No leave

Also, the soldiers who have been here since before the December elections without local leave or recreation want to go back to their families in West Pakistan.

But the most serious problem posed by recent insurgent activity is maintenance of military supplies. Every soldier, and every round of ammunition for his Chinese-made rifle, must be brought from Karachi around the southern tip of India to Chittagong by sea.

Some foreign ships have decided that they will not visit Chittagong, fearing terrorism, and there is no doubt that this will adversely affect the food as well as the military situation in the eastern wing.

Calculated risk

The insurgents admit that their acts of terrorism bring the threat of starvation nearer to hundreds of thousands of Bengalis, but claim they are taking a calculated risk to "bring the civil war to a speedier end than if the Pakistani Army was free to import supplies of war materials."

Although not a word about sabotage has appeared in local newspapers, many West Pakistan families are moving back to the West.

Despite the heavy guard and road-blocks near the airport they fear that were this vital landing ground attacked by the guerrillas they would have no escape route.

RELUCTANT CANDIDATES IN Dacca

By Daily Telegraph Correspondent in Dacca

PRESIDENT Yahya Khan of Pakistan must soon announce the postponement of the by-elections he promised would take place "in November at the latest" to replace those Awami League members of the National Assembly now alleged to be traitors.

Several reasons will force the President's hand, although there is no doubt that the hawks in the military junta in both Islamabad and Dacca do not relish the idea of relinquishing their power and handing over at least a symbolic part of it to a group of politicians.

But the vital issue at the moment is that no candidates can be found for the 79 constituencies which have been declared vacant. Civil servants and the more "dovish" members of the martial law authorities have so far been unable to persuade people to stand as candidates, either for the Moslem League or one of the other recognised parties.

For it is well known that candidates will be wide open to threats and harassment from the Mukti Foj guerrillas. Supporters of Bagla Desh are likely, too, to make the life of any candidate's family difficult and unpleasant, even if they do not use bullets or bombs.

Further, it would be quite unthinkable to hold elections in the uncertain internal security conditions which now prevail over about 90 per cent of the countryside. And, as the Mukti Foj gain in experience and training, there is no reason to doubt that the deterioration, which has been the main feature of the internal scene during the past two months, will continue.

Two months ago it was possible to drive out of Dacca after dark. Today it is too dangerous, and indeed Army road blocs prevent people from leaving or entering urban areas after sunset.

It is impossible to envisage an election campaign, even a short one, being organised in Dacca which is, after all, a show place so far as security is concerned.

This material is prepared and published by M. R. Siddiqi, who is registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, as an agent of the Government of Bangladesh, Mujibnagar, Bangladesh.

BANGLADESH MISSION, 1223 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Fourth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 737-9169, (202) 737-9538.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Monday, August 23, 1971

Dacca, Aug. 22 (AP)—East Pakistani liberation forces attacked and set ablaze a police station and another government building at Holhajang, 30 miles from here, according to reports reaching here today.

The reports said the guerrillas made government forces retreat after a fierce gunbattle Friday night. They then moved into the two buildings and burned them to the ground, destroying all records, the reports said.