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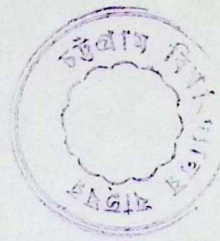
BANGLADESH

A World Commentary

From Autonomy
To Independence



PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH



P R E F A C E

The most heinous crime of civilisation has been committed in Bangladesh.

The Army rulers of Pakistan have engineered complete decimation of Bengali Nation. The military machine of Pakistan has been let loose on 75 million unarmed, peaceful and democratic people of Bangladesh.

The world conscience has been a mute spectator of all these tyrannical onslaughts on human civilisation.

Amidst this ocean of silence, some righteous world leaders specially the world fraternity of journalists have tried to stand by the norm of human dignity and civilisation. Their observations and reportings have exposed Yahya's crime against humanity beyond any shadow of doubt.

We have undertaken this publication to bring together the disjointed or forlorn pieces of truth. This is a small little garden of truths presented to the lovers of freedom and human dignity.

The pieces have been so arranged as to offer an objective evaluation of events leading a constitutional movement for autonomy to a struggle for independence thrust on the people of Bangladesh by the Military Rulers of Pakistan. Here we do not say anything of our own, but publish the truth as they are.

We recommend this to the people of the world.

Jai Bangla !

EXTERNAL PUBLICITY DIVISION
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
GOVERNMENT OF BANGLADESH.

CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT

FROM AUTONOMY TO INDEPENDENCE

Hundreds of thousands of Bengalis are being slaughtered. Murder, arson, looting and raping is the order of the day. Why? Because they voted for autonomy. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, their beloved leader is on trial for committing "treason" because he won an election which has no parallel in democracies and further because he refused to compromise on the programme of autonomy for which the Bengalis voted for him. The Awami League is a democratic political party, firmly anchored in democratic and constitutional methods. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is devoted to democracy. He has an unflinching faith in democratic and peaceful politics. He sought to realise the demand of the people through non-violent means.

The NEW YORK TIMES writes on March 28 "the resistance which began after a surprise attack on the civilian population by the Government forces three nights ago, sprang from a non-violent drive for provincial autonomy. The East Pakistanis tried to claim the majority political power they had won in the election last December and the army moved to prevent this".

Along the same lines the BALTIMORE SUN writes on April 4, "the West Pakistan Army has shown 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."

Referring to Yahya Khan, THE GUARDIAN in an editorial of April 6, says "What he has done, and is doing, is to use his army to oppress the East Pakistanis and their chosen leaders. Nor did negotiations collapse in any ordinary sense. The President did not want Sheikh Mujib to assume the power that his people had voted him. So the President reached for his gun" "The East Pakistanis are an impoverished people who are being punished for having voted in a way that annoyed the President. By sending in the army he has shown himself to be not only careless of democratic rights, but a reckless ruler as well. The military intervention in East Pakistan was a deliberate act."

THE GUARDIAN in its editorial of April 14, wrote, "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 election produced a result the army could not stand. Sheikh Mujib himself has not, in any certain sense, declared Bengali independence. He was not asking essentially for more than the programme he legally fought and won the election on."

Referring to the background of the present situation and the economic exploitation of the East by the vested interests of West Pakistan, the SUNDAY TIMES writes on April 18, ... "the political programme of Sheikh Mujib's Awami League, over-

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whelmingly endorsed by the people of East Pakistan in the recent elections, sought to correct these disparities by transferring control over economic policy from the Central Government to the Provinces. The response of Yahya Khan's Government was to unleash a reign of terror whose full dimensions are only gradually becoming known".

Sudan's daily EL SAHAFA also rejected the contention that the struggle in East Bengal was a separatist movement. It writes, "the situation has now exploded for which General Yahya should be considered responsible. Mujibur Rahman is the true representative of the people of East Pakistan.....Mujibur Rahman's opinion is to be respected since he is the representative of true democracy".

Senator William Saxbe in his speech in the United States Senate on May 11, said "I should remind my colleagues that during the negotiations preceding the military blitz of March 25, the demand of the East Bengalis was not independence, but autonomy or self-rule in domestic matters, such as policy and para-military forces, trade and commerce, tax and economic investment and the like."

Senator Frank Church in his statement made in the United States Senate on May 18, said, quoting THE NEW YORK TIMES referring to Awami League "this Bengali political party had just won an overwhelming mandate: 167 out of 169 seats assigned to East Pakistan in the 313-seat National Assembly, on a platform advocating greater political autonomy for the East."

Once the election results were out the Pakistan army was reluctant to hand over power to the Bengalis. George Clark writes in KENSINGTON POST on June 11, 1971, "Yet Bangladesh in the past five months has faced disasters which are truly titanic simply because the military government of Pakistan refused to recognise the result of a democratic election. It is as if Sir Malby Crofton and the Conservatives lost control of the Borough Council and refused to acknowledge the result of the election and called in the Guards!"

About the status of Pakistan Government vis-a-vis the legitimacy of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the GUARDIAN in its editorial of June 14, 1971, writes, "and even the Pakistan Government (by) overturning the verdict of the last elections is an usurper."

John Pilger, International Correspondent of THE DAILY MIRROR, London, writes on June 16, 1971, "the Bengalis have not seceded or rebelled. They are the majority in Pakistan and they took part in the country's first-ever elections and they overwhelmingly voted for Sheikh Mujib's Awami League, which won 167 of the 169 Bengali seats in the National Assembly. The Sheikh's short-lived government was as democratically founded as Mr. Heath's government." Pilger further writes "Bangladesh was declared only after the generals, in panic invaded Dacca and began their rule of terror. A Parliamentary movement was put down by troops flown in from a thousand miles away."

Mr. Ted Leadbitter, Labour M.P. in a letter to Mr. Salman Ali, Pakistan High Commissioner in Britain, wrote, "every report, every television account and every version on the situation in Bangladesh is in conflict with your propaganda"..... "The blood-shed on your hands is there for everyone to see and no diplomatic nicety will prevent me from

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condemning the stupidity of your leaders, the irresponsibility of your propaganda and the need to support a people who asked for nothing more than democracy."

Beirut Paper AL SHAAB says "in fact East Pakistan did not incline towards secession except when it was proved to her that the regime in the country did not depend on the will of the people but on the will of a domineering group living 1,000 miles away. Who approves of living within such a country? Pakistan is an artificial construction and any artificial thing is doomed to vanish."

TIME Magazine on August 23 writes, "though Mujib is accused of advocating secession for East Pakistan, the fact is that he did not want a total split-up of Pakistan and never declared independence until.....after the bloodbath began."

Lord Fenner Brockway of the House of Lords, England said in a statement "from a humanitarian view it has been greatest calamity in suffering since the bomb fell on Hiroshima. From a political view, it has been the most ruthless denial of democracy since Hitler."

CONSPIRACY TO SABOTAGE DEMOCRACY

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Chairman of Pakistan People's Party, played the most suspicious role in the political drama of Pakistan. On his request, and disregarding the request of Awami League for an early session of the National Assembly, General Yahya summoned the Assembly on March 3. It is again Mr. Bhutto who was the first man to boycott the Assembly. Not only that, he also openly intimidated other members in West Pakistan from attending the Assembly. He threatened a "bloodbath" on this issue. In protest of the summoning of the session he called for a general strike all over West Pakistan, he threatened to launch a hartal from Khyber to Karachi; whereas Mr. Bhutto was a leader of a minority party in the National Assembly and secured majority seats only in the Punjab and Sind. On the one hand, he was demanding early transfer of power, democracy and a constitutional Government and on the other hand, he was opposed to the idea of majority rule.

Once the election results were out, both the army and Mr. Bhutto backed by the feudal lords and big business of West Pakistan were out to sabotage the whole prospect of democracy. Mr. Henry Bradsher in the Washington EVENING STAR of April 29, writes "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 manoeuvres against Rahman served the interests of the Western elite, however, rather than the poor."

THE TIMES, London, on July 20, writes, "Mr. Bhutto's argument was that the Awami League could not reasonably expect, even on the basis of its absolute majority in the assembly (where it won 167 seats), to dictate terms to the whole of Pakistan when it was represented in only one half. It was a pretty thin argument. But it had just enough legal and constitutional substance to provide the President with an excuse to postpone the meeting of the constituent assembly that was planned for March 3."

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The military government, although it allowed elections, never intended to hand over real power to the people. Their calculation was that once elections were held different parties would share the seats, there would be political chaos in the country and they would be able to discredit politicians once again to perpetuate their rule. But the election results shattered their plan. The promise to transfer power which Yahya Khan made soon after he came to power, as only a care-taker government, was a promise with a hidden meaning.

A West Pakistani leader and President of National Awami Party of Pakistan, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, in an interview with the Afghan paper NEW WAVE (as reported in THE STATESMAN, India of August 19) said, "President Yahya Khan had been misled by the army intelligence into the belief that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League would not fare well in the elections. According to intelligence information, Quyyum's Muslim League was expected to win 70 seats, Daulatana 40, Bhutto 25, National Awami Party 35 and Mujib's Awami League only 80. It was on the basis of this information that President Yahya Khan agreed to make the public promise that power would be transferred to the elected representatives. It was a gamble that failed, but the military junta was refusing to accept the consequences."

The GUARDIAN, London on July 6, describes the attitude of Pakistan army, "there in three sentences is the true Pakistani army attitude. Callous, careless of life, indiscriminate of slaughter: and, at heart sickeningly supercilious."

NEWS WEEK Magazine in a cover page story under the heading 'Bengal: the murder of a people' on August 2, 1971 writes "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 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."

In a cover-story published on August 2, 1971, "TIME Magazine said," the election 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 millions 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".

A PRE-MEDITATED PLAN: POWER WAS NOT TO BE HANDED OVER

That Yahya's military regime never intended to hand over power to the people's representatives is further evident from the fact that it had been planning an attack upon the people of Bangladesh for a considerable time. While discussions were going on after

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the elections in December, 1970 the Army was preparing through all these months, in meticulous detail, a plan of how and when to launch an attack to crush the new democratic forces of the country.

Sidney Schanberg writes in the NEW YORK TIMES on March 28, "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 single measure of autonomy for East Pakistan.' He writes on the same day, "troops were flowing 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."

John Woodruff writes in THE BALTIMORE SUN on March 30, under the headline "Yahya's planned attack in East Pakistan" "but that condition (the minor technicality on which Yahya abandoned the talks with Mujib) is not naive, its disingenuous. It will make the whole purpose of the talks look like a delaying action while they (the Pakistan Army Generals) flew in more troops from West Pakistan." He goes on, "the comment was not the first serious suggestion that the talks were a delaying action. One well connected traveller 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 crackdown without warning." He further goes on to say "the events could be described only as a carefully coordinated premeditated attack on a basically defenceless population in an attempt to crush a movement whose main tactics had been non-violent non-cooperation..... 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 said, he resigned when he was ordered to make preparations for a military crackdown, soon after the initial Assembly postponement was announced on March 1."

THE GUARDIAN in its editorial of March 31, says "while he (Yahya) negotiated with Mujib, his Generals planned carnage."

THE BALTIMORE SUN on April 4 writes, "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."

THE NEW YORK TIMES on April 4 also confirms the same..... "It is clear now that the West Pakistanis never meant the talks to succeed, that they dragged them out only to buy the time to get enough troop reinforcements over from West Pakistan to launch the attack."

Henry Bradsher reports in the EVENING STAR of April 29, "the cyclone might not have taken its full toll yet'. This revealing remark was made by Mr. Zulfikar Ali 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".....

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LE MONDE of France agrees with this judgment by saying "far from looking for a compromise, even one which would be favourable to the Central Government against the Bengal autonomists, Yahya Khan is stepping up repression which has now reached such a pitch of brutality that one wonders if it was not premeditated."

Senator William Saxbe in his speech in the United States Senate on May 11, said, "Behind the smoke-screen of the negotiations, the strength of the largely Punjabi West Pakistan Army was increased, and its full force was unleashed on unarmed Bengalis in a manner and on a scale which Dr. Rohde and many other eye-witnesses had described as a veritable bloodbath, mass slaughter and genocide."

THE TIMES, London on July 20, says "There is not much doubt that by the middle of March the use of armed force, as a final option was firmly implanted in the minds of the President and his advisers. A large scale air-lift of troops from the West Wing—though absolutely denied by the military authorities in Dacca was carried out clandestinely throughout the month."

NEWS WEEK Magazine in a cover page story under the heading 'Bengal: The Murder of a People' writes on August 2, 1971 "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 Awami League and the slaughter of Bengali nationalists."

The Magazine further writes "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 Boing 707s commandeered from Pakistan International Airways, 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 (Tikka Khan) unleashed his troops."

TIME Magazine published on August 2, 1971:

"With the constitutional assembly scheduled to convene in March, Yahya began a covert troop build-up 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."

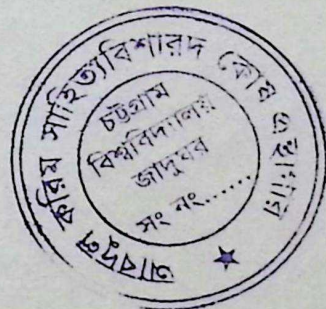
TIME Magazine of August 23 writes, "In last December's elections for a Constitutional Assembly, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League won an overwhelming 167 of 169 seats in the East. That was enough to guarantee Mujib a majority in the 313-seat National Assembly, and ensured that he would have become Prime Minister of Pakis-

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tan. It was also enough to alarm President Yahya Khan and the West Pakistan establishment, which has run the geographically divided country since its partition in 1947. Yahya and Co. feared that Mujib's ascendancy would mean far greater autonomy for the long-exploited East Pakistanis, and the Pakistan army ruthlessly moved to crush the Bengali movement."

Finally, David Loshak analyses in SUNDAY TELEGRAPH of April 4, the Pakistan army elite's character and design to crush democracy. "These men never believed in the democratic process that Yahya set in motion. They did not believe in it because they were 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 realised that their whole future as the dominant group in Pakistan was threatened 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 Khan and his civilian Cabinet devised for the transfer of power to a elected assembly, was never more than a cloak for the realities of the power structure in Pakistan. They were counting on December's election results. This would have provided the most legitimate 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 7, the Generals and Colonels knew what they had to do. It was then simply a matter of waiting for an excuse..... By then the army had a carefully laid contingency plan. Its intelligence network had thoroughly infiltrated the Awami League. Clearly, the final preparation must have been in train, under the direct personal guidance of Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, President Yahya's new Martial Law Administrator, even as the President was having the last rounds of constitutional talks with Sheikh Mujib."

"Even as he conferred with Mujib, President Yahya must have known of the preparation that the army was taking. It seems hard, on the evidence of the sequence of events, to acquit the President of charges of the deepest treachery."



GENOCIDE

An overwhelming majority of the people of the world is more than convinced today that Gen. Yahya Khan and his Government is guilty of genocide. His occupation Army's mission has been "to kill and burn every Bengali". Plans were drawn out and executed in meticulous detail to destroy a nation and a people. Article II of the Genocide Convention defines this crime as "acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group by killing or causing serious bodily or mental harm to the members of the group....." Today in the occupied areas anyone who asserts that he is a Bengali will be shot out of hand by the Punjabi army and equally anyone who owns to being a Hindu will be eliminated. The extent of atrocities that has been committed has no parallel in modern history.

How this operation of deliberate genocide started was written by almost all the foreign correspondents who were present in Dacca till they were expelled on March 23 and the others who have been to Bangladesh after the military launched its attack. This is how, according to them, it all began:

Henry Bradsher in WASHINGTON STAR said "the Army seized control of Dacca on Thursday night and gunfire including heavy artillery was heard till late on Friday morning. Huge fires burnt in the direction of the Dacca University."

The AFP Correspondent, Brian May said..... "the intensity of ringing gunfire that raged all night and continued sporadically throughout Friday made it seem likely that the death toll in the city ran into several thousands..... It appeared that the Army had disarmed the Police force which consists mainly of Bengalis."

Robert Kaylor of UPI said "soldiers carrying torches are seen going towards the office of 'the People' newspaper near the Hotel. There is some shouting and firing and the office is set on fire..... Huge columns of smoke rise from the direction of the University. If troops have attacked with heavy weapons, the carnage will be tremendous. The students at the University are crammed into dormitories that hold about 400 each."

Michael Clayton of BBC reported "the troops carried out a ruthless operation on Thursday night to intimidate the people of Dacca."

Simon Dring, another eye-witness, of the DAILY TELEGRAPH, London, wrote on March 30, "caught by surprise, some 200 students were killed in Iqbal Hall when their rooms were sprayed with Machinegun fire.....the military removed many of the bodies but the 30 bodies still there could never have accounted for all the blood in the corridors of Iqbal Hall. He further said "people asleep in the Bazar were shot. In the morning the victims were still lying there with rugs on them. as if they were still sleeping. On the morning of March 26 the firing, stopped and silence prevailed all over Dacca. Suddenly the city was again filled by troops and for 11 hours they went about

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systematically destroying the entire old city of Dacca". He further said "the Army shot every person in the old city and burnt people inside their homes. The biggest massacre was in the Hindu locality. The Army then rushed to its next target, the centre of Sheikh Mujib's supporters. The carnage continued till the night". (Simon Dring was a Journalist who escaped the expulsion of 26th night and hid himself in one of the rooms of the Hotel Inter-continental. On morning of March 27 when the unannounced curfew was withdrawn Dring had a look at the killing and destruction with his own eyes).

Peter Hazelhurst of THE TIMES London, quoting a student who survived three days of carnage in Dacca University, said "some people were ordered to dig a huge grave. The Pakistani soldiers told 8 or 9 bearers to sit down. After a while they were directed to stand and line up near the grave. The guns fired again and they fell next to the bodies of my friends".

John Woodruff writes in THE BALTIMORE SUN on March 30 under the headline 'Yahya planned attack on East Pakistan', "the first Radio broadcast announcing a curfew was made in mid-morning, 8 hours after foreign newsmen watched soldiers turn a jeep-mounted Machinegun without warning on 15 empty handed youths who walked towards them slowly, shouting defiance".

Michel Laurent of Associated Press reports in NEW YORK POST "touring the still burning battle areas Saturday and yesterday, one found the burnt 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 Jaganath Hall; 200 students were reported killed in Iqbal Hall. About 20 bodies were still on the ground and in the dormitories".

Louis Heren of THE TIMES, London writes on April 2 "the Pakistan Army is alleged to have waged a war of genocide in East Pakistan. The objective is said to be the elimination of the political and intellectual leadership, and it might well have been achieved". The conclusion drawn was that "East Pakistan would be without political and intellectual leadership for at least a decade and perhaps a generation. The Bengali soldiers and officers here in Pakistan Army were being dis-armed by the West Pakistanis weeks before they launched the attack.

Mervyn Jones wrote in THE NEW STATESMAN on April 2 "President Yahya Khan's tanks have been ordered into destructive action, no holds barred against the people of East Pakistan; and, in grim logic the enemy must be the whole people because they had declared this with rare unanimity for demands of self rule".

THE EVENING STANDARD of London writes on April 8 "Bengalis were being killed in their thousands. The Army was rounding up people and machinegunning them.....they were shot from behind like dogs."

Michael Hornsby writes in THE TIMES of July 20 "that the army conducted a systematic persecution of an important segment of the population of East Pakistan there can no longer be any reasonable doubt".

DAILY TELEGRAPH in an editorial of April 12 wrote "what is going on is less a civil war or the suppression of a rebellion than a colonial war of conquest. Strict censorship and the expulsion of all foreign correspondents make it impossible to say

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whether the instances of brutality reported by many eye-witnesses are typical but enough has been seen to arouse the worst fears”.

David Loshak reports from Sylhet, Bangladesh in the DAILY TELEGRAPH of April 15 “almost the entire population of 700,000 had fled into the surrounding countryside leaving the streets to the helpless old and crippled, the corpses to wild dogs and vultures.

Bloated corpses floated in the Surma river which flows through Sylhet. They were testimony to the night of March 26, 1971 when the West Pakistani troops burst into the city and launched a campaign of looting and slaughter. Special units were assigned to the killing of doctors and advocates, Journalists, teachers and other professional people”.

THE NEW STATESMAN, London writes on April 16 “if blood is the price of a people’s right to independence, Bangladesh has over paid.....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.....Faced with this the Islamabad Government of Yaha Khan whose strength is based on an Army from which the Bengalis are excluded, panicked and Islamabad fidgetted. The result was carnage”.

Sydney Schanberg in THE NEW YORK TIMES of April 17, 1971 quoting a wounded 20 year old Second Lieutenant of the Pakistan Army who subsequently escaped, writes, “through a window he saw 60 Bengali soldiers of the Regiment being taken off behind a building, their hands in the air, by West Pakistan troops. Then he heard a sustained burst of firing and assumed that the Bengalis had been killed”.

The Steering Committee of the ‘International Committee on the University Emergency’ in a statement reported from New York and published in HINDUSTAN STANDARD, India of April 24 said “It was obvious that the University had been a major target. A premediated massacre appears to have been conducted from a master list of victims prepared possibly as early as last fall. Leading teachers as well as artists, musicians and writers associated with Bengali literature and culture were the victims. It was a genocide in its cruelest and most abject sense”.

Syria’s AL-THAWRA called this action of the West Pakistan troops as “an organised campaign of mass-killing in East Bengal”.

Dan Coggins, Correspondent of TIME Magazine was another newsman who was expelled on 26th evening but subsequently became the first American journalist to visit Dacca by truck, bus and bicycle through less prominent routes; He wrote “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 year old sister alone; they spared him so that he could watch them murder her with a bayonet. Col. 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 his Friday prayers were more important than the curfew, was shot to death as he walked into a Mosque”.

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The most revealing of all the reports, was that of Anthony Mascarenhas who in his 4-page account in the SUNDAY TIMES on June 13 said "This is genocide conducted with amazing casualness". Mascarenhas was a guest of West Pakistan army in Bangladesh in April 1971 and toured the whole of the territory assisted by army officers. In his despatch which came out under the heading "GENOCIDE" he writes "I think that in reality there is no contradiction in the Government's East Bengal policy. East Bengal is being colonised.....President Yahya Khan is riding on the back of a tiger but he took a calculated decision to climb up there".

"But the army is not going to pull out easily. The Pakistan Government's policy for East Bengal was spelled out to me in the Eastern command Headquarters at Dacca. It has 3 elements:

- (i) the Bengalis had proved themselves 'unreliable' and must be ruled by West Pakistanis.
- (ii) the Bengalis will have to be re-educated along proper Islamic lines. The 'Islamisation of the masses'—this is official jargon— is intended to eliminate secessionist tendencies and provide a strong religious bond with West Pakistan.
- (iii) when the Hindus have been eliminated by death and flight their property will be utilized as a golden carrot to win over the under privileged Muslim middle class. This will provide the base for erecting administrative and political structures in the future.

This policy is being pursued with the utmost blatancy".

DAILY MIRROR says on June 14 "it is now clear that what has happened in East Pakistan is not just the suppression of an insurrection but mass slaughter"

"the military Government of West Pakistan is waging a war of selective genocide and of starvation against 2% of the human race—the 75 million* people of Bangladesh".

The SUNDAY TIMES, London on June 20 published a full page account titled "Pogrom in Pakistan" and confirmed the genocide that has been committed in Bangladesh by Yahya Khan's Government; "a new campaign of terror has been unleashed in Bangladesh, killing teachers, journalists, writers, magistrates, doctors, Hindus and Awami Leaguers. Gestapo-like activities are rampant; this is chiefly the work of the Razakars—a group of armed Biharis and armed forces personnel—who carry on, with the tacit approval of senior officers, extortion, kidnapping of girls, raping, prostitution and other forms of related activities. In Agrabad Chittagong such a prostitution camp is run—the object being to provide girls for officers and during parties.

Army intelligence has prepared a list of suspects. They are classified as white, grey and black. The whites are to be let loose, the greys fined and/or imprisoned and the blacks shot dead. Many suspects are arrested openly or called to the Cantonment for interrogation—then they are never heard of again. Many examples of such cases may be cited."

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Tony Clifton of NEWSWEEK Magazine writes on June 28 quoting John Hastings, a British Missionary in India for 20 years as saying "I am certain that the Pakistan troops have raped girls repeatedly, then killed them by pushing their bayonets up between their legs". Clifton concludes that this genocide was not haphazard but part of a calculated operation launched by the military rulers of Pakistan to exterminate Bengalis.

Martin Woollacott of the GUARDIAN, London writes on June 28 in a despatch from Bangladesh "what can reasonably safely be asserted about the Comilla District is that there was killing, rape, looting and burning."

Sydney Schanberg who was expelled by West Pakistan Army on June 30 wrote on June 29 from Faridpur, Bangladesh "the Pakistan Army has painted big yellow H's on the Hindu shops still standing in this town to identify the property of the minority thousands of the population that it has made its special targets".

Schanberg writes again on July 4 "does not the world realise that they (the West Pakistani soldiers) are nothing but butchers?" asked a foreigner who has been living 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 HONGKONG STANDARD writes on July 4 "Yahya Khan's army has set a grisly new record in the bloody annals of the human race".

Hassanein Heikal, Editor of AL-AHRAM, UAR wrote on July 9, "How can we accept to remain silent about what happened in East Pakistan, where some one quarter of a million people were slain in the most tragic carnage of contemporary history?"

Anthony Lewis in NEW YORK TIMES on July 12 writes "the feeble Pakistani propaganda claim to be dealing only with 'miscreants' does not conceal the fact that the Army is killing and terrorising on grounds of race and politics."

On the conclusion of an extensive study tour of Bangladesh in June 1971, 10 representatives of the World Bank submitted a joint report. Along with this report were submitted the observations of Mr. Hendrik Van der Heijden, Economist, Pakistan Division, IBRD, who said "the farmers are not coming to the cities, and nobody goes out. Thousands of farmers have fled. Everything is abnormal there and it was a shattering experience".

Mr. George Broussine wrote in LA POLITIQUE DE MATIN of France, "Of all the crimes which trouble the world today, the most serious and the most disastrous for mankind is the one in Bangladesh".

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE reports on July 21, 1971 "more than 150 thousand East Pakistan refugees — nearly all of them Muslim — have fled into India's Tripura State in the past few months after a reported wave of village-burning and rape by Pakistani troops".

TIME Magazine, in its issue of August 2, 1971, wrote:

"The evidence of the blood-bath is all over East Pakistan. Whole sections of cities lie in ruins from shelling and aerial attacks. In Khalishpur, the northern suburb of Khulna,

GENOCIDE

naked children and haggard women scavenge the rubble where their homes and shops once stood. Stretches of Chittagong's Hazari Lane and Maulana Sawkat Ali Road have been wiped out. The central bazaar in Jessore is reduced to twisted masses of corrugated tin and shattered walls. Kushtia, a city of 40,000, 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 flamethrowers and then machinegunned thousands as they tried to escape the cordon of fire, nearly, 25, blocks have been bulldozed clear, leaving open areas incongruously amid jam-packed slums.

Clare Hollingworth writes in the DAILY TELEGRAPH on August 5, 1971 in a despatch from Dacca "there has been little change in army methods during the past 4 months.....the youngmen are quickly taken off in trucks for questioning in the nearest prison while the older men and women run away when they see the troops preparing to destroy houses with bulldozers".

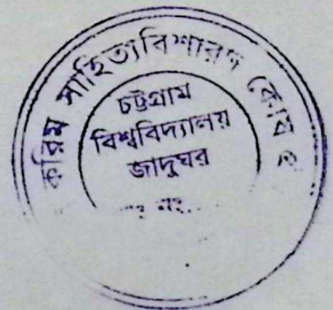
Senator Edward M. Kennedy in his statement made in the US Senate on April 1 said "it is a story of indiscriminate killing, the execution of dissident political leaders and students, and thousands of civilians suffering and dying every hour of the day. It is a story of dislocation and loss of home."

Senatory Saxbe in his speech in the U.S. Senate on May 11 quoted Doctor Rodhe, an eye-witness, as saying "it is clear that the law of the jungle prevails in East Pakistan where the mass killing of unarmed civilians, the systematic elimination of the intelligentsia and the annihilation of Hindu population is in progress".

Over 200 members of the British Parliament including 11 Privy Councillors and over 30 former Ministers signed the following motion tabled in June 1971 accusing West Pakistan army of being guilty of genocide.

"That this House believes that the widespread murder of civilians and the atrocities on a massive scale by the Pakistan Army in East Bengal, contrary to the United Nations Convention on Genocide signed by Pakistan itself, confirms that the military Government of Pakistan has forfeited all rights to rule East Bengal following its wanton refusal to accept the democratic will of the people expressed in the election of December 1970: therefore believes that the United Nations Security Council must be called urgently to consider the situation both as a threat to international peace and as a contravention of the Genocide Convention: And further believes 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".

Edward Kennedy once again, after a one week tour of refugee camps in India said on August 26 "refugees told stories of atrocities, of slaughter, of looting and burning and harassment and abuse by West Pakistan soldiers and collaborators....."we must demonstrate to the Generals of West Pakistan and to the people of the world that the United States has a deep and abiding revulsion of the monumental slaughter that has ravaged East Bengal".



SITUATION INSIDE BANGLADESH

COMPLETE COLLAPSE OF ECONOMY

Since the West Pakistan army's crack-down on March 25, 1971 Yahya Khan has claimed again and again that normalcy has returned inside Bangladesh. This is far from the truth and many people suspect that Yahya Khan does not know at all what has been happening in Bangladesh which he is claiming to have occupied.

The World Bank Report says "people fear to venture forth and as a result commerce has virtually ceased and economic activity generally is at a very low ebb."

"The first thing that struck one whether in Dacca or travelling in the countryside — is that there seem to be very few people about."

"After dark the situation is more unusual still. Most areas have curfews. Whatever the curfew hours, the streets began to clear in mid-afternoon and are completely deserted by dark."

"For almost 3 months there was virtually no movement of jute, tea or other exports from farm to factory or port, and very little from ports abroad."

"Nowhere is vehicular traffic along the roads at more than 5 to 10% of normal levels. And, except for some fishing activities, the waterways appear deserted. The country boats have disappeared."

The situation inside Bangladesh has not changed much since the reports of the World Bank Team came out in July 1971.

TIME Magazine said, in its cover story of 2nd August, 1971, "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 publications containing stories about the conflict to enter the country. Even so, as more and more soldiers return home badly maimed, and as young 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 lay-offs in industries unable to obtain raw materials for lack of foreign exchange.

In other words the whole economy has completely collapsed. This is confirmed from the suggestion made in the study of the World Bank which reads "it is most unlikely that any significant movement in the direction of normality will occur until there is a drastic reduction in the visibility—and preferably, even the presence of the military and a re-establishment of normal civilian administration in East Pakistan."

SITUATION INSIDE BANGLADESH

ARMY TO LIVE OFF THE LAND

The West Pakistan Army has either burnt or looted the food stores and due to the complete dislocation of agricultural life the food situation has become very acute. Because of their failure in logistical supplies, the troops are always found to be desperate for their own survival.

Patrick Keatly of THE GUARDIAN, London writes on April 15, 1971 "Orders to live off the land are being issued to Platoon, Company and Battalion commanders as they leave Dacca with their troops. It suggests that the logistical supply system has broken down and perhaps there is a problem of finance for the Central Govt. But it conjures up the unpleasant prospect of troops obtaining their food supply at the point of bayonets and clearly ushers in a new phase of what is becoming a savage military campaign."

FAMINE

Michael Hornsby writes in THE TIMES of London on June 24 "a serious famine is likely to begin in about 4 months and last for a year or more. Many thousands may die—certainly many more than in the refugee camps in India—and several millions could be weakened by malnutrition."

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Because of complete non-cooperation from Bengali civilians who are not assisting the West Pakistan army in any manner, Yahya Khan's regime has brought thousands of West Pakistanis to run the Govt. The SUNDAY TIMES of London writes on June 20 "all Hindu and Awami League Bank accounts have been frozen and Dacca is patrolled by 3000 imported Punjabi Policemen."

Schanberg writes on June 25 "the Pakistan Army is clearly in control of the city but normality the word the Government uses to describe conditions here—does not exist."

Sydney Schanberg of NEW YORK TIMES writes on July 13: "In addition to the daily troops arriving the Govt. is bringing in wave upon wave of West 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 of the Dacca Airport is a non-Bengali."

DAILY TELEGRAPH of London writes on July 19, "the situation deteriorated during the last few weeks in Dacca largely as a result of the improved organisation and training of the urban groups of Bangladesh guerillas—the situation in East Pakistan is still so far removed from normal that the military Governor Gen. Tikka Khan and his staff are making frantic efforts to persuade the President to postpone his visit."

It is to be mentioned here that Tikka Khan was successful in doing so and Yahya Khan has not yet been able to visit Bangladesh for fear of his personal safety.

SITUATION INSIDE BANGLADESH

PEOPLE'S MORALE

The Liberation forces enjoy the complete support of the people of Bangladesh. Despite the reign of terror continued by the West Pakistan army the morale of the people is very high.

Clare Hollingworth writes in the DAILY TELEGRAPH London on August, 9, 1971 "the moment the Pakistan army is not around, the villagers express their sympathy with Bangladesh, but the moment they see a soldier they yell "long live Pakistan". One villager told me "this is our life-saver."

OCCUPATION ARMY'S PROPAGANDA OF A CIVIL WAR

There is no positive evidence and certainly not in the so called White Paper published by Yahya Khan that Bengalis killed non-Bengalis before March 25. This propaganda which the West Pakistani Army adopted subsequently has not convinced anyone either.

On the contrary, Associated Press Correspondent Dennis Neeld, who visited the forbidden city of Dacca during the news-blackout wrote in April 1971 "non-Bengali civilians from West Pakistan are taking advantage of the situation to loot and kill. The army however stands by or openly condones the violence launched by non-Bengalis."

THE TIMES of London writes on July 12, 1971 "a considerable propaganda effort has been made by the Pakistan Government to suggest not only that the army action was necessary to prevent the mass slaughter of Biharis but also that killings of non-Bengalis took place on a substantial scale even before the army moved in.

It is a pretty thin explanation. It is inconceivable had there been killings on the scale claimed that these would not have come to the eyes and ears of the many foreign journalists in East Pakistan until their expulsion en masse on March 26."

REFUGEES: WHEN WILL THEY RETURN?

Over 8 million refugees have crossed the border and are taking shelter in different areas of the neighbouring country, India. They have left their homes out of fear and terror; for sheer survival. Equally distressing are the conditions prevailing inside Bangladesh for those who could not escape and are under constant torture and a reign of terror.

The GUARDIAN, London writes on June 14, in an editorial "Murder, the hope of shelter and fear have driven 4 or 5 million refugees from East Pakistan to India.....in addition, left behind in East Pakistan at the mercy of Yahya's bayonets there are further millions of whom at least many thousands must be in terror, misery and near starvation."

Colin Smith wrote in THE OBSERVER, London on June 27 "the army is opening up reception centres for refugees wishing to return to East Pakistan from India. Mr. Bottomley and his party visited one of these camps and found 22 exhausted people. The Pakistanis were expecting 500 a day."

Murray Sayle writes in July '71 in THE SUNDAY TIMES, London "the Pakistan Military regime recently repeated its claim that East Pakistan is rapidly returning to

SITUATION INSIDE BANGLADESH

normalcy after its prolonged military operation I spent a 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 taking shape which may well make it impossible for them (the refugees) to return."

Reginald Prentice, a member of the British Parliamentary delegation which visited both Bangladesh and India wrote in NEW STATESMAN on July 16 "everywhere we went we questioned refugees at random ; everywhere we were told similar stories. The army have come to their village or a nearby village. People were shot or mutilated, houses and farms burnt. Women were raped, the soldiers had looted or encouraged the non-Bengalis to loot Bengalis (and specially the Hindus). This was still happening. That is why they had left. They wanted to return, but only when it was safe, that is when Mujib said it was safe or when the army left."

The refugees include both Hindus and Muslims. The GUARDIAN of London writes on July 21, "there are 20,000 Muslim refugees at Kantala Camp 19 miles from Agartala and only 20 yards from the border. All of them came from villages just inside East Pakistan."

The INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE writes on July 21 "a party of foreign journalists who recently toured the remote areas of Tripura and Assam said many East Pakistan refugees told of looting and burning of Muslim villages and the rape of Muslim women by Pakistani soldiers."

THE MUKTI BAHINI

FROM RESISTANCE TO VICTORY

The Mukti Bahini (Liberation forces), grown out of a spontaneous resistance from among the people of Bangladesh is now a well-organised and disciplined force. It has grown both in strength and size. By all standards it has established itself as a capable liberation force and will, without any doubt, bring ultimate victory. The Mukti Bahini enjoys the complete support of the population and continues to achieve more successes every day. The world is gradually recognising this fact.

David Loshak in a despatch from Sylhet writes in DAILY TELEGRAPH on April 15 "their own losses have been so 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."

The SUNDAY TIMES of London writes on April 18 "the independence of East Pakistan is inevitable. What started as a movement for economic autonomy within the frame work of united Pakistan has been irrevocably transformed by the wholesale slaughter of East Pakistani civilians into a movement that sooner or later will produce an independent East Pakistan—"Bangladesh is a matter of time."

THE SUNDAY TIMES of London writes on June 20 1971 "frequent grenade blasts rock Dacca, apparently the work of the Mukti Fouj. Most young people between the ages of 16 and 26 have joined the Mukti Fouj. Their widespread fear is that to be young in East Pakistan is to be killed. They mentioned the hope also that they may one day live in a free Bangladesh."

Martin Woollacott writes in THE GUARDIAN, London on June 23 "but outside Dacca and not only in the border regions, the army still faces the almost impossible task of guarding a vulnerable communication system and rural economy against sabotage by the guerilla groups of Mukti Fouj who still have bases in the interior of the Province."

Clare Hollingworth writes in the DAILY TELEGRAPH of July 6 referring to the West Pakistani troops vis-a-vis freedom fighters "but the position of the armed forces grows more difficult everyday as the training and efficiency of the Bangladesh guerillas increase." She further writes in the same despatch from Dacca "and unless dramatic efforts at conciliation are made and made soon, Bangladesh will become an independent state whether it takes the guerillas 5 years or even a decade to make their points; for they have the overwhelming support of the population as the 96% vote in the election for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman suggests."

THE MUKTI BAHINI—FROM RESISTANCE TO VICTORY

Sydney Schanberg of NEW YORK TIMES wrote on July 13 "outside Comilla not long ago the guerillas blew up a rail bridge, a repair train was sent out with armed guards. The guerillas attacked the repair train in broad day light, killing the firemen and taking a hostage. The train sped back into town."

Schanberg writes again on July 15 after he was expelled from Dacca "guerillas (of the Mukti Bahini) have recently carried out several raids in and around Dacca, knocking out Power Supply Stations, attacking on Ordnance Factory and damaging a plant that was converting motor launches into gun boats for the army. This correspondent found that poor Bengali villagers, though too occupied with daily survival to think about defying the army openly, were quietly cheering the insurgents on and hoping for a chance to help them."

Sydney Schanberg writes in the NEW YORK TIMES of July 16, 1971 "as the still disorganised Bengali autonomy movement appears to be gaining momentum, the guerillas have been avoiding frontal battles but have inflicted a sizeable number of casualties" "the heaviest action has been in the Eastern border district of Sylhet, Comilla and Noakhali, specially in the latter where the guerillas have been able to keep the vital road and rail links between Chittagong and Dacca severed."

Clare Hollingworth in a despatch from Dacca writes in the DAILY TELEGRAPH of London on July 21 "Dacca has been without electricity since Bangladesh guerillas destroyed 3 vital Power stations with bombs on Monday night killing 13 guards in a gun battle at one."

Army experts say the guerillas know exactly where to place the charges to cause the most damage ... it will take months before new transformers can be imported to replace the destroyed installations."

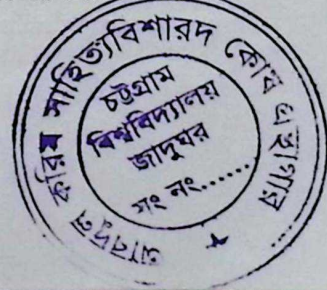
The Correspondent of THE TIMES, London writes on July 21 "a new phase has began in the armed struggle for East Pakistan's independence. After spending a few days with Bangladesh liberation forces (Mukti Fouj), I cannot see the Pakistan army finding it easy to cope with them."

The DAILY TELEGRAPH, London writes on July 22 "inside the towns highly trained saboteurs are now operating in small groups of 3 and 4 dressed like poor Bengali villagers."

Correspondent of THE TIMES, London writes on July 23 "East Bengal freedom fighters claimed to have killed between 15,000 and 20,000 West Pakistan troops and wounded many others so seriously that they must have succumbed to their injuries in Hospital. In a special interview Col. M. A. Osmani, Commander-in-Chief of the Bangladesh forces told me, he was speaking exclusively of losses suffered by the Pakistan army."

Talking to different Mukti fouj (Liberation forces) Commanders in the Eastern Sector, I have tried to find out if their estimates vary. But if anything they tend to think Col. Osmani's estimate undoubtedly conservatives."

Peter Gill writes in the DAILY TELEGRAPH, London on July 23 "Bangladesh guerillas have occupied an area of 150 sq. miles in the Jessore District of East Pakistan near the frontier with India."



THE MUKTI BAHINI—FROM RESISTANCE TO VICTORY

Clare Hollingworth writes in the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH on July 25 "the Pakistan Army stopped all traffic leaving Dacca for the south or west for several hours yesterday. A captain politely explained that the road to Fatulla was closed because 'there is firing ahead'....."after the roads had been reopened late yesterday, only a large new civilian lorry, destroyed near a road barrage, bore witness to what was clearly an incident between Pakistan army and guerillas. Fatulla is the site of an important electric Power Plant and Transformer which is now vital to maintain the erratic low power current available in Dacca since Monday, when two big substations in the city were destroyed by Bangladesh guerillas."

Murray Sayle in a despatch from Dacca writes in THE SUNDAY TIMES on August 1, referring to the PIA flights between Dacca and Karachi carrying the heavy army casualties "the patients are soldiers going home to West Pakistan because military hospitals in Dacca are full." He went on "On my flight last week there were six, two had legs blown off by mines, and the other four, caught in ambushes, had bullet wounds in the upper body. Sometimes, I was told, the PIA planes are a quarter-full of badly wounded men". He further writes "the (Bangladesh Liberation forces) guerillas have already scored successes which any Vietcong commander would record as a highly promising start to a protracted war."

THE TIMES, London writes on August 5, 1971 from a despatch of Louis Heren. Reliable reports have it that the Mukti Bahini, or freedom force, has decided that the best strategy is to bring the economy to a halt.

Clare Hollingworth writes in DAILY TELEGRAPH, dated 5.8.71. "The situation in East Pakistan grows perceptibly worse each day as the Mukti Fouj, the Bangladesh guerillas, increase the number and efficiency of their operations. Explosions during the night have become louder and more frequent The West Pakistan troops are tired. They have had no break for over four months and they are operating in a strange environment. On the frontiers they are subject to mortar bombs and other harassments from the Mukti Fouj, who are beginning to demonstrate the results of their training."

INDEPENDENCE OF BANGLADESH: A REALITY

In political terms, Bangladesh is now a reality. Recognition by the world community is only a matter of time." The nation of Bangladesh has its roots in the history and economy of her people. THE SPECTATOR of London writes on April 17, "politically, economically, socially, the West Pakistan military regimes which have ruled both Pakistan have neglected East Pakistan; and there is nothing at all surprising that the Bengalis of East Pakistan should have sought independence as Bangladesh."

Peter Hazelhurst in a despatch from a liberated area of Bangladesh writes in THE TIMES, London on June 19, "the former Pakistan army Captain is adamant that freedom fighters will not accept any political settlement short of independence. 'There can be no going back after what the army did on March 25. We have lost too many lives, and most of my men have no idea what has happened to their families. This is now a struggle for complete freedom.'"

THE MUKTI BAHINI--FROM RESISTANCE TO VICTORY

Prof. Louis Dumont, a Director of the Institute of Higher Studies in Paris writing in 'LE MONDE' on August 6 makes the point that East Bengal is virtually independent and urges France to stop all assistance to the Government of Pakistan because that Government had lost its legitimacy by going to war against the majority of its citizens.

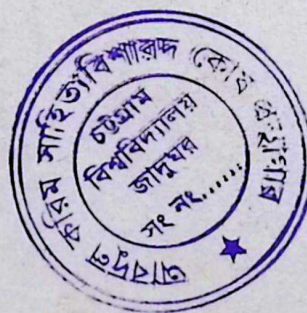
Bruce Douglas-Mann a member of the British Parliament told the House of Commons on June 9, 1971 "it is undoubtedly true that a whole people are being deliberately destroyed. They are being driven out of their country and the terrorising tactics being adopted can have only one possible outcome, and that is the ultimate independence of Bangladesh".

He continued to say "that was not necessary until the night of 25th March but as a result of what has been done, it is now pointless even to discuss the question of reconciliation and the possible reunification of Pakistan. Pakistan is dead. It has been buried under millions of bodies and I fear that we have not yet seen the worst."

I am saying that Pakistan as an unit and as an entity is dead. The only solution which will provide any possibility of relief for the people of East Bengal is for the West Pakistan army to be forced to withdraw by economic pressures and sanctions."

Mr. Gallagher in a statement to the House of Representatives made on August 3, 1971 said "this war of resistance in East Pakistan is bound to spread. A while people has arisen in revolt against an unpopular regime. The Pakistan army cannot win this war. For that army is fighting an outmoded colonial war in a land far away from its home base against a vast population of 75 million which its barbaric actions have totally alienated The war of East Pakistan's Liberation and Independence may already be too far gone for a settlement short of Independence through the processes of political conciliation and negotiation. The question really is how long will this war last?"





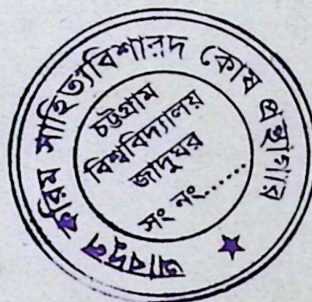
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BANGLADESH

A World Commentary

From Autonomy
To Independence



PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH