

**The New York Times**

**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL**

DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
OPERATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
DI-2  
DIA SPOT REPORT  
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM  
MAR 26 PM 3:55  
DATE: 26 March 1971  
TIME: 1430 EST  
SUBJECT: Civil War in Pakistan  
REFERENCE:  
1. Pakistan was thrust into civil war today when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman proclaimed the east wing of the two-part country to be "the sovereign independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh." Fighting is reported heavy in Dacca and other areas.

# "The Sheikh Mujib Declaration of Independence of Bangladesh : U.S. Government Records and Media Documentation"



Los Angeles Times  
**latimes.com**

Compiled by **Mohammad M. Rahman Jalal.**

The declaration of independence of Bangladesh by our National Leader Bangabondhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman now turns to more political issue than historical aspect.

The academicians are writing their views which look like they are not writing history rather they write for political leaders, who are corrupt, half educated and mostly hereditary persons.

We just collected some documents, which comprises US Declassified Documents, Congressional Records, Research Study by Bureau of Intelligence and Research, the pages of The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post and The Baltimore Sun and The LA Times.

These documents and evidence clearly reflect that the declaration of independence of Bangladesh was given by Bangabondhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman alone at the early hour of 26<sup>th</sup> March 1971, long before any further announcements made on behalf of Bangabondhu or some one else.

CBGR1971.org

MMR Jalal.



DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
OPERATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION



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1. Pakistan was thrust into civil war today when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman proclaimed the east wing of the two-part country to be "the sovereign independent People's Republic of Bangla Desh." Fighting is reported heavy in Dacca and other eastern cities where the 10,000 man paramilitary East Pakistan Rifles has joined police and private citizens in conflict with an estimated 23,000 West Pakistani regular army troops. Continuing reinforcements by sea and air combined with the government's stringent martial law regulations illustrate Islamabad's commitment to preserve the union by force. Because of logistical difficulties, the attempt will probably fail, but not before heavy loss of life results.
2. Indian officials have indicated that they would not be drawn into a Pakistani civil war, even if the east should ask for help. Their intentions might be overruled, however, if the fever of Bengali nationalism spills across the border.
3. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is little interested in foreign affairs and would cooperate with the United States if he could. The west's violent suppression, however, threatens to radicalize the east to the detriment of US interests. The crisis has exhibited anti-American facets from the beginning and both sides will find the United States a convenient scapegoat.

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DIA Review  
By *KWB*  
NARA, Date 7-19-00



## Department of State

## TELEGRAM



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ACTION: Page 2

made in the name of Mujib. The Martial Law Administration, however claims to have arrested Mujib and his leading lieutenants the night of March 25-26, and their failure to surface publicly thus far lends credence to this claim. On March 27 the clandestine radio announced the formation of a revolutionary army and a provisional government under the leadership of a QUOTE Major Zia Khan UNQUOTE.

3. There continue to be conflicting reports on the actual situation in East Pakistan although the city of Dacca remains relatively quiet. With strict press censorship and the expulsion of foreign newsmen from East Pakistan hard news is difficult to come by. Eyewitness reports of the killing by the Pak Army of large numbers of Bengali students, intellectuals, police, Awami League leaders, slum dwellers and members of the Hindu minority continue to trickle in. They have been already given prominence in the American press. Further reports may be expected as foreigners leave East Pakistan.

4. Claims regarding the situation put forward by martial law and Bengali sources differ widely, although even Radio Pakistan has now reported that QUOTE miscreants UNQUOTE have been active in Chittagong

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and Khulna. A Japanese wire service reported that Chittagong was the scene of civilian-military ~~attacks~~ QUOTE conflagrations UNQUOTE Monday night, citing radio contact with Japanese ships anchored in the harbor as its source. Indian wire services continue to report widespread fighting in many places, as well as the arrival of aircraft and tanks from the West wing.

4. Europeans, mostly dependents of Yugoslav technicians evacuated from Dacca March 31, have said that the Pakistani Army appears to be firmly in control of the city and that some shops were opening.

A Yugoslav foreign office official accompanying the group said the situation in Dacca has improved but is not yet normal. He also reports the Yugoslav Consul General has been unable to establish telephone contact with technicians in the ports of Chittigong and ~~Chalna~~ Chalna.

END

ROGERS

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EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

July 28, 1971

27783

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE  
OF BANGLA DESH

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, as you know from my previous statements and from the resolutions and statutes I have introduced, I continue to be much concerned with the refugee problem of the Bengali people in the area known as East Pakistan.

My primary concern is the famine and cholera problem facing these refugees and the express desire to prevent the shipment of American arms to Pakistan.

I would like to call your attention to certain political activities which are taking place in that area. While I do not recommend that any action be taken at this time, I think it well for us to be apprised of the fact that East Pakistan has declared its independence as the new nation of Bangla Desh. Pakistan, as an entity, had 130 million. In West Pakistan there are 55 million. The Bengali in what was East Pakistan numbered 75 million. If the new nation of Bangla Desh—translated, this means "Bengali homeland"—becomes independent now, it will be the eighth largest nation in the world. Only China, India, the Soviet Union, the United States, Indonesia, Japan, and Brazil have more people.

Prof. Albert P. Blaustein, professor of law at Rutgers University, has procured from the Bangla Desh Consulate in Calcutta a copy of the Bangla Desh Declaration of Independence proclaimed on April 10, 1971. The text of that declaration is as follows:

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF BANGLA  
DESH, APRIL 10, 1971

Whereas free elections were held in Bangla Desh from December 7, 1970 to January 17, 1971, to elect representatives for the purpose of framing a Constitution and

Whereas at these elections the people of Bangla Desh elected 167 out of 169 representatives belonging to the Awami League, and

Whereas Gen. Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on the 3rd of March, 1971, for the purpose of framing a Constitution, and

Whereas the Assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for an indefinite period, and

Whereas instead of fulfilling their promise and while still conferring with the representatives of the people of Bangla Desh Pakistan authorities started an unjust and treacherous war, and

Whereas in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct, Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of 75 millions of people of Bangla Desh, in due fulfillment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangla Desh duly made a declaration of independence at Dacca on March 26, 1971, and

27784

urged the people of Bangla Desh to defend the honour and integrity of Bangla Desh, and

Whereas in the conduct of a ruthless and savage war, the Pakistani authorities committed and are still committing numerous acts of genocide and unprecedented tortures, amongst others, on the civilian and unarmed people of Bangla Desh, and

Whereas the Pakistan Government by carrying on an unjust war and committing genocide and by other repressive measures made it impossible for the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh to meet and frame a Constitution, and give to themselves a Government, and

Whereas the people of Bangla Desh by their heroism, bravery and revolutionary fervour have established effective control over the territories of Bangla Desh,

We the elected representatives of the people of Bangla Desh, as honour-bound by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangla Desh whose will is supreme, on this day of April 10, 1971, duly constitute ourselves into a Constituent Assembly, and

in order to ensure for the people of Bangla Desh equality, human dignity and social justice,

do hereby affirm and resolve that till such time as a Constitution is framed, Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman shall be the President of the Republic and that Syed Nazrul Islam shall be the Vice-President of the Republic, and

that the President shall be the Supreme Commander of all the armed forces of the Republic, and

shall exercise all the Executive and Legislative powers of the Republic including the power to grant pardon,

shall have the power to appoint a Prime Minister and such other Ministers as he considers necessary, shall have the power to levy taxes and expend moneys,

shall have the power to summon and adjourn the Constituent Assembly, and

do all other things that may be necessary to give to the people of Bangla Desh an orderly and just Government,

We the elected representatives of the People of Bangla Desh do further resolve that in the event of there being no President or the President being unable to enter upon his office or being unable to exercise his powers and duties due to any reason whatsoever, the Vice-President shall have and exercise all the powers, duties, and responsibilities herein conferred on the President,

We further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations devolved upon us as a member of the family of nations and by the Charter of the United Nations,

We further resolve that this proclamation of Independence shall be deemed to have come into effect since 26th day of March 1971,

To give effect to this our resolution, we further authorize and appoint Prof. M. Yusuf Ali, our duly constituted Potentiary to give to the President and Vice-President oaths of office.

MMR JALAZ

# New York Times

LATE CITY EDITION

Weather: Mostly sunny, cold today; clear tonight. Fair, mild tomorrow. Temp. range: today 32-43; Friday 30-36. Full U.S. report on Page 36.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1971

MMRJALAL

15 CENTS



BEFORE OUTBURST: Sheik Mujibur Rahman on March 7 in Dacca. Flag is that of rebellious group he leads.

PAKISTAN'S PRESIDENT, Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, at a news session in his Islamabad home some time ago.

## LEADER OF REBELS IN EAST PAKISTAN REPORTED SEIZED

Sheik Mujib Arrested After  
a Broadcast Proclaiming  
Region's Independence

DACCA CURFEW EASED

Troops Said to Be Gaining  
in Fighting in Cities —  
Heavy Losses Seen

By The Associated Press

NEW DELHI, Saturday, March 27—The Pakistan radio announced today that Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the national leader of East Pakistan, had been arrested only hours after he had proclaimed his region independent and after open rebellion was reported in several cities in the East.

In a broadcast monitored here, the radio, quoting what it described as an official statement made in Dacca, said that Sheik Mujib was arrested early this morning at his home in Dacca.

The 51-year-old leader of the Awami League, the dominant party in the East, was arrested as the West Pakistan-dominated army sought to reassert control in the East.

Reports reaching neighboring India indicated the army was gaining the upper hand in the battle that erupted yesterday between the army and East Pakistani citizens and militiamen.

Curfew Reported Lifted

The Pakistan radio reported that a 24-hour curfew imposed in Dacca yesterday was lifted for a nine-hour period this morning, indicating that the army was in control of the city.

United News of India said in a dispatch from the Indian border town of Agartala that the army had occupied the headquarters of the East Pakistani Rifles, the provincial militia, in Comilla district, after a prolonged fight.

The army was also reported to have occupied police stations in East Pakistan's Comilla and Noakhali districts. The agency said there were heavy casualties on both sides.



MMR JALAL

**Armed Rebellion Reported**

SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES  
 NEW DELHI, Saturday,  
 March 27 — Open rebellion  
 broke out in East Pakistan yester-  
 day, with fighting reported  
 in several cities, and a radio  
 station broadcast a proclama-  
 tion of an independent people's  
 republic.

The proclamation was attrib-  
 uted to Sheik Mujibur Rahman,  
 the East Pakistani nationalist  
 leader, whose Awami League  
 has been campaigning for au-  
 tonomy for the eastern wing  
 of Pakistan. He and his chief  
 aides were reportedly driven  
 underground by martial-law  
 authorities sent from West  
 Pakistan, about 1,000 miles  
 away on the other side of  
 India.

Most sources of communica-  
 tion with East Pakistan were  
 broken off, and reports of the  
 uprising came mainly from

Continued on Page 3, Column 1



Associated Press

BEFORE TALKS WERE BROKEN OFF: Pakistani soldiers facing demonstrators in Dacca on Tuesday outside the residence of President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan. He was with Sheik Mujibur Rahman in East Pakistan.

**Leader of Rebels in East Pakistan Is Reported Seized**

Continued From Page 1 in Col. 8

Indian news dispatches quoting what they described as authoritative sources in the area, President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, who flew back to West Pakistan late Thursday after the failure of his 11 days of negotiations with Sheik Mujib, said in a broadcast: "I have ordered the armed forces to do their job and fully

restore the authority of the Government." Accusing Sheik Mujib of treason, the President outlawed the Awami League, East Pakistan's dominant political party, which in three weeks of strikes and other protest action had become in effect the regional government. The protest had been against President Yahya Khan's decision to postpone the open-ings of the National Assembly,

which the Awami League dominated. The assembly was to have met March 3 to start drafting a constitution to return Pakistan to civilian rule. The present rebellion erupted when the Pakistani Army moved to reimpose the authority of the military Government, based in West Pakistan, on the East. Indian news dispatches said the fighting was between troops from West Pakistan on one side and East Pakistani policemen and a paramilitary organization known as the East Pakistani Rifles on the other. The Press Trust of India, this country's main news agency, reported that fighting was raging at Chittagong, Comilla and Rangpur, as well as at Dacca. It said that at least 10,000 soldiers from West Pakistan had been transported to the East, raising the total there to about 70,000. Reports of fighting also came from what one Indian dispatch described as a clandestine radio station, presumably in the northern part of East Pakistan. This, it said, was the same station that announced the proclamation of an independent nation, Bangla Desh, whose name is Bengali for the Bengal Nation.

League's decision to organize a strike throughout the eastern wing today to protest army attacks in the last few days that reportedly had resulted in the death of more than 100 civilians. **Curfew Is Announced** The first confirmation that the Government in West Pakistan had reasserted control of the East came early yesterday when the Dacca radio went off the air briefly and the army authorities came on to announce a 24-hour curfew in Dacca and seven other districts in East Pakistan. The radio station had been under the control of the Awami League, which had seized it during the constitutional crisis. Yesterday's developments followed an announcement Thursday night of "a serious deadlock" in the talks between President Yahya Khan, Sheik Mujib and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, chairman of the dominant political party of West Pakistan, the Pakistan People's party. President Yahya postponed the March 3 meeting of the National Assembly when Mr. Bhutto said his party, holding only a minority of the seats, would not attend. Opposing Sheik Mujib's demands for autonomy, Mr. Bhutto favored what he described as an effective central government. Soon after the breakdown Thursday of the President's talks with Sheik Mujib, the martial-law administrator for East Pakistan, Lieut. Gen. Tikka Khan, began issuing a series of stringent orders to assert army control. The army seized the Intercontinental Hotel in Dacca and confined scores of foreign newsmen to the building, prohibiting news dispatches, re-



The New York Times March 27, 1971 Underlining indicates cities where fighting was reported

The broadcast said that those battling for East Pakistani independence had surrounded West Pakistani troops in the cities of Sylhet, Jessore, Barisal and Khulna as well as in Chittagong and Comilla. "Sheik Mujibur Rahman is the only leader of the people of independent Bangla Desh and his commands should be obeyed by all sections of people to save the country from the ruthless dictatorship of West Pakistanis," the broadcast said. It reiterated the Awami

ports said.

# What's News—

MMRJALAL

## Business and Finance

**BIG BOARD RULE CHANGES** were proposed to the SEC to allow "outside" capital contributors to invest in more than one brokerage-house member of the exchange. One potential beneficiary of such a change would be the group headed by Texas businessman H. Ross Perot. The group, about to assume control of F. I. du Pont, Gloro Forgan, is considering a big investment in Walston & Co.

(Story on Page 3)

\* \* \*

The New York Stock Exchange is reorganizing its controversial rules-enforcement unit. Robert M. Bishop, director of the department for six years, including the 1967-68 industry operational crisis, is being named exchange vice president. special projects. A successor is being sought.

(Story on Page 3)

\* \* \*

Construction industry curbs are expected to be announced by President Nixon today. His executive order would establish wage and price stabilization machinery manned largely by Labor and management. Goal of the plan would be to restrict pay boosts to 6% a year, with price limits to be set.

(Story on Page 2)

\* \* \*

Machine tool orders and shipments last month topped January but still lagged far behind a year earlier. Some producers expect the gradual uptrend to continue, but they don't see any dramatic increase in business.

(Story on Page 2)

\* \* \*

A discount-rate cut from the current  $4\frac{3}{4}\%$  is considered less likely at present than it was a week ago. The Federal Reserve's failure to act indicates to monetary observers that the board is expecting a general economic recovery to strengthen short-term interest rates soon and that the board is concerned about dollar outflows to foreigners because of low rates here.

(Story on Page 4)

\* \* \*

Interest rates of 6% and 5% will

## World-Wide

**WEST PAKISTAN TOOK** full control of Dacca, the East Pakistan capital.

Radio Pakistan claimed that "calm now prevails" throughout East Pakistan, but Sheik Mujibur Rahman's followers insisted they were winning the civil war. The rebels said a provisional government had been established, and its forces were marching on Dacca. United News of India quoted one clandestine broadcast as saying Rahman was at the "revolutionary headquarters," but an AP reporter who left Dacca said reliable sources insisted Rahman and most of his major followers were in custody. Some 5,000 to 7,000 persons are believed to have died in the weekend fighting.

A martial law order formally banning Rahman's Awami League was issued, Radio Pakistan said. The league's bank accounts had been frozen and membership in the league was prohibited, it added.

**TOTAL WITHDRAWAL** from Indochina was urged by Senator Mansfield.

The time has come "for drastic action", Mansfield said on NBC's "Meet the Press." The Senate Democratic Leader said he favors a resolution calling for a complete U.S. pullout by the end of the year. He added that while he doesn't favor cutting off all U.S. funds under the same time limit, "I've been giving that a good deal of consideration." Senators Church (D., Idaho) and Cooper (R., Ky.) told UPI they were near agreement on a new amendment committing the nation to total withdrawal from Indochina and will introduce it later this year.

Sen. Fulbright (D., Ark.), who heads the Foreign Relations Committee, said he doesn't believe Congress can force the President to end the war. But, he added, it can prod the administration toward a negotiated settlement.

Hanoi sappers partially overran a U.S. artillery base 50 miles south of Danang, killing 33 GIs and wounding 76. It was the heaviest casualty toll in a single ground action in more than two years. The sappers blasted their way through the base's defenses and ran around hurling dynamite bombs at the Americal Division defenders. Twelve sappers were killed, officials said. Earlier, U.S. bombers attacked major arteries of the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos in an attempt to prevent enemy forces and supplies from reaching the south.

The U.S. and Saigon refused to meet with the Communists this Thursday at the deadlocked Paris talks, and diplomatic sources said the move may have put continuance of the weekly sessions into question. Future sessions, they said, may be held on a less regular basis.

\* \* \*

MMRJALAL

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# Rebel Leader Arrested in Pakistan War

NEW DELHI, March 27 (Saturday) (AP)—Radio Pakistan announced today that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested only hours after he proclaimed independence for the East Pakistani capital.



Draged said Sheikh Mujibur was taken into custody at his residence in the city at 11:30 p.m. The 51-year-old Awami League leader was arrested in the West Pakistan-dominated province as the army sought to reassert its control in the Eastern province.

Reports reaching neighboring India indicated the army was gaining the upper hand in the battle against East Pakistan citizens and militia men.

United News of India said a dispatch from the Indian border town of Agartala that the army had occupied the headquarters of the East Pakistani Rifles, the provincial militia, in Comilla district, after a prolonged fight.

The army also was reported to have occupied police stations in East Pakistan's Comilla and Noakhali districts. The agency said there were heavy casualties on both sides.

... sends troops

MMRJALAL

# 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. mi.), at week's end some estimates had 2,000 dead. Even if President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan is prepared to accept casualties of a geometrically greater magnitude, the outcome is likely to be the final breakup of East and West Pakistan and the painful birth of a new nation named Bangla Desh (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 a new country, the two parts separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. Thus, though 80,000 West Pakistani 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.

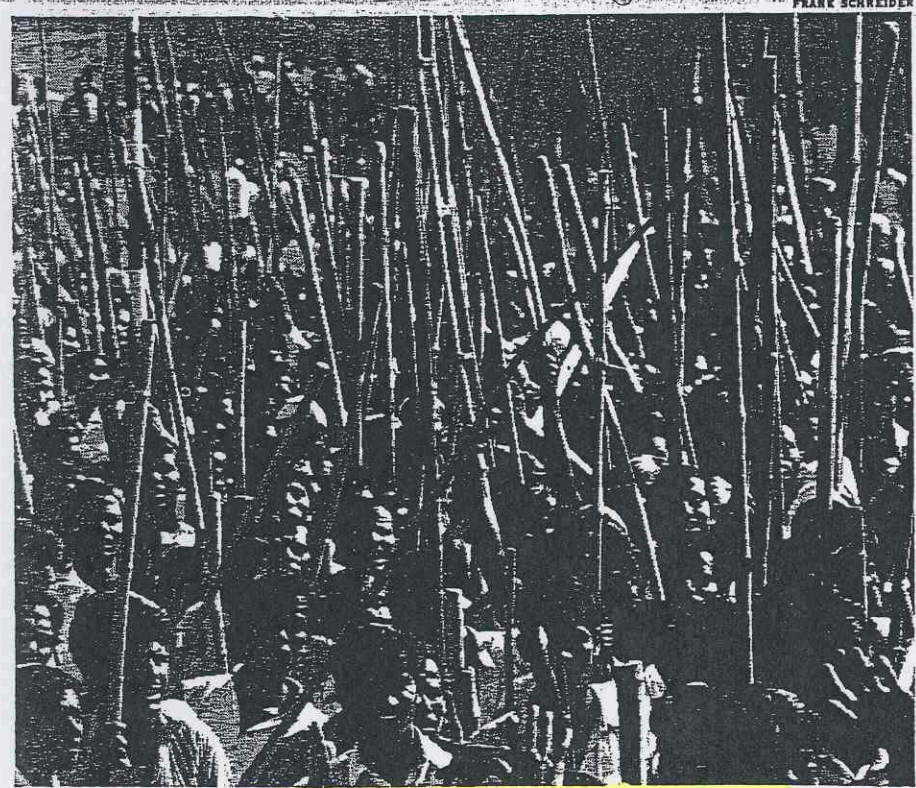
**First Shot.** Until last week, Pakistan's political leaders seemed on the verge of settling their differences. Then, in rapid order, three events carried the nation over the brink of violence. In Chittagong, a mob surrounded West Pakistani troops unloading supply ships. Where the first shots came from is unclear, but when the troops opened fire, 35 Bengalis were killed. Their political leader, Sheik 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 clat-

tering 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 arced over the darkened city. The staccato 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 'Jai Bangla [Victory to Bengal],' followed by a burst of machine-gun fire."

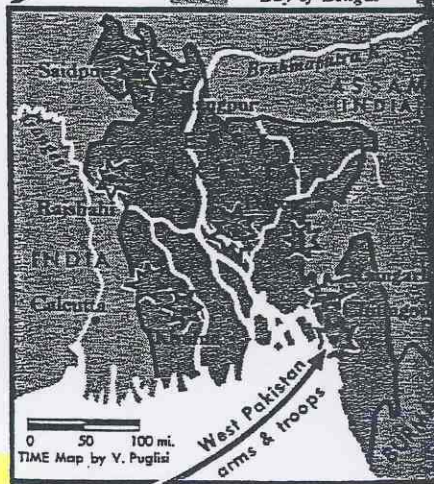
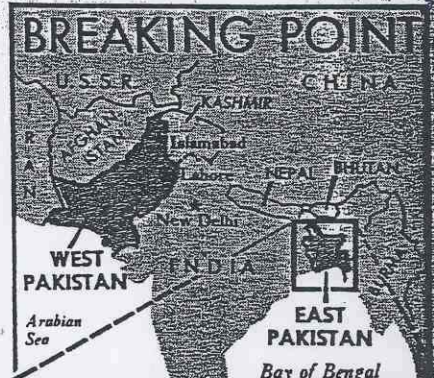
The army ordered a strict 24-hour curfew in Dacca, with violators shot on sight. But soon the Free Bengal Revolutionary Radio Center, probably somewhere in Chittagong, crackled into life. Over the clandestine station, Mujib proclaimed the creation of the "sovereign independent Bengali nation," and called on its people to "resist the enemy forces at all costs in every corner of Bangla Desh." The defiant words, however, lacked military substance. At 1:30 a.m. the following day, soldiers seized the sheik in his home. Meanwhile, scattered rioting broke out in West Pakistan in protest the prospect of prolonged military rule.

The rupture in Pakistan stemmed



EAST PAKISTANIS DEMONSTRATE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN DACCA  
Divided by more than geography.

MMR JALAL

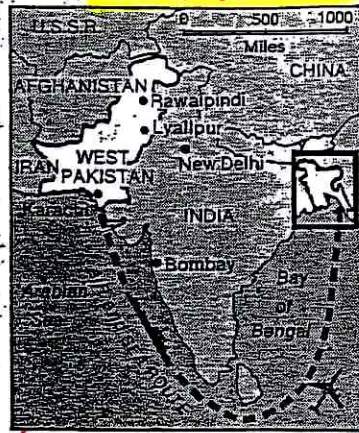




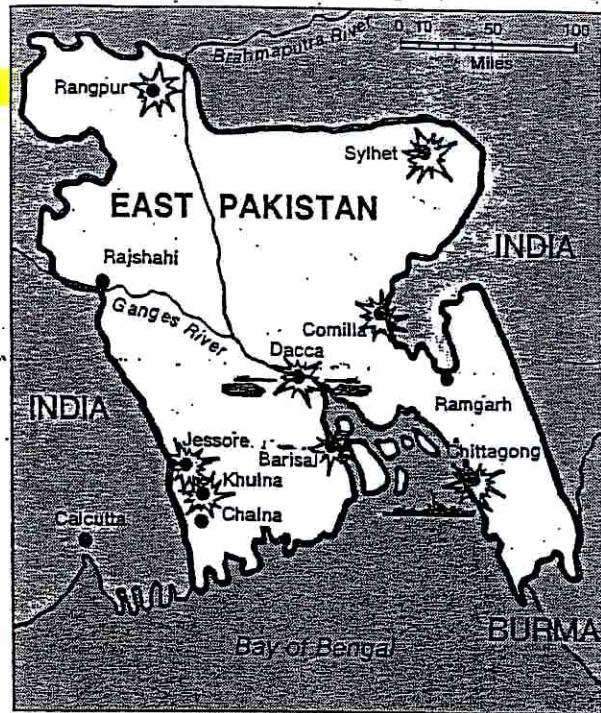
Yahya: New orders



Loren Jenkins—Newsweek



War: As fighting erupted in East Pakistan, Mujib declared independence



Robert Ritter

## Pakistan Plunges Into Civil War

The man and his party 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

Come 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 Pakistani 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 [Bengal 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 coun-

try 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 quit 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 film, 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 jeepful of soldiers roll up to a shopping center 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 on 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 gray 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

MMR JALAL

# Civil War Flares as East Pakistanis Claim Independence

BY WILLIAM J. COUGHLIN

Times Staff Writer

NEW DELHI — Sheik Mujibur Rahman declared independence for East Pakistan Friday as the long smoldering feud between the two wings of the Islamic nation flamed into open civil war.

A clandestine radio broadcast monitored here from a station identifying itself as "The Voice of Independent Bangla Desh (Bengal homeland)," said, "The sheik has declared the 75 million people of East Pakistan as citizens of the sovereign independent Bangla Desh."

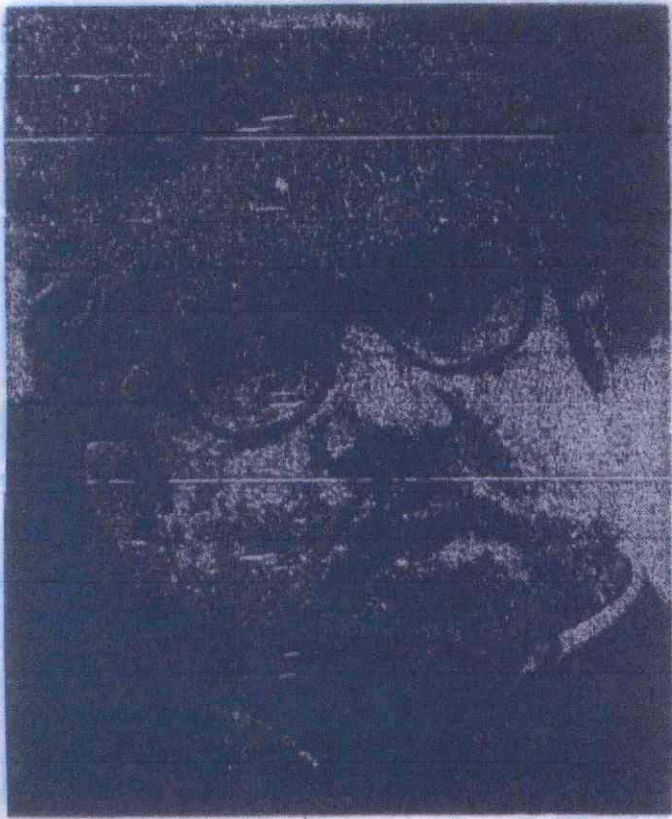
But the official Radio Pakistan announced today that Rahman was arrested only hours after he proclaimed East Pakistan independence.

The radio, quoting an official announcement made in the East Pakistani capital of Dacca, said Rahman was taken into custody at his Dacca residence.

(Reuters news agency quoted the Press Trust of India today as reporting that at least 10,000 civilians were killed in bitter fighting throughout East Pakistan Friday as government troops used tanks, artillery and machine guns against Rahman's followers.)

Radio reports reaching here reported heavy fighting between West Pakistani troops and the East Pakis-

Please Turn to Page 3, Col. 3



© Wirephoto



© map

**REVOLT**—Sheik Mujibur Rahman, who proclaimed independence for East Pakistan as civil war broke out in the province. Map shows how East and West Pakistan are separated by 1,000 miles of India.

## Pakistan Independence Move Brings Warfare

Continued from First Page  
tani Rifles, loyal to Rahman.

In a broadcast from Karachi on Radio Pakistan, Pakistani President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan charged Rahman and his Awami League with treason, outlawed the league and imposed martial law and press censorship.

"They have defied the lawful authority and have tried to run a parallel government," he said "They have unleashed a reign of terror, a number of murders have been committed. Millions of Pakistanis who have settled down in East Pakistan are living in terror. Many have fled."

With censorship in effect, the outside world was dependent upon radio broadcasts and reports from travelers for information

on the situation inside East Pakistan which is separated from larger but less densely populated West Pakistan by 1,000 miles of Indian territory.

The declaration of independence, for instance, was read not by Rahman but in his name.

All India Radio and the news agency Press Trust of India quoted reports from the border saying there was heavy fighting in several principal towns, mainly the East Pakistani capital of Dacca. Numerous casualties were reported on both sides. PTI also reported fighting in Chittagong, Comilla and Rangpur.

Radio Pakistan reported late Friday that the general situation in East Pakistan was under control.

However, it quoted Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, admi-

nistrator of martial law in East Pakistan, as saying that unbridled political activities had assumed "alarming proportions beyond the normal control of the civil administration (and) the police . . ."

Friction and deep suspicion have plagued the two parts of Pakistan since the nation was founded with partition of India in 1947.

Rahman, whose power rests on his control of the Awami League, and other leaders consistently have demanded greater autonomy for their wing of the nation.

Behind the outbreak of civil war is long-smoldering discontent in East Pakistan over virtually colonial treatment by the federal government based in West Pakistan. It was this that led to the overthrow of President Mohammad Ayub Khan just two years ago and his replacement by a military government headed by Gen. Yahya Khan. Yahya Khan promised an early return to democratic government and

was taking steps in that direction when December's election gave Rahman a victory in East Pakistan that amounted to a virtual mandate for autonomy.

MMRJALAL

**10. Memorandum From the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon/1/**

Washington, March 26, 1971.

/1/ Source: National Archives, Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC Files, Box 625, Country Files, Middle East, Pakistan, Vol. IV, 1 Mar 71-15 May 71. Secret; Nodis. Sent for information. A handwritten notation on the memorandum indicates the President saw it.

SUBJECT  
Situation in Pakistan

The West Pakistani army has moved to repress the East Pakistan secession movement. Our embassy believes that the military probably has sufficient strength to assert immediate control over Dacca and other major cities, but is not capable of maintaining control over an extended period. This raises two immediate problems for us: (1) the safety of official and private Americans, and (2) the U.S. role, if any, in a peacemaking effort. I have called a WSAG meeting for 3:00 p.m. today and will provide recommendations after that.

Safety of Americans

There are at present some 850 Americans, including 250 U.S. officials and dependents, in East Pakistan. State's plan is to make no immediate move to evacuate these people since they could be in greater danger on the streets and we have no information yet as to the situation at the airports. Our consulate, however, is seeking the protection of the local authorities, and evacuation plans-worked out earlier in the present crisis-are being reviewed for both East and West Pakistan. Military aircraft from Southeast Asia could be made available on short notice for the purpose of evacuation.

No reports have been received so far of injuries to Americans or any other foreigners in East Pakistan.

U.S. Peacemaking Role

Contingency plans on East Pakistan have been drawn up and reviewed by the Senior Review Group. For this situation, these plans present a series of theoretically possible options ranging from doing nothing other than protecting resident Americans through approaching Yahya in concert with the British and other powers, with an appeal to halt the bloodshed, if necessary using the threat of sanctions including the cessation of economic aid and military supply.

The real issue is whether we involve ourselves or not. The British may well weigh in on their own, and that has advantages for us. Beyond that, however:

- The advantage of not involving ourselves at this stage is that we do not prematurely harm our relationship with West Pakistan. We can for a time yet claim with the Easterners that the situation is too unclear there to provide a basis for action.
- The arguments for pressing Yahya to end the bloodshed would be (a) humanitarian, (b) political since this could arouse emotions like those surrounding Biafra over time and (c) diplomatic in preserving a relationship with the new East Pakistani nation of 75 million.

Comment

I shall send you recommendations after the WSAG meeting.

In addition to reviewing the evacuation plans, the group will concentrate on the two operational decisions that may present themselves:



1. Whether to approach Yahya, urging him to end the bloodshed. It is probably a bit early to make this decision today because we do not yet know whether calm will be restored in the East or whether the pattern of violence will continue and broaden. This, therefore, seems a decision for the next two or three days.

2. How to respond to a definitive announcement of East Pakistani independence. Our Consul General has standing instructions to refer any such question to Washington. The issue might remain unclear for some time if the military re-establishes control in the cities and the resistance moves to the countryside. On the other hand, our response will set the tone for our relationship with both wings.

## 11. Minutes of Washington Special Actions Group Meeting/1/

Washington, March 26, 1971, 3:03-3:32 p.m.

/1/ Source: National Archives, Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC Files, NSC Institutional Files (H-Files), Box H-115, WSAG Minutes, Originals, 1971. Top Secret; Nodis. No drafting information appears on the minutes. The meeting was held in the White House Situation Room. A briefer record of the meeting was prepared in OASD/ISA by James Noyes. (Washington National Records Center, OSD Files, FRC 330 76 0197, Box 74, Pakistan 092 (Jan-Jul) 1971)

SUBJECT  
Pakistan

### PARTICIPATION

Chairman-Henry A. Kissinger  
State  
Mr. U. Alexis Johnson  
Mr. Christopher Van Hollen  
Defense  
Mr. David Packard  
Mr. James H. Noyes

CIA  
Mr. Richard Helms  
Mr. David Blee

JCS  
Lt. Gen. Melvin Zais  
Col. Frank W. Rhea

NSC Staff  
Col. Richard T. Kennedy  
Mr. Harold H. Saunders  
Mr. Sam Hoskinson  
Mr. Keith Guthrie

### SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

After reviewing the situation in East Pakistan, the WSAG agreed that the U.S. should continue its policy of non-involvement in the dispute between West and East Pakistan. In particular, the U.S. should avoid being placed in a position where it could be accused of having encouraged the break-up of Pakistan. The WSAG agreed that the U.S. should delay action on any request that might be forthcoming for recognition of an independent East Pakistani regime.

The WSAG agreed that the State Department should be responsible for monitoring developments in Pakistan on a day-to-day basis and for insuring that the White House is fully informed. The State Department should insure that adequate preparations have been made to evacuate U.S. citizens should that become necessary.

Mr. Helms: [1 line of source text not declassified] the situation in the area of the Consulate General is very quiet but that an enormous fire has been going on for hours in the old part of the city. Very few shots or explosions have been heard. Only two of the Consulate personnel had been able to get to the Consulate building by 6:30 p.m.

[1 line of source text not declassified] Mujibur Rahman was taken into custody at 1:00 p.m. by the martial law authorities. Two of his supporters were killed when the arrest took place. [2 lines of source text not declassified]

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[11/2 lines of source text not declassified] They say that Yahya's speech Friday/2/ night has to be heard to appreciate the venom in his voice as he described Mujibur Rahman. The fat is in the fire. Islamabad confirms that Mujibur Rahman was successfully arrested.

/2/ March 26.

It is unclear what caused the collapse of the talks.

Dr. Kissinger: Yesterday it looked as though an agreement were in sight.

Mr. Helms: Yes, an agreement appeared near on March 24. The breakdown may have been because of Mujibur Rahman's insistence on the immediate lifting of martial law.

**A clandestine radio broadcast has Mujibur Rahman declaring the independence of Bangla Desh. There are 20,000 loyal West Pakistani troops in East Pakistan.** There are also 5,000 East Pakistani regulars and 13,000 East Pakistani paramilitary troops, but their loyalty is doubtful. We cannot confirm Indian press reports that a large number of Pakistani troops landed by ship. Six C-130s carrying troops were supposed to be going from Karachi to Dacca today. It will take them a long time, since they have to go via Ceylon.

There are 700 potential U.S. evacuees in Dacca and 60 or 70 in Chittagong. There has been no request for evacuation yet.

[1 paragraph (11/2 lines of source text) not declassified]

Dr. Kissinger: I have no idea what caused the breakdown in talks. I was as much surprised as anyone else.

Mr. Van Hollen: One possible reason was that Yahya was unable to sell the settlement in West Pakistan. Another factor was the killing of twenty people and the resultant rise in tension.

Dr. Kissinger: Had the compromise/3/ [under discussion between Yahya and Mujibur Rahman]/4/ gone through, the next step toward independence couldn't have been prevented. That being the case, I don't understand why Mujibur Rahman wouldn't accept the compromise.

/3/ According to telegram 927 from Dacca, March 24, Mujibur and Yahya reached tentative agreement on March 23 on a solution that involved the immediate establishment of provincial governments, temporary continuation of the central government under Yahya, and the drafting of a constitution. The constitution would embody a division of power between the central government and the provinces in which central government control would be limited to defense, foreign affairs, and currency. (National Archives, Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC Files, Box 625, Country Files, Middle East, Pakistan, Vol. IV, 1 Mar 71-15 May 71)

/4/ Brackets in the source text.

[omission in the source text] Will Bhutto become the dominant figure in the West?

Mr. Van Hollen: Possibly there will be a backlash in the West against Bhutto because it was he who forced Yahya to postpone the constituent assembly.

Dr. Kissinger: What do you think is going to happen?

Mr. Van Hollen: An effort will be made to prevent secession. However, the ability of the West Pakistani forces to maintain law and order in East Pakistan over the long run approaches zero. They may be able to control Dacca, but the Awami leadership will move to the countryside.

Dr. Kissinger: Do you think the Awami will organize a resistance?

Mr. Van Hollen: They began to prepare for it last month.

Dr. Kissinger: If their leaders are arrested, can they continue?

Mr. Van Hollen: Yes, because of the tremendous popular sentiment behind them. After all, they won 160 out of 162 of the Assembly seats from East Pakistan in the election.

Dr. Kissinger: Then the prognosis is for civil war resulting eventually in independence or for independence fairly quickly.

Mr. Van Hollen: That's right.

Dr. Kissinger: Now that Yahya has taken the lead in opposing the secession, how will he be able to back off without fighting?

Mr. Van Hollen: It will be very difficult. He was on record as early as March 6 as opposing secession.

Mr. Johnson: The question is how long he can sustain this policy.

Dr. Kissinger: How long can he supply his forces in East Pakistan?

Mr. Van Hollen: It will be very difficult to do so.

Dr. Kissinger: Do his forces have stocks in East Pakistan?

Mr. Helms: No.

Mr. Van Hollen: There is one understrength division there. It has effective control of only a part of Dacca. It is surrounded by 75 million hostile Bengalis, who could easily be stirred up, particularly if Mujibur Rahman is arrested.

Dr. Kissinger: What is the prognosis for the next few days?

Mr. Johnson: Dawn comes in Dacca at 7:00 or 8:00 p.m. our time. We will know better in one more day how much bloodletting there is likely to be.

Dr. Kissinger: Do we all agree that there is nothing we can do except evacuate our citizens if that becomes necessary?

Mr. Johnson: As of this time, that is true.

Mr. Helms: Yes.

Mr. Packard: Yes.

Mr. Van Hollen: The British are no more inclined to do anything positive. After our earlier approach Heath sent an anodyne message to Yahya. At best that is what we might get again from the British.

Mr. Johnson: We have made arrangements with them to get the reports from their people in Dacca. We are maintaining a 24-hour watch at the Department.

Dr. Kissinger: I talked to the President briefly before lunch. His inclination is the same as everybody else's. He doesn't want to do anything. He doesn't want to be in the position where he can be accused of having encouraged the split-up of Pakistan. He does not favor a very active policy. This probably means that we would not undertake to warn Yahya against a civil war.

Mr. Johnson: I agree. If we do so, he can blame us for the break-up of his country.

Dr. Kissinger: What about recognition?

Mr. Johnson: We can drag our feet on that.

Mr. Van Hollen: We can defer a decision and lay low. A public request would make things more difficult. We should certainly not be the first to recognize.

Mr. Johnson: Our principal concern is the Americans who are there. Thus far, the disturbances have not taken any anti-American tone. The best thing for Americans to do right now is to stay home. We have a warden system, with radio communications. Our evacuation people have been in touch with Pan American and TWA to tell them that we might want some planes. They have also contacted the Pentagon, JCS, and CINCPAC about the possible use of military aircraft. If the airport is available, we can get our people out. We are going to ask Islamabad this afternoon about the possibility of getting West Pakistani troop support to get our people moved out.

Dr. Kissinger: What happens to the aid shipments that were diverted to West Pakistan?/5/ Are they on the way now?

/5/ In response to a request from the Government of Pakistan, a decision was reached in Washington on March 1 to divert to West Pakistan 150,000 tons of wheat intended for disaster relief in East Pakistan. The request was triggered by grain shortages and rising prices in West Pakistan, and U.S. agreement to the request was conditioned upon the understanding that Pakistan would make commercial purchases before the end of 1971 to replace the grain that was diverted. (Memorandum from Saunders to Kissinger, March 1; National Archives, Nixon Presidential Materials, NSC Files, Box 625, Country Files, Middle East, Pakistan, Vol. IV, 1 Mar 71-15 May 71)

Mr. Van Hollen: They have almost certainly reached Karachi.

Dr. Kissinger: The problem is that West Pakistan now owes East Pakistan for these shipments. This question will have to be settled later.

Mr. Van Hollen: We will probably have to make it up.

Dr. Kissinger: Are you sure we can't get into any problems domestically?

Mr. Van Hollen: No, we made arrangements [for compensation to East Pakistan]./6/

/6/ All brackets from this point are in the source text.

Dr. Kissinger: Our judgment on representations to Yahya [against trying to suppress the secession] is that they would serve to make a record for international and domestic opinion and that they would be money in the bank in East Pakistan. However, we don't need to make a gesture to domestic opinion, and we can't judge what international opinion is like. It might, however, help us in East Pakistan.

Mr. Van Hollen: In the present situation I don't think it would put much money in the bank. If we get a public appeal for recognition, we will have a problem.

Dr. Kissinger: What should we do in that case?

Mr. Van Hollen: Go slow. This will be a problem for our relations with Yahya.

Dr. Kissinger: I talked to the Indian Ambassador the other day. He said that the Indians preferred Pakistan to remain united because of the pressure an independent Bengal would create.

Mr. Van Hollen: I think all the principal countries (the Soviet Union, India, and the U.S.) feel that the integrity of Pakistan is in their interest.

Dr. Kissinger: China would be different.

Mr. Van Hollen: No, it wouldn't. The Indians have a problem because of the Bengali sentiment in India.

Dr. Kissinger: Secession might encourage communal separatism.

Mr. Van Hollen: Yes.

Dr. Kissinger: I take it we are not competing with India in East Pakistan. It doesn't matter if they steal a march on us.

Mr. Van Hollen: No, [it doesn't matter].

Dr. Kissinger: This seems to be a straightforward operational problem. We can let Alex [Johnson] handle it. There are no major interdepartmental differences. (to Johnson) I will keep in close touch with you.

Mr. Van Hollen: The situation in West Pakistan may possibly be worse from our standpoint than in East Pakistan because of the suspicion in the West that the U.S. is behind separatism.

Mr. Johnson: Certainly Bhutto won't discourage that impression.

Dr. Kissinger: Yahya doesn't believe that.

Mr. Van Hollen: He has been told enough times that we are not supporting separatism.

Dr. Kissinger: Is there more suspicion of us than of the British?

Mr. Van Hollen: Much more.

Dr. Kissinger: What would we stand to gain from the break-up of Pakistan?

Mr. Van Hollen: In the eyes of the Pakistanis we somehow want to weaken Pakistan.

Mr. Saunders: This is a case of smear politics being exploited for personal gain.

Dr. Kissinger: Should we send a message to Yahya on this?

Mr. Van Hollen: We have made this point to him again and again.

Mr. Johnson: It would not be a good idea at this time. Yahya would think we were encouraging separatism.

Lt. Gen. Zais: We have looked into the possible availability of military planes in case commercial aircraft cannot be used because the East Pakistanis took their people out of the control tower.

Dr. Kissinger: That would make it difficult to evacuate by commercial aircraft.

Lt. Gen. Zais: It would certainly be a problem.

Dr. Kissinger: Can anyone land now?

Lt. Gen. Zais: It would be possible to land. We could get four C-141s with seats in Westpac. They could be launched out of Uttapau. From there it is a two-hour flight to Dacca. We would have control personnel on the first plane. After they got there, we could bring the evacuees out fast. We could get everyone in two roundtrips.

Dr. Kissinger: Doesn't this make it probable that evacuation will have to be by military aircraft?

Mr. Johnson: No commercial plane would go in under these conditions.

Dr. Kissinger: We will have to make our plans on that basis [i.e., using military aircraft].

Lt. Gen. Zais: The field is under the control of the West Pakistanis.

Mr. Johnson: Have we been in communication with their air force?

Col. Rhea: The last communication we had was three or four days ago.

Mr. Johnson: Can't the tower at Bangkok determine whether there is anyone at Dacca?

Col. Rhea: The Pakistani Air Force has people operating the tower. They said they might be able to handle six flights per day.

Mr. Johnson: All this suggests we might be able to use commercial aircraft if their communicators could give us some help.

Mr. Packard: That would be all right with me.

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### 31. Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Pakistan/1/

Washington, April 17, 1971, 2102Z.

/1/ Source: National Archives, RG 59, Central Files 1970-73, POL 15 PAK. Confidential. Drafted and approved by Van Hollen and cleared by Spengler (NEA/PAF). Also sent to London and Dacca and repeated to New Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, and Karachi.

65773. **Subject: Provisional Government of Bangla Desh.**

1. Pakistan Ambassador Hilaly told Van Hollen on instructions April 16 that Government of Pakistan wished to bring to USG's attention possible approach by representatives alleging to represent "Provisional Government of Bangla Desh."
  2. Hilaly said India had permitted establishment provisional government on its territory and was providing financial support. In GOP view, such provisional government exists only in GOI's imagination, is designed to justify Indian intervention, and to aggravate already serious situation.
  3. Hilaly said GOP understands that several representatives of so-called Provisional Government already have gone abroad to seek support. One such representative, Zakaria Choudhury, has already arrived in London. According Reuter news report London, April 15, he has held press conference and has been interviewed on BBC, claiming that Bengali separatists control three fourths of East Pakistan. Same news report states that FCO has refused receive Choudhury.
  4. Hilaly concluded by saying that it was probable that another representative of Bangla Desh would come to Washington in effort see USG officials. In anticipation of this possibility, he had been asked formally to advise USG that GOP considered establishment of Provisional Government as essentially Indian-sponsored action. Representatives of Bangla Desh, who have been charged with treason, have no right to speak regarding Pakistan./2/
- /2/ On April 13 a representative of the Awami League called on the British Deputy High Commissioner in Calcutta and indicated that "Bangla Desh Prime Minister" Tajuddin Ahmed wanted to meet with U.S. and British officials. (Telegram 641 from Calcutta, April 13; *ibid.*, POL 23-9 PAK) The Consulate General in Dacca confirmed that Ahmed was a key figure in the Bengali resistance and would probably emerge as political head of the resistance movement. (Telegram 1297 from Dacca, April 14; *ibid.*) Although British officials agreed to meet with Ahmed, the Department instructed the Consulate in Calcutta to decline to do the same. The Department felt that such a meeting arranged through the British raised questions about the organization Ahmed represented and could have implications regarding recognition of a government of Bangla Desh. The Department did not preclude, however, future meetings with Ahmed or other representatives of the Awami League. (Telegram 62715 to Calcutta, April 14; *ibid*)
5. For London: Would appreciate any information re activities Zakaria Choudhury, including any efforts he may have made to approach FCO.
  6. For Dacca: Do you have any data on Choudhury?

Samuels



Baltimore Sun, April 4, 1971

## Pakistan is Exterminating the Bengalis

(By John E. Woodruff)

NEW DELHI--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

SLUM RESIDENTS KILLED

LOST THEIR COOL

DEMOLISHED BY SAVAGERY

WHO DO YOU TRUST

A lot more blood is likely to flow before Bengali crowds can gather again in public squares by the tens of thousands to raise their fists and shout independence slogans.

Whether you believe Sheikh Mujib will be with them, his mustache twitching and his lips in a grim smile as he leads them in shouts of "Joi Bangla" (Long Live Bengal) depends on whether you believe the Army, which said it arrested him and five aides early the morning after the crackdown began, or the clandestine Radio Free Bangla Desh, which broadcasts statements by a voice that claims to be Mr. Mujib's.

THE UNIFYING FORCE

NOW A FLAME

MARXIST COMPETITOR

Anyone who has been to East Bengal has learned that the only serious competitor Sheikh Mujib had in the countryside last December was Maulana Bhashani, an elderly, white-bearded Marxist orator whose peasant movement demanded outright independence from the start, rather than the regional autonomy sought by the Awami League. Mr. Bhashani refused to contest the election last December, but his independence movement had a strength among peasants that suggests that Mr. Bhutto's views of the East Bengal countryside were uninformed.

Which man better understood Bengal will be known in the end, after the ashes of the civil war that is getting under way in East Bengal have settled.

MMR JALAL



UNCLASSIFIED

RNAS-3

*Like work in rec. 5-1754 file*  
*Saunders*

# RESEARCH STUDY

BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

February 2, 1972

## INDO-PAKISTANI CRISIS - CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS

The attached chronology of key events in the development of the Indo-Pakistani crisis from December 1970 to December 1971 was prepared by RNA at the request of NEA. It is drawn entirely from unclassified sources. Items selected for inclusion as key events were regarded as those significant for reference use in tracing the development of the crisis culminating in the Indo-Pakistani hostilities in late 1971; the list is not an exhaustive historical summary of events.

INR/Near East and South Asia  
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This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

INDO-PAKISTANI CRISIS: CHRONOLOGY OF KEY EVENTS

1970

- December 7 General Election in Pakistan. Awami League wins 151 seats in National Assembly; when all elections complete, Awami League has 167 of 300 seats. Z. A. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) wins 83 of West Pakistan's 143 seats.
- December 17 Elections held for Provincial Assemblies in Pakistan. In the East, Awami League wins 268 of 279 seats declared.
- December 19 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declares there can be no new Constitution except on basis of Awami League's Six-Point Program.

1971

- January 3 At a public rally, Sheikh Mujib reiterates view that Constitution must be based on Awami League's Six-Point Program.
- January 14 President Yahya Khan, in talk to newsmen in Dacca, refers to Sheikh Mujib as "the future Prime Minister of Pakistan."
- January 29 Rahman-Bhutto talks on Six-Point Awami League Program and convening of National Assembly end in deadlock.
- January 30 Indian Airlines aircraft hijacked to Pakistan, and destroyed by bomb on February 2.
- February 2 India bans military overflights of India by Pakistan.
- February 4 India imposes ban on both civil and military overflights of India by Pakistan; charges official Pakistani "instigation, abetment, and encouragement" of hijackers.
- February 13 President Yahya Khan calls Pakistani National Assembly meeting in Dacca for March 3, establishing June 30 as deadline for framing of new Constitution (i.e., within 120 days of first meeting of National Assembly).
- February 15 Bhutto threatens to boycott National Assembly meeting on March 3 unless Sheikh Mujib gives up demand for full provincial autonomy. Repeats threat on February 19.
- February 27 Bhutto requests postponement of National Assembly meeting, promises PPP will attend at later date if 120-day limit for drafting new Constitution is lifted.
- March 1 President Yahya Khan announces removal of Vice Admiral S.M. Ahsan as Governor of East Pakistan.

Yahya Khan announces indefinite postponement of National Assembly session.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman calls for hartal (general strike) in Dacca on March 2, and country-wide general strike on March 3. Rahman says Awami League would launch non-violent, non-cooperation movement.

March 2

Demonstrations in Dacca lead to imposition of 11-hour curfew. Radio Pakistan reports demonstrators seen carrying placards proclaiming an "Independent Bengal." Clashes with Pakistani Army troops reported.

Pakistani Army troops observed flying into Dacca on Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) unscheduled flights.

Martial Law Administration imposes press censorship in East Pakistan.

March 3

At mass meeting in Dacca, Sheikh Mujib turns down Yahya Khan's invitation to a conference of political leaders in Dacca on March 10 to resolve deadlock in Constitution-making. Rahman calls for civil disobedience movement until the administration turned over to "people's representatives." Says hartal against postponement of National Assembly will continue for four days.

Sheikh Mujib tells press Pakistani Army is "behaving like an Occupation Force," machine-gunning unarmed people.

Sheikh Mujib tells AP correspondent in Dacca he is willing to share power with Bhutto, each to serve as Prime Minister in his region, to keep Pakistan together.

March 4

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman warns that Awami League volunteers will resist Pakistani Army troops if they are not returned to barracks. Hartal continues. Curfew lifted in Dacca, remains in effect in other East Pakistan towns.

March 5

Radio Pakistan announces troops will return to barracks March 6, following an "improvement in the situation as a sequel to Sheikh Mujib's appeal to people to remain peaceful."

March 6

President Yahya Khan announces March 25 meeting of National Assembly, does not specify venue. Attacks East Pakistani leaders for sponsoring disorders following earlier postponement of session.

Bhutto says PPP will attend March 25 session.

- March 7 At rally in Dacca, Rahman calls for East Pakistan Government officials to obey him. He states Awami League will not attend National Assembly session unless: 1) martial law lifted; 2) troops returned to barracks; 3) an inquiry ordered into killings in East Pakistan by Army in previous week of demonstrations; and 4) power transferred to people. Declares no-tax campaign starting March 8. Stops short of call for independence.
- March 8 Non-violent civil disobedience movement formally begins in East Pakistan.
- March 9 Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan appointed Governor and Martial Law Administrator of East Pakistan; East Pakistani judges refuse to swear him in.
- March 13 Central Government orders striking civilian defense workers in East Pakistan to return to work under threat of martial law penalties.
- March 14 Sheikh Mujib characterizes return-to-work order as provocation, asks East Pakistanis to defy order.
- Bhutto, in West Pakistan, calls for installation of Awami League Government in East Pakistan and one or more PPP Governments in provinces of West Pakistan, with military government left in control of central Government.
- March 15 Rahman issues series of 35 directives effectively taking over civil administration of East Pakistan by Awami League. Refers to East Pakistan as "Bangla Desh."
- President Yahya Khan arrives in Dacca for talks with Sheikh Mujib.
- March 16 Yahya Khan-Rahman talks begin.
- March 17 Martial Law Administrator for East Pakistan, Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, appoints Inquiry Commission to investigate Awami League charges on Army activities March 2-9.
- Sheikh Mujib rejects proposed inquiry as "device to hoodwink people of Bangla Desh," appoints his own three-member Committee of inquiry.

March 21 Press reports reveal continuing PIA flights carrying Pakistani Army reinforcements to Dacca.

Bhutto arrives in Dacca.

March 22 Yahya Khan postpones March 25 session of National Assembly indefinitely.

March 23 Pakistan Day celebrated in East Pakistan as "Resistance Day"; Bangla Desh flag flown widely in Dacca and East Pakistan.

March 25 Yahya Khan-Rahman talks continue during morning.

Radio Dacca reports Yahya Khan had agreed "in principle" to hand over power to elected representatives in East Pakistan; and had conceded Awami League's three other demands.

Press reports claim six shiploads of Pakistani troops (an estimated 10,000 men) landed at Chittagong and Khulna, adding to total of 60,000 troops in East Pakistan.

Afternoon meeting between Yahya and Mujib cancelled. Yahya leaves Dacca. Pakistani Army troops launch widespread attacks in Dacca focused on university, Hindu areas, East Pakistani police, East Pakistan Rifles barracks, and Awami League offices.

Mujib arrested 11:15 p.m. Foreign correspondents detained at Intercontinental Hotel.

March 26 Widespread fighting between West Pakistani troops and Bengalis; rumors spread that Sheikh Mujib had gone underground with Awami League leaders.

In a broadcast to the nation, from Karachi, Yahya Khan charges Sheikh Mujibur Rahman with treason, bans Awami League, and orders Army to restore authority of central government in East Pakistan.

"Voice of Independent Bangla Desh" radio station broadcasts unilateral declaration of independence, saying Sheikh Mujib has declared sovereign independent Bangladesh.

Bhutto departs Dacca for West Wing.

March 27 Radio Pakistan announces arrest of Sheikh Mujib.

35 foreign correspondents ordered expelled from East Pakistan by Martial Law Administration.

~~Bhutto tells news conference in Karachi he supports Yahya Khan's order to crush independence movement in East Pakistan.~~

- March 28 "Free Bangla Radio" announces formation of Provisional Government of Bangladesh headed by a Major Zia Khan.
- March 29 India requests UN Secretary General take initiative and advise or suggest restraint to Government of Pakistan, and try to prevent "mass slaughter" in East Pakistan.
- March 31 Indian Parliament resolution expresses sympathy and solidarity with people of East Bengal, pledges sympathy and support of Indian people.
- United States announces Dacca "thin-out."
- April 1 Pakistani Foreign Office alleges Indian infiltrations into East Pakistan.
- April 3 Soviet President Podgorny sends letter to Yahya Khan appealing for political settlement of East Pakistan problem.
- April 6 Yahya Khan replies to Podgorny letter, stating that support for interference in internal affairs of another country is a negation of UN Charter and asking that USSR use its influence with India to prevent India from "meddling in Pakistan's internal affairs."
- Pakistani Note to India again protests Indian interference in Pakistan's internal affairs.
- China accuses India of interference in Pakistan's internal affairs in Note about New Delhi demonstration against PRC embassy.
- April 12 Six-member Cabinet of Provisional Government of Bangladesh formed, with Rahman listed as President, Syed Nazrul Islam as Vice President, and Tajuddin Ahmed as Prime Minister.
- April 17 At Mujibnagar, Provisional Government formally proclaims Democratic Republic of Bangladesh. Proclamation dated April 10, 1971.
- April 18 Pakistani Deputy High Commissioner in Calcutta and 70 Bengali staff members switch allegiance to Bangladesh.
- April 24 Pakistanis request closure Indian Deputy High Commission at Dacca, close Pakistani mission in Calcutta.

- May 6 India announces 1.48 million refugees from East Pakistan now in India, appeals to FAO for direct aid to refugees.
- May 18 Mrs. Gandhi warns Pakistan that "if a situation is forced on us, we are fully prepared to fight," challenges Government of Pakistan claim that all is normal in East Pakistan, saying that if that so GOP should call back refugees fleeing to India.
- May 19 U Thant appeals to all nations for contributions to help meet needs of refugees in India.
- May 21 Yahya Khan announces that bona-fide Pakistani citizens who had fled were welcome to return home to East Pakistan.
- June 5 Indian External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh departs New Delhi on visit to USSR, West Germany, France, Canada and United States to discuss refugee problem and Bangladesh. Returns to India June 22.
- June 6 Syed Nazrul Islam, acting President of Bangladesh Provisional Government, spells out in radio broadcast four preconditions for political settlement of Bangladesh issue:
- 1) release Rahman
  - 2) withdraw Pakistani Army
  - 3) recognize Republic of Bangladesh
  - 4) compensation for losses due to Pakistani Army "atrocities"
- June 28 Yahya Khan announces he will have a Constitution prepared by a group of experts. He bans secessionist Awami League from participation in program to transfer power to civilians "in four months or so."
- July 8 Indians estimate number of Bengali refugees in India at 6,733,019.
- July 15 Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister of Provisional Government of Bangladesh, declares "military victory is only solution in Bangladesh."
- July 19 Yahya Khan, in press interview, says he would declare war on India "if India made any attempt to seize any part of East Pakistan." He warns that Pakistan "would not be alone," and alleges that Indians were shelling many areas of East Pakistan.
- July 20 Indian Minister for External Affairs, Swaran Singh, cautions Yahya Khan against using freedom struggle in Bangladesh as a pretext for launching an attack on India, says "we will defend ourselves."



- July 23 India accuses Pakistanis of two violations on July 20 and 21 of Indian airspace by Pakistan Air Force over Srinagar, issues orders to shoot down future intruders.
- July 24 Pakistan denies violation of Indian airspace.
- August 5 Yahya Khan released July 30 TV interview, in which he stated situation in subcontinent was "very volatile, explosive and dangerous," repeats warning Pakistanis would fight if any attempt made to detach part of East Pakistan.
- August 7 Government of Pakistan deprives 79 Awami League members of their National Assembly seats, orders 59 to appear for trial.
- August 9 Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's visit to New Delhi results in signing of 20-year Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between USSR and India.
- August 11 Press reports Sheikh Mujibur Rahman goes on trial on charge of waging war on Pakistan.
- August 17 Pakistan proposes "Good Offices Committee" of UN Security Council to "defuse" situation along Indo-Pakistan border.
- August 18 India rejects Pakistani proposal as another attempt to turn East Pakistan situation into an Indo-Pakistan issue. Asserts India not involved in conflict.
- August 21 Government of Pakistan announces lawyer A.K. Brohi had agreed to defend Mujib at trial.
- August 31 Yahya Khan appoints Dr. Abdul Motaleb Malik as civilian Governor of East Pakistan; replaces Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan as Martial Law Administrator with Lt. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi, effective September 3.
- September 2 Bhutto describes appointment of civilian government in East Bengal as "half-measure" and calls for immediate parliamentary rule.
- September 4 Yahya Khan announces general amnesty for all those who committed offenses in East Pakistan after March 1.
- September 9 Five main East Bengali political parties in Calcutta form 8-member Consultative Committee to advise Bangladesh Government and to provide closer ties to the Mukti Bahini.

- September 11 In Karachi, Bhutto says March events in East Pakistan could also occur in West Pakistan if power not restored to people's representatives.
- September 15 Indians claim total of refugees is 8,542,000.
- September 19 Pakistan Election Commission announce by-elections to fill 78 National Assembly seats vacated by "disqualification" of Awami League members will be held between November 25 and December 9.
- September 25 Pakistan complains to UN Secretary General against "India's open interference in Pakistan's internal affairs" in letter from Pakistani Foreign Secretary to U Thant.
- September 27 Mrs. Gandhi arrives in Moscow for 3-day visit to USSR.
- September 28 Yahya Khan's office confirms that Mujib's trial started on August 11, then recessed, and was resumed September 7.
- October 5 Pakistani Army ordered on 12-hour alert, Indian sources allege.
- October 12 In broadcast to the nation, Yahya Khan announces plan to promulgate new Constitution by December 20 and call reconstituted National Assembly on December 27.
- Indian press reports state Pakistani Army moving to forward positions on western border of India.
- October 14-16 President Yahya Khan in Persepolis for Iranian 25th Centenary, holds discussions with Soviet President Podgorny, Shah of Iran, and others.
- October 14 Indian press says Indian Army reinforces western border positions.
- October 17 Indian Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram warns in public speech that any war with Pakistan would be fought on Pakistani soil and India would not vacate territories occupied during conflict.
- October 19 Mrs. Gandhi, at news conference in New Delhi, declines to enter into talks with Pakistan to negotiate pulling back of troops, saying that crux of problem was Pakistani military regime's problems with Bengalis, which should be resolved directly between Yahya Khan and Bangladesh.

In Le Monde interview published in Paris, Yahya Khan suggests that a "dialogue" between India and Pakistan should deal with whole of India-Pakistan dispute, not just "secondary questions."

- October 20 Official Indian spokesman says India would not entertain proposals for pullback of troops from border until Pakistan indicated willingness to reach political settlement with Bangladesh and facilitate return of refugees.
- In letters to Yahya Khan and Mrs. Gandhi, UN Secretary General U Thant offers his good offices to relieve tension on Indo-Pakistani border.
- October 21 In letter to U Thant, Yahya Khan suggests U Thant visit India and Pakistan to pursue his offer of reducing tensions in the subcontinent.
- October 22 Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Firyubin arrives in New Delhi for consultations under Article IX of Indo-Soviet Treaty.
- October 24 Mrs. Gandhi goes on six-nation trip, spending November 3-7 in United States.
- October 27 Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Firyubin concludes visit to New Delhi after talks with Mrs. Gandhi, External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh.
- October 28 In Vienna, Mrs. Gandhi tells press U Thant visit to India would not be sensible, but said she would not object if U Thant accepted Yahya Khan's invitation to visit Pakistan, since the key to a solution was there, not in India.
- Indian External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh tells Parliamentary Committee that India could count on USSR for total support in event of conflict with Pakistan. Refers to tense situation on border, but asserts India would never start a conflict.
- October 29 Indians claim refugees now total 9,587,000.
- October 29-31 Series of artillery exchanges in East Pakistan reported, with Indians claiming Pakistanis firing across Indian border and admitting return fire. Most incidents reported in Tripura, but one shelling incident and minor incursion by Pakistani troops reported at Uri in Kashmir.

- November 1 Press reports Mujib found guilty and death penalty recommended to Yahya Khan by military tribunal.
- Radio Pakistan quotes President Yahya Khan as having said to CBS interviewer that China would intervene in the event of an Indian attack on Pakistan.
- However, in exclusive Newsweek interview quoted by Karachi domestic radio service on same date, Yahya Khan is reported to have said that China would not tolerate an attack on Pakistan, and that the Pakistanis would "get all the weapons and ammunition we need from China short of physical intervention."
- November 3 Indian spokesman claims four Pakistan Air Force F-86's intrude into Indian airspace in Punjab.
- November 7 Bhutto in Peking as leader of "politico-military delegation" to China.
- November 9 Indian Air Force reports two Pakistan Air Force planes intrude into Indian-controlled airspace in Uri sector of Kashmir.
- November 13 Mrs. Gandhi returns to New Delhi from overseas trip.
- November 22 Indians report three Pakistan Air Force F-86's shot down near eastern border by Indian Air Force Gnats.
- Pakistan charges Indians mounting all-out attack on East Pakistan, with Indian Army units moving on Jessore, Sylhet, and in Chittagong Hill tracts.
- November 23 Yahya Khan declares State of Emergency in Pakistan in view of "threat of foreign aggression."
- November 24 Mrs. Gandhi reveals in Parliament that Indian military commanders took action on November 21 to repulse a Pakistani offensive against the Mukti Bahini around Boyra some five miles from the Indian border when the Pakistani advance threatened Indian defensive positions on the border; 13 Pakistani M-24 tanks are reported destroyed. She states it was not India's intention to escalate the situation or start a conflict. She said Indian commanders had been ordered not to cross the border except in self-defense.
- November 25 President Yahya Khan reportedly hints at possibility of war "within ten days" in impromptu remarks at Rawalpindi banquet honoring visiting Chinese minister.
- November 26 Indian troops again cross East Pakistani border, destroy one Pakistani tank in Hilli area, according to Indian sources.

November 28

Indians report three more Pakistani tanks destroyed in Hilli area.

December 3

At 1050 GMT Mrs. Gandhi was in Calcutta, where she told a rally that Pakistani troops must be withdrawn from Bangladesh.

At 1230 GMT, air raid warning in New Delhi.

At 1245 GMT, Radio Pakistan interrupts regular service to report Indian ground attacks all along West Pakistan border.

At 1330 GMT, Delhi radio quotes an Indian official spokesman as stating Indian airfields at Amritsar, Srinagar, and Pathankot were under air attack between 1210 GMT and 1230 GMT.

At 1409 GMT, Karachi radio reports that Pakistani Air Force aircraft returned safely from attacking four forward Indian air bases at Amritsar, Pathankot, Avantipur, and Srinagar "this afternoon."

At 1600 GMT Karachi radio accuses Indian Air Force of having attacked 30 to 40 miles deep into West Pakistan "for past few days," and reports that Indian ground troops attacked Pakistani territory in the Sialkot and Chhamb sectors between 1030 and 1100 GMT. Other Indian attacks reported in Rajasthan, Punch, and Uri sectors.

Mrs. Gandhi returned to New Delhi late on December 3 and convened a Cabinet session, which resulted in the proclamation at 1739 GMT by President Giri of a National Emergency.

At 1850 GMT, Mrs. Gandhi in a radio broadcast to the nation stated that Pakistani Air Force planes at 1200 GMT had launched full-scale war on India by attacking Indian airfields at Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala, and Agra. She stated that Pakistani artillery had also opened fire on Indian positions at Sulemanki, Khemkaran, Punch, and other sectors on the western front.

December 4

Indian Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram tells Indian Parliament that Indian Air Force has responded to Pakistani air attacks with air strikes beginning at 1820 GMT the previous day against targets inside West Pakistan.

Pakistan issues Gazette Extraordinary, stating that a state of war exists with India.

December 5

USSR vetoes US-sponsored Security Council resolution calling for ceasefire and military withdrawal.

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Later on same day, USSR vetoes second US-backed resolution in Security Council calling for ceasefire and Indo-Pakistani negotiations.

- December 6            India recognizes Bangladesh.  
Pakistan severs diplomatic relations with India.
- December 7            UN General Assembly votes 104 to 11, with ten abstentions, for UNGA resolution calling for ceasefire and withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani forces to their own territories.
- December 9            Pakistan accepts UNGA resolution.
- December 11           Over 800 foreign nationals, including Americans, evacuate Dacca by RAF aircraft.
- December 12           Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov arrives in New Delhi with 5-member delegation for talks "within the ambit of the Indo-Soviet Treaty."
- December 13           United States sponsors another UN Security Council resolution calling on India to accept ceasefire and withdrawal of forces. Soviet Union vetoes.
- December 16           Pakistani Army in Bangladesh surrenders.  
India announces ceasefire in west, to take effect from December 17.
- December 17           Ceasefire in west takes effect.  
Kuznetsov leaves India.
- December 20           Z.A. Bhutto replaces Yahya Khan as President of Pakistan.