

"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 Bongobondhu 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 those political leaders, who are Corrupt, half educated and mostly hereditary persons.

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

These documents and evidences clearly reflect that the declaration of Independence of Bangladesh was given by Bongobondhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman alone at the early hour of 26th March 1971, long before any further announcements made on behalf of Bongobondhu or some one else!.



DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OPERATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

DI-2



DIA SPOT REPORT

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM
MAR 26 PM 3:55

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 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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Captain, USN
DI-4/71564

PREPARED BY: JOHN B. HUNT
Major, USA
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DIA Review
By [Signature]

NARA, Date 7-19-00



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TELEGRAM

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(9)	

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APPROVED BY: *W.F. Spengler*
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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.

4. 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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ACTION: Page 3

and Khulna. A Japanese wire service reported that Chittagong was the scene of civilian-military ~~XXXXXX~~ 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 ~~XXXXXX~~ Chalna.

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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]

[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.

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

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 nationalistic 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 an 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 yesterday, with fighting reported in several cities, and a radio station broadcast a proclamation of an independent people's republic.

The proclamation was attributed to Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the East Pakistani nationalist leader, whose Awami League has been campaigning for autonomy 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 communication 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 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 decision to postpone the opening forces to do their job and fulfilling of the National Assembly,

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 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.

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.

The broadcast said that those battling for East Pakistani independence had surrounded West Pakistani troops in the cities of Sylhet, Jessor, 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

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
Underlining indicates cities where fighting was reported

March 27, 1971

MMR JALAL

What's News—

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. duPont, Glore 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 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 3/4% 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.

* * * MMR JALAL
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.

Hand 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

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 in the East Pakistani capital. Dragged said East Pakistan's leader was taken into custody at some areas. Some areas. The 51-year-old Awami League leader was arrested by the West Pakistan-dominated army sought to reassert its control in the Eastern province.



... sends troops

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

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.

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.

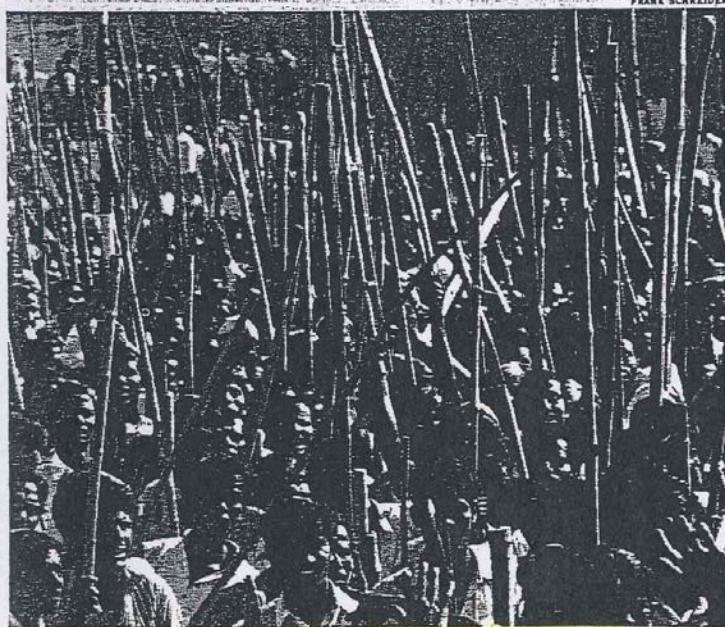
First Shot. Until last week, Pakistan's political leaders seemed on the verge of settling their differences. Then, in rapid order, three events carried the nation over the brink of violence. In Chittagong, a mob surrounded West Pakistani troops unloading supply ships. Where the first shots came from is unclear, but when the troops opened fire, 35 Bengalis were killed. Their political leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, called a general strike to protest. Then, Yahya Khan outlawed Mujib and his Awami League Party as "enemies of Pakistan" and ordered the armed forces to "do their duty."

In Dacca, army tanks and truckloads of troops with fixed bayonets came clat-

tering out of their suburban base, shouting "Victory to Allah," and "Victory to Pakistan." TIME Correspondent Dan Coggan, 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 'Ja Bangla' [Victory to Bengal], followed by a burst of machine-gun fire."

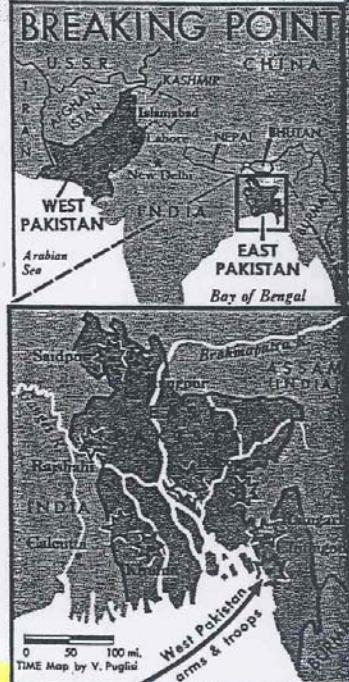
The army ordered a strict 24-hour curfew in Dacca, with violators shot on sight. But soon the Free Bengal Revolutionary Radio Center, probably somewhere in Chittagong, crackled into life. Over the clandestine station, Mujib proclaimed the creation of the "sovereign independent Bengali nation," and called 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 to 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



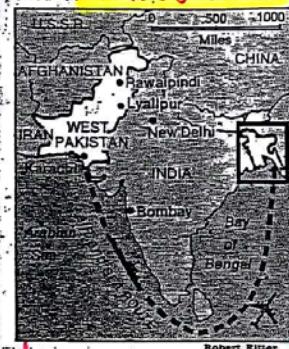
TIME, APRIL 5, 1971



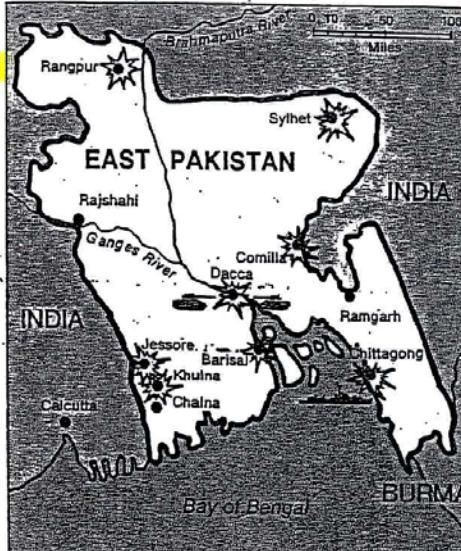
Yahya: New order!

INTERNATIONAL

MMRJALAL



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 avoid 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-gum 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 Bangla Desh [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.

SATURDAY MORNING, MARCH 27, 1971

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 flared into open civil war.

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

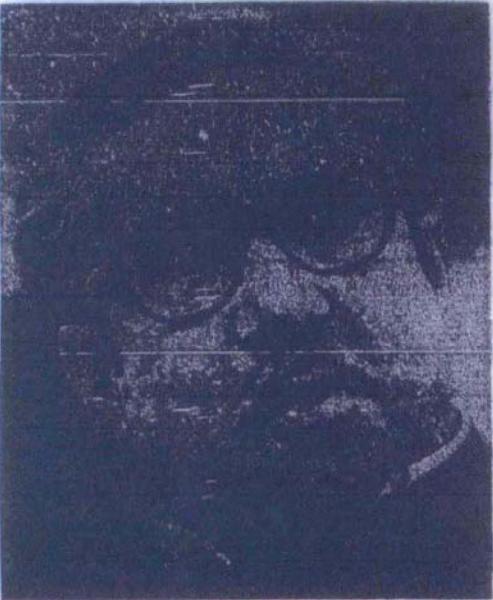
But the official Radio Pakistan announced today that Rahman was arrested only hours after he proclaimed East Pakistan independence.

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



UPI Wirephoto

Pakistan Independence Move Brings Warfare

Continued from First Page
tani Rifles, loyal to Rah-

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

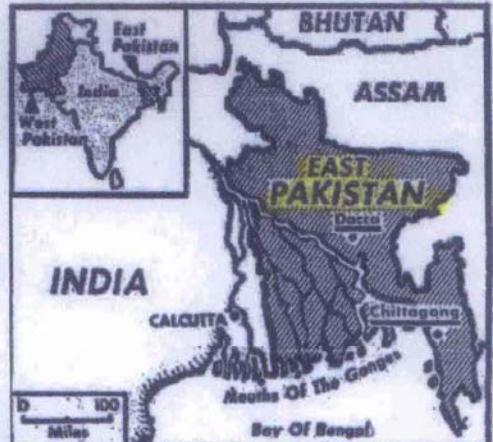
on the situation inside East Pakistan which is separated from larger but less densely populated West Pakistan by 1,000 miles of Indian territory.

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-



UPI 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.

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

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

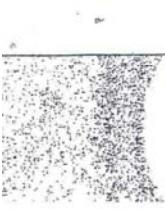
NOW A FLAME

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 JAZAZ



UNCLASSIFIED

RNAS-3

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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Released by : PAM

UNCLASSIFIED

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.

- 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.