

STATINTL

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## CIA Still Has A Few Secrets

MOST U.S. citizens pay little or no attention to the Central Intelligence Agency.

That, naturally, is exactly the way the "spook agency" wants it. For one thing, there's not much point in one's being a spy if somebody is looking over his shoulder all the time.

Some notice in the news is inevitable. Every few days, it seems, somebody issues a charge that the CIA controls the government, say, of Pakistan. Usually, this is followed by a countercharge that the CIA not only controls the government but that it also controls the government's *opposition*.

The supposedly super-secret agency supposedly has performed a variety of missions in Southeast Asia. It has a variety of agents, allegedly uses special purpose aircraft, and so on. Most complaints against the agency are to the effect that it doesn't just gather intelligence, but also engages in political and military operations.

What most of these critics ignore is the plain fact that *somebody* has ordered these activities. The CIA still bears the stigma of its almost unbelievable bungling in the disastrous Bay of Pigs "invasion." The truth is that the late President John F. Kennedy knew all about it in advance.

The problem has perhaps been best explained by Sen. John Stennis, chairman of the Armed Services Committee. He once said: "If we are going to have a CIA, and we *have to have* a CIA, we cannot run it as a quilting society or something like that."

Alleged "shortcomings" of the agency have been presented in a book, *CIA—The Myth & the Madness*. Its author is a former agent, Patrick McGarvey. He notes, as if he had made an alarming discovery, that at CIA headquarters "they have armed guards constantly prowling the dark corridors at night." Moreover, "they insist that every

piece of paper in the place be locked in a safe at night."

All of that, of course, is standard procedure for any "spy shop."

In a generally critical treatment, McGarvey cites a CIA success. That was its stealing of the Soviet Union's Sputnik while it was on a world tour in 1958. The first earth satellite was returned after three hours of undetected inspection by a CIA team.

Perhaps McGarvey could have cited other bright spots except for the fact that no one agent knows too much about what other agents are up to. The CIA reviewed the book before publication, as provided by the secrecy agreement it makes with all agents. It made only a few deletions, and those for security reasons.

Maybe the people who really run the CIA know about other outstanding feats but, nevertheless, would prefer that they not be recalled in the public prints.

They might even have celebrated the Sputnik coup with vodka toasts. Secretly.

# world in revolution

## CAMBODIA-LAOS

The New York Times reported Indonesia has admitted it is training 60 Cambodian soldiers in commando techniques in preparation for fighting the people in Cambodia. When the U.S. embassy in Jakarta was asked if the U.S. was paying the cost of training the men, an American official replied: "No comment". . . . Pathet Lao forces in Laos continued to move in on the large CIA base at Long Tieng during the last week in March. The liberation fighters have won so many victories that, "Both American and Laotian officials fear that if the defenders of Long Tieng were overwhelmed, the morale of the irregular forces and the 56,000 other (puppet) troops would be shattered. . . . Americans concede a collapse in morale could prove to be an insurmountable problem"

## BANGLADESH

Sheik Mujibur Rahman, head of the Awami League regime in Bangladesh, has ordered his police to "shoot down" leftists who "engage in creating confusion and trouble" and blocking his reconstruction efforts. At the same time, reports of massive corruption in the highest government circles and of factions forming in opposition to each other within the Awami League continue. UPI reported several thousand people demonstrated in Dacca, the capital, March 31, "against what they charged were malpractices in the distribution of relief food and supplies." The New York Times reported "some people are using the word 'chaos' to describe the workings of the government." Some in the Awami League, the Times charged, "have taken over truckloads of relief food in daylight, selling it later to the highest bidder. . . . Into the vacuum created by the absence of effective government at the local level have stepped several factions competing for power—Awami League politicians, student groups, former guerrilla leaders with armed followings, trade unions and Communists, whose activities are reviving with Soviet aid" . . . . Meanwhile in Los Angeles, Calif., last month, Eqbal Ahmad, a Pakistani scholar who is one of the Harrisburg 7 defendants, charged Sheik Mujib "has been on the payroll of the CIA for 15 years," according to a Los Angeles News Advocate quote. The News Advocate continued: "Ahmad said that Ysef Harson, a West Pakistani industrialist and trustee of the Chase Manhattan Bank who lives in New York, is (Mujibur's) contact man."

6 APR 1972

# Campaign by Soviet Wins Bengali Friends

By SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG

Special to The New York Times

DACCA, Bangladesh—Not only have the Russians come, but they have a two-month head start on the Americans, who have only now recognized Bangladesh.

While American diplomats sat in unhappy isolation in Dacca, waiting for Washington to act, the Russians were traveling around the countryside, making speeches and winning Bengali friends.

Moscow's campaign to widen its influence in this new nation may not be subtle, but it is skillful and energetic.

Soviet propaganda articles, many of them virulently anti-American, appear frequently on the editorial pages of the Bengali newspapers. Bangladesh television carries three or four Russian films a week, some of them propaganda documentaries and other feature films, such as "The Cranes Are Flying."

## C.I.A. Plot Is Charged

Articles about the United States Central Intelligence Agency have begun to dot the Bengali press. One with a banner headline in a leftist paper described an alleged plot to kill Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the Bangladesh Prime Minister. Western observers also saw a Soviet hand in anonymous letters to newspapers demanding that the Government "close the illegal American mission" here.

The Soviet Union used to have a consulate general in Dacca with a staff of about 40. It now has an embassy with a staff of 70 or 80 and growing.

In contrast, the American consular staff shrank to under 20, since officials evacuated during last year's guerrilla struggle and Indian-Pakistani war were not replaced.

More important, the Americans have been living in a diplomatic limbo. Because in the absence of recognition, the Bangladesh Government reduced the status of the consulate to a mission.

## Nixon Policy a Factor

All this stemmed from President Nixon's support of Pakistan throughout last year's attempt by the Pakistani Army to crush the Bengali autonomy movement and during the Indian-Pakistani war, out of which emerged the independent state of Bangladesh, in what was formerly East Pakistan. The Chinese, too, backed Paki-

The Soviet Union backed the winners—the Indians and the Bengalis—and thus have had an open field so far in the new nation.

Some nervous cold-warriors speak of a threat of Soviet subversion here, but other foreign observers suggest that to subvert the present Government would only produce political chaos and leave Moscow holding a hot potato.

From the evidence so far, it would seem that the Soviet goal, not surprisingly, is to make another staunch friend on China's southern flank, while making life as difficult as possible for the United States here.

"We don't want to make Bangladesh anti-American," one Soviet diplomat said with a smile. "But at the same time, we don't want it to be pro-American or pro-Chinese either."

The Soviet Union recognized Bangladesh on Jan. 24—the first major power to do so. The Russians have sent trade and youth and cultural experts here, many of whom speak fluent Bengali. They have been touring Bangladesh, giving speeches at universities and in other forums. Bangladesh-Soviet friendship societies are proliferating.

"When a foreigner begins speaking in Bengali to a crowd here," said one Western diplomat, "they don't care what he says. They just start respecting him."

The Russians also have been cementing their links with the newly legalized Communist party of Bangladesh and other moderate leftist groups, while keeping a watchful eye on the more radical Maoist elements, which might be expected to try to undermine the Soviet friendship campaign.

It is easy for a Westerner, especially an American, to become uneasy about the Russian influence here.

Phrases peculiar to the Soviet lexicon, such as "scientific socialism," have been creeping into the speeches of Bangladesh officials, including Sheik Mujib.

## Seek Balanced Relations

In the vacuum in which the Russians have been operating, it is natural for some of their propaganda to rub off. But Bangladesh officials, from Sheik Mujib on down, have made it clear in private conversations that they want

American aid and a strong American presence here—almost desperately—to avoid becoming overly dependent on the Soviet Union and India.

Before Sheik Mujib left on his trip to Moscow a few weeks ago, he appealed to Washington through the United States mission here for some clue to its intentions. He wanted to have some bargaining power when he sat down with the Russians. Washington refused to give him any assurance.

Sheik Mujib also asked the head of the United Nations relief operations for some assurance that the United Nations would undertake the crucial salvage operation to clear Chalna and Chittagong harbors of mines and sunken hulks so that relief supplies could start moving more swiftly into the country. No answer was forthcoming from United Nations headquarters in New York.

The result was that the Russians got the salvage contract, and are now reportedly offering the Bengalis military planes as well as assistance in repairing and expanding airfields. The latter offers are still under discussion in the Bangladesh Government.

The Bengalis are aware that the level of aid the Russians are likely to provide will not make a dent in their war-induced economic crisis, and many say that only the United States can provide the magnitude of assistance that can help Bangladesh move toward financial and political stability.

Washington has pledged over \$100-million in relief aid. But all of this is being channelled through the United Nations and has had no public impact as American aid.

Although a large reservoir of public goodwill still exists here for Americans, American officials were getting a little nervous about the possibility of anti-American demonstrations.

The diplomats at the American mission were taking no chances. They bought a pair of large wire-cutters so that if a hasty retreat from their six-story building become necessary, they could snip through the fence that separates their roof from the next one and slip away unnoticed through the adjacent buildings.

## U.S. Move Is Welcomed

DACCA, Bangladesh, April 5 (UPI)—Sheik Mujibur Rahman today welcomed United States recognition of Bangladesh, announced yesterday, and expressed the hope that it would lead to friendly cooperation between the two countries.

In a short statement, the Prime Minister said: "I am glad to learn that the United States has accorded formal recognition to Bangladesh as a sovereign, independent state. I hope this will open a new chapter in the development of friendly cooperation and understanding between the United States and Bangladesh for the mutual benefit of our two peoples."

The Prime Minister also said, "I take this opportunity to thank the people of the United States, and the press, for their support to our legitimate aspirations during our war of liberation."

Foreign Minister Abdus Samad referred briefly to the United States recognition and hailed it as "a victory of the freedom-loving people of America."

Mr. Samad expressed the hope that "this will make some contribution to the maintenance of peace and stability in our region."

News of the United States recognition was muted as the capital recovered from a severe storm last night that caused a seven-hour power blackout.

Local newspapers came out with only four pages and published the news of the United States recognition on the front page in a box below banner headlines on the storm. There was no editorial comment this morning.

3 APR 1972

STATINTL

# Dacca Rally Attacks Sheikh Mujib's Policy

By Lee Lescaze

Washington Post Foreign Service

DACCA, April 2 — Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was publicly criticized in Dacca today for the first time since Bangladesh gained independence.

In the first important speech of political opposition to Mujibur's Awami League government, leftist leader Maulana Bhashani, 92, told a rally of about 25,000 people, "I warn the Awami League that if they don't follow the right course their dream will be shattered."

The unified political support for Mujib that existed after independence was won Dec. 16 has been cracking in recent weeks primarily over inadequate food distribution in the countryside and charges that Awami League members are abusing their power to enrich themselves.

Men who had nothing but a hut before independence are living in five-story houses, Bhashani told his cheering supporters. Looting by the Awami League and its student followers must stop, he said.

The aged leader of the left wing of the National Awami Party also addressed himself to a new, extremely explosive issue here. Last Friday Mujib told a rally in Khulna that problems of law and order in the countryside are largely caused by Naxalite (Maoist Communist) bands, and that

police should shoot Naxalites close confident of Mujib. It on sight.

"Be careful, Mujibur Rahman," Bhashani said, "it is not written on a man's body that he is a Naxalite. There is no saying who is a Naxalite and who is not. If there are bad elements, arrest them and hang them. But no one should be shot without a trial."

Repeated reports have reached Dacca of political killings between members of the Awami League and followers of Bhashani. In the most recent incident, soldiers and Awami Leaguers reportedly attacked Bhashani's supporters yesterday at a public hall in Dinajpur, northeast of Dacca. According to a government source, eight persons were killed, but unofficial accounts put the casualties much higher.

Bhashani told an interviewer recently that 20,000 of his men have been killed since independence but that figure is discounted as grossly exaggerated, even by some Bhashani supporters in Bangladesh, where communications are very bad and rumors circulate quickly. In Dacca all reports of violent clashes are hard to verify.

Leftists, particularly Bhashani's men, fear that the government is going to use its present power to smother political opposition.

Bhashani and his followers are known to be angered by recent statements in the government-controlled press alleging the problems of Bangladesh are at least partly the result of vaguely described conspiracies against the nation. The most inflammatory article appeared in Bangli Bani (Voice of Bengal) which is edited by a nephew and

alleged an improbable conspiracy of Bhashani, the CIA and China against the Awami League rulers. During the nine-month civil war that led to independence, Bhashani and the nation's two Communist parties pledged their support to Mujib to insure stability while Bangladesh sought to rebuild its economy and provide food and housing for its 75 million people, many of whom lost all their possessions during the war.

But these political parties are acutely aware that in the Bangladesh constitutional assembly, which will meet for the first time next week, the Awami League holds all but one of the 455 seats. Dealing from its power base, the Awami League has done little to insure the continued support of other political groups but has chosen to rule the administration, the press and the nation's semi-nationalized industrial system with what its opponents charge are dictatorial methods.

ly move to ratify this treaty and pass the implementing legislation.

### U.S. POLICY IN SOUTH ASIA

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, the knowledgeable New York Times columnist, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, has been traveling in South Asia, where he has interviewed Prime Minister Gandhi of India, President Bhutto of Pakistan, and Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman of Bangladesh. Mr. Sulzberger's reporting provides some valuable insights into the thinking of these three important leaders. What they told him was of special interest to me because of a speech on our policy in South Asia that I delivered here earlier this month.

At that time I urged that we adopt a balanced approach in South Asia. By that I meant that we should avoid involvement in the internal disputes of the region and should seek the friendship of all the nations located there.

Mr. Sulzberger's dispatches offer reassuring evidence that this is indeed a feasible course for us. Each of the leaders interviewed was receptive to measures that would improve relations with the United States.

Even Bangladesh Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman, who castigated our Government for "sending arms to the Pakistanis who were murdering us," stressed his determination that Bangladesh maintain a nonaligned position that would permit friendly ties with all nations, including the United States.

In my earlier speech, I also pointed out that one of the major hindrances to good relations with both India and Pakistan was our provision of arms to those countries. I explained how time and again our participation in the arms trade had involved us in the longstanding quarrels of India and Pakistan.

That these dangers are still with us becomes very clear from reading Mr. Sulzberger's interview with President Bhutto. The Pakistani leader stated plainly that he hoped to get American aid to rebuild Pakistan's armed forces. No doubt our Government will sooner or later be forced to decide whether to provide the arms Mr. Bhutto is seeking.

The case for doing so is a weak one. It will be difficult to justify new arms shipments on the grounds we have used in the past; namely, that we are combating Communist expansionism and that we must support those who are allied with us against the Communist threat. In his remarks Mr. Bhutto makes clear that he wants arms for protection not against China or the Soviet China but against India. And insofar as existing alliances are concerned, Mr. Bhutto says he personally believes Pakistan should withdraw from SEATO and CENTO. The burden of proof clearly lies with the advocates of arms shipments to explain why resumption would be in the interests of the United States.

Mr. President, I believe that the full reports of Mr. Sulzberger's interviews would be great value to the many Senators who are concerned about South Asia. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the reports were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT BHUTTO OF PAKISTAN

RAWALPINDI, PAKISTAN.—Following are excerpts from an interview with President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan conducted in English by C.L. Sulzberger of The New York Times.

Q. What has been the value of Pakistan of the CENTO and SEATO alliances and the bilateral defense agreement with the United States?

A. Certainly the alliances did not come into operation either during the present crisis or the 1965 war. And the latest conflict, in which India was supported by another power, was even more severe. Nor was there any dispute about the fact that we were the victims of aggression. As an ally we surely didn't expect to be dismembered with out help. So in the future we hope that our own military defenses will be more secure.

We want to improve our relations with all countries but, particularly, we base our hopes on new relationships with the United States, a turn for the better. We are already grateful for your recent actions. The enemy's onslaught against West Pakistan would have continued unabated if the United States had not given a firm ultimatum warning the hostilities must cease. The Soviet Union understood the signal and then pressed India to accept a cease-fire. I know this is true. I have just been in Peking and Chou En-lai confirmed this to me.

Therefore I think that the world and my own people should know that the United States, in the interests of peace and civilized conduct among states, did put its foot down. If there had been no U.S. intervention, India would have moved hard against Azad Kashmir [the part of Kashmir under Pakistani control] and also on the southern front in Sind.

Unfortunately, under the supine and stupid leadership of Yahya Khan [the previous president, now under arrest] our people were given no direction. They were subjected to confused and contradictory orders that could only have been issued under the sway of Svengali.

#### VALIDITY OF TREATIES

Q. Do you regard the two alliances and the bilateral pact with the U.S.A. as still valid?

A. Certainly they remain legally valid. But politically and militarily they have become ineffective. I do not plan to make any formal changes in our own relationships. I would prefer to leave the final determination on these questions to the National Assembly, especially while Indian forces continue to occupy part of West Pakistan and all of the East. But my personal view is that the bilateral understanding with the United States can be kept intact—with a clearer understanding of each country's obligations. This will require a meeting of minds, and also some redrafting. After all, a qualitative change has taken place in this region since the 1971 treaty signed by India and the Soviet Union. This allows India a chance to create greater havoc in the entire area from Nepal to Afghanistan, Iran and the Persian Gulf. Our own physical dismemberment now exposes other countries to arrogant Indian expansionism.

We must look for new arrangements. Obviously the United States has an interest in Asia and doesn't want to see a drastic shift in the balance of power. And we want a genuine dialogue with the United States on this new situation.

Of course we have good and fraternal relations with the other CENTO members just the way we want to retain friendly links with Britain although we have left the Commonwealth. But I feel—as I made plain in my

party manifesto before I was President—that we should withdraw from CENTO and SEATO. This is only a personal feeling. That is unless, on reconsidering CENTO, we can revitalize it. And I would like to strengthen our bilateral U.S. agreement. SEATO is of less concern to West Pakistan and its future depends on what happens in the East.

#### ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS

Q. What value is the U.N. to the victim of aggression?

A. I am sorry I used harsh words before the U.N. but our situation was then desperate and I felt far away. Nevertheless, I don't feel differently now. The U.N. has been rendered ineffective by misuse of the veto. I only hope the General Assembly can be made more active under the uniting for peace resolution. This should assume a mandatory rather than a recommendatory character.

Q. Are you seeking to negotiate any new pacts—with the United States or China, for example?

A. Certainly this would be to our interest and, as I told you, I hope something can be done with your country. I also put the subject up to the Chinese, even before I went to Peking on my recent trip. China already knew there were many public demands here for a defense pact. But when I discussed this with the Chinese leaders they stressed that it was common interest rather than pacts which mattered.

They pointed out that they had had a defense pact with another Communist country, the Soviet Union, and now look where that stands. They said their policy was now averse to pacts but that mutual interests were better and produced more binding ties.

And I must admit we saw this ourselves in CENTO and SEATO. India marched into Dacca on the back of the Soviet Union and certainly CENTO should have acted. And in developing our foreign policy now we must henceforth assume that India is no longer acting independently but makes all its moves in accordance with its 1971 treaty with the Soviet Union. We must assume that they are acting in concert.

#### COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS

Q. What have you lost by leaving the Commonwealth?

A. When I was Foreign Minister I saw the necessity of analyzing historic trends and basing policy on them. Thus one could see the American mood was turning against pacts and wanted to recast policy from the bases of the nineteen-fifties. Balance of payments position was bad. There was the horror of Vietnam, a feeling that the U.S.A. was overstretched, a refusal to be a world policeman. Likewise Britain felt overstretched and saw that it belonged to Europe. It was no longer a great power and could not even hope to play Greece to the American Rome because the U.S.A. understands the game better.

Thus it was inevitable for Britain to change its position. And Commonwealth conferences are useless. They just let off steam and vernom. I'd rather work out problems on a more rational, bilateral basis. I want to improve relations with Britain bilaterally and grow culturally. But we won't reopen the Commonwealth chapter.

Q. What was the upshot of your trip to Peking this month?

A. China has stood by us as a friend and neighbor in two wars, 1965 and 1971. We want a profound dialogue with them just as we want one with the United States. And in Peking I found encouragement on this. The Chinese understood our viewpoint and liked it. I found a sympathetic atmosphere for such a dialogue.

Q. I have heard reports here of new troop movements in Kashmir and the possibility of another crisis there. Is this so?

A. Yes. This is causing concern. The Indians are moving in. And you musn't forget

SAN DIEGO, CAL.  
 INDEPENDENT  
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## Gregory aims wit at racism

At a Thursday morning press conference in San Diego City College's new television studio, comedian Dick Gregory dished out his customary ration of acerbic words for the way business is "taken care of" in America.

Gregory teed off on a variety of topics fielded from the floor before moving on to two performances in Russ Auditorium at noon and 8 p.m.

Looking trim and fit despite (or because of) a year-long fast on fruit juices to protest the Vietnam War and the oppression of Third World movements, the black activist carried off with remarkable dispatch one of his 300-odd yearly college-circuit lectures.

In response to a question as to whether or not he believed a black man could be elected Vice-President, Gregory lauded Senator Edmund Muskie's honesty in doubting that prospect, decrying instead the assertions of President Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew to the contrary. Gregory felt certain the Vice Presidency is someday attainable by a black man, but added that the election of a black woman, i.e., Shirley Chisholm, may be more difficult due to conditions of sexism which prevail in the country in addition to inherent racism.

Gregory welcomed white involvement in the civil rights movement as long as whites were committed to helping,

rather than leading the cause. He felt that not only should unconditional amnesty be extended to draft resisters and deserters, but also that men who fulfilled their obligations should be guaranteed two full years of unemployment compensation if jobs could not be secured in its stead.

Further, Gregory recommended the compensation for combat deaths should be raised retroactively to a value commensurate with the inflation over the period of time from World War II to present, pointing out that the price of an American life (\$10,000) is one of the few items which has not increased since that time.

Gregory indicted the hypocrisy of U.S. conduct in the Indo-Pakistani crisis last fall, tracing administration commitment to Pakistan to a full-scale CIA involvement in funding and supporting the Pakistani army.

He continued that U.S. military is not in any sense a humanitarian organization and that an analysis of maps showing U.S. military placement of bases around U.S. economic and natural resource interests.

Citing a calculated distrust

of two-party politics, Gregory dismissed any support of left-wing candidates who fail to eschew their affiliations with either the Democratic or Republican party, remarking "... even if God himself ran as a Democrat, I'd have to sit this one out..."

Gregory affirmed that he neither smokes marijuana nor specifically endorses its legalization, but attributes widespread use of the drug to the convenience of the family medicine cabinet, where youth learns its most significant lessons about the use of narcotics. He places heavy blame on the cigarette industry for concealing its knowledge of smoking's manifold dangers, and describes alcoholism as being the primary drug problem in America.

Using insights he has gained during his fast, the comedian plans to write a book on health and nutrition which will follow the publication of his most recent work, "Dick Gregory's Political Primer." Finally, Gregory revealed that he likes San Diego, if only because of the temperate weather and the fact that he likes to "tune in to other things wherever I am."

8 FEB 1972



**Eight more states recognize Bangla Desh**

DACCA — The government of Bangla Desh under Premier Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was recognized on Feb. 4 by eight more countries — Austria, Britain, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, West Germany and Israel — and Holland and Japan said they would grant recognition soon.

The announcements coincided with a government statement that mass graves of persons executed by West Pakistan troops of former Premier Yahya Khan were being unearthed in three areas of Bangla Desh. Some bodies were tentatively identified as those of Bengali intellectuals, professionals and leading citizens. Bangla Desh authorities hve said that the victims had been "fingered" for the West Pakistan forces by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency operatives with assistance from Peking officials.

DELETED WORDS

4 FEB 1972

STATINTL

# Bengalis tell Perlo that CIA gave names to Pakistani executioners

By VICTOR PERLO

DACCA, Bangla Desh (By delayed mail) — Under the banana trees of what was the village of Sialbari on the northeast outskirts of Dacca, we saw gruesome evidence of the mass murder of Bengali civilians by thugs operating under instructions of the Pakistan Army of repression.

Piles of human bones, skulls, whole skeletons were everywhere. We saw arm bones, with the ropes tying the victims' hands together behind their backs still intact; pelvis bones, with scraps of the victims' trousers.

We saw a 60-foot well filled with skeletons of the murdered ones, partly buried in mud and dirt from the monsoon rains. We saw bones split off in ways indicating tortures practiced on the victims before execution.

We saw the remnants of mud dwelling walls, and the half-walls remaining of the mosque — all that was left of the burned-out village.

There were skeletons of mur-

dered victims inside the mosque — murdered in the name of Islam! All was crudely bestial at this Buchenwald of colonialism—lacking the mechanization and organization of the Nazi murder factories. It was disorganized murder, like that conducted by U.S. airmen and troops at the endless My Lais of Vietnam.

Leaders of the Bangla Desh peace movement who took us there told us some details:

The murders began March 25, when the Pakistan Army began its genocidal attack against the Bengali people. The first victims were the inhabitants of Sialbari. The nearby Dacca suburbs of Mirpur and Mohammadpur are inhabited mainly by non-Bengalis, who had fled from India at the time of partition 25 years ago.

Inflamed with communal hatred against the Bengalis, they supported the Pakistan army of suppression. With Pakistan Army weapons and general guidance, men among them acted as executioners. They slaughtered all the

village inhabitants except for one fortunate escapee.

Thereafter the Pakistan Army used the site for continuing mass executions of Dacca students and workers until the very day of the Pakistani surrender, December 16. Students and workers were subject to mass arrest and execution, because the Pakistan authorities considered them to be the main supporters of independence. Awami League and Communist political leaders were also subject to arrest and murder.

Truckloads of victims were taken out, blindfolded and arms tied behind their backs, to be tortured and killed by the collaborating murderers. Any Bengali venturing into the Urdu-speaking suburbs, if spotted, was immediately killed. Some of the Bengali intellectuals murdered during the last days of Pakistani rule met their end at Sialbari.

The killing was based on communalism, that long-standing blight on the political life of the Hindustan subcontinent. As ever, it was egged on by imperialism, this time, we were told, by U.S. imperialism via the CIA.

The Bengalis say a CIA official, working with the Pakistan Army, provided lists of names for execution. The Government, we were told, has firm evidence of this, which will be made public when the Government investigation of war crimes takes place.

Later the killing spread over the country, to the villages, as the peasants gave aid and shelter to the tens of thousands of guerrillas who took to the field of battle.

Perlo was part of a World Peace Council delegation headed by Isabelle Blume, veteran Belgian peace leader, and former parliament member. It also included Maria Maluenda, Chilean actress and former Deputy; Alfred Nzo, general secretary of the African National Congress; Guenther Dre-fahl, chairman of the GDR Peace Committee; Anatoli Kutsenkov, Soviet specialist on Indian affairs; Mamoud Tobbo, Lebanese peace activist; and Chitta Biswas, Secretary of the Indian Peace Committee.



2 FEB 1972

# Bangla Desh recovering, Perlo reports

By RICK NAGIN

NEW YORK, Feb. 1 — "The Bangla Desh ship of state has unfurled its sails and is moving away from the dock," Victor Perlo stated at a press conference here today upon his return from Bangla Desh.

"President Nixon," he added, "had better jump on board or else he will fall into the sea."

Perlo, chairman of the National Economics Commission of the Communist Party, had gone to Bangla Desh as part of a delegation of eight representing the World Peace Council. It was the first outside delegation to be invited to Bangla Desh by the country's foreign minister, Ahmed Samad Azad.

The delegation was headed by Isabelle Blume, a former member of the Belgian parliament, and included representatives from the African National Congress, Lebanon, German Democratic Republic, Chile, Soviet Union and India.

#### Met Mujibur Raman

The delegation met with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of Bangla Desh, and the heads of government departments, and traveled extensively in the countryside.

"Bangla Desh is recovering from the war and the atrocities committed by the Pakistani army," Perlo said, "but it is in great need of aid."

He said the U.S. had special responsibility to provide aid because of the support it gave to the Pakistani mass murderers. The U.S., he said, should ship food, medical supplies, building materials, educational materials and spare parts and replacements for American equipment. In addition, the U.S. should provide free foreign currency.

Much aid, he noted, is now being flown in from the socialist countries and India, and many wounded are being treated in hospitals in these countries.

#### Returning to normal

"Life in Bangla Desh," Perlo said, "is gradually returning to normal. The jute factories are now operating at 50 percent capacity and by the middle of this year the communication and transportation network will be completely repaired. By the end of the year the economy should be essentially back to normal."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman told him, he said, "We have resources, land and people. Our job now is to put them together."

The Sheikh also expressed deep friendship for the American people but was fearful of intrigue by the CIA.

Bangla Desh leaders, Perlo said, charge that the CIA was actively involved in the Pakistani atrocities. The details of this involvement, he said will be brought out when the war crimes trials are begun. War criminals and collaborators, he added, are still being rounded up and a full-scale investigation is being planned.

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# Rahman miffed at Nixon, but he'd accept U.S. aid

By DON TATE  
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

DACCA, Bangladesh — Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman Tuesday accused the Nixon administration of playing dirty during Bangladesh's fight for freedom and showed a tough stance on accepting possible U.S. aid.

In an exclusive interview in which he twice apologized for emotion that brought him near tears, the prime minister, who returned from imprisonment in West Pakistan only two weeks ago, told Scripps-Howard News-papers:



Tate

• He's convinced the American people are in full sympathy with him but he cannot understand why the Nixon administration "played dirty, helping the Pakistani army with arms and ammunition to kill innocent people."

• He welcomes aid Americans provided privately but doesn't want U.S. government aid—"How can I accept it?" But he softened that later, saying he would accept U.S. aid if the United States recognized Bangladesh.

• He regards himself as facing an almost impossible task of building a nation but he will accomplish it.

"The American people are not against me," he said. "The American people are in full sympathy with me.

"What were we fighting for? To save my people from oppression and persecution of the Pakistani army. Did the American government not know? The American government has missionaries here. The American government has an information branch here. The American government has a Central Intelligence (Agency) branch. The American government gets every information of what is happening in Bangladesh.

## JOURNALISTS

"American journalists were writing, senators were protesting. (Sen. Edward M.) Kennedy came here and protested. Why was the administration against us? This was not Vietnam. We were not fighting the American

army. Should not Nixon have protested it? Countries are not chess pieces to be moved about. Countries are people, bleeding people.

"In my country nobody could come out in the street. Any girl who came out could be picked up like this. Big businessman, intellectual, anybody, shot, shot, shot. Girls raped in front of their mothers, mothers raped in front of their sons . . ."

"At my house, an innocent child of two years, saying Jai Bangla (long live Bengal) was killed and a Pakistani flag planted on its head. They've killed a doctor, an eye specialist, by taking his eyes out first. They have killed a heart specialist by taking his heart out. They even killed the animals in the zoo. Were the Nazis worse than this? Was Genghis Khan?"

On American aid the prime minister declared: "The American government has stopped aid to India. What for? Because India supported my liberation movement. Now first of all they (the Nixon administration) must talk with India. They must say they're sorry. Because India has suffered for us. Mrs. (Indira) Gandhi (India's prime minister) has suffered for us. We stand by them as a friendly country.

"I have heartfelt gratitude for the prime minister of India. She is a great lady. My 10 million people have migrated and she has given them food, shelter and accommodation."

## DIRECT AID

Asked if the American government had approached him at all in terms of direct aid, the prime minister replied first: "No I don't want it"—then softened it to, "How can I accept it? They must first give to India . . . but the American people are helping me. They have made a citizens committee. They are collecting dollars. Sen. Kennedy and others, they are collecting help. I'll accept that."

Asked if he would accept formal aid from the United States if the American government recognized Bangladesh, he replied:

"Then, it is all right."

As for the tasks ahead, he said he did not think any man ever faced doing so much with so little: "We are starting from zero. But my people love me and I love them. They will wait. They will suffer, but they will stand by me . . ."

When he talks about his relationship with his people the power of Sheikh Mujib turns on full volume. His voice, with its full-throated, actors' range, half Southern preacher, half Charles Boyer fairly trembles with emotion:

"If you speak from the heart with sincerity the people understand. . . . They know that nothing can purchase my head, prime minister or no prime minister, prestige or no prestige."

On the practical side, he said his people are destitute but that aid is flowing in, that law and order is essentially under control, that his own political control is unquestioned by all except the tiniest minority of

extremists and that the Mukti Bahini guerrillas are beginning to lay down their arms as he requested.

## FOOD SITUATION

On the food situation, which he says could grow serious soon, he expressed confidence that self-sufficiency in food could be achieved within a couple of years once a joint flood control program with India is worked out:

"If we can control the floods, then we can produce so much food in our rich, fertile soil that we will no longer require food from outside."

As for future ties with West Pakistan, Mujib boomed, nearly spilling his tea. "Finished forever It is finished, we want nothing to do with them. You can stay with people who are civilized, but you cannot stay with people who are uncivilized."

But how could Muslims do what they did to other Muslims? he was asked.

"People who cannot be human beings cannot be Muslims," Mujib said. "Their soldiers are not human beings. How can they be Muslims?"

On socialism the prime minister said his country could achieve socialism through "Mujib-bad"—Mujib's philosophy. He insisted it would develop pragmatically through Democratic processes. He stressed democracy again and again and said: "In whatever we do, that will always be our guiding word. We have seen enough of the other way."

26 JAN 1972

STATINTL

CARL T. ROWAN

## India's Press Intensifies Anti-U.S. Sentiment

CALCUTTA — The dispatch out of Bangladesh says that a "genocide enquiry commission" will be given allegations that "the American organization, the CIA, and the military adviser of the former governor conspired in killing intellectuals of Bangladesh."

One of the largest Bengali language dailies in this teeming city of 7 million people carried this attempt to blame the United States for atrocities committed by West Pakistan soldiers, reporting that "authentic documents on this conspiracy have been recovered, it is learned."

A dispatch out of Bombay quotes "unimpeachable sources" as saying that "it was the American submarine, Fargo, which torpedoed the (Indian frigate Khukri) in the high seas between Bombay and Karachi" in the first week of December.

This attempt to blame the United States for the sinking of the Indian vessel appeared in the Hindustan Standard, one of the largest English-language dailies, and in Ananda Bazar Patrika, the Bengali daily with the largest circulation in India. U.S. Ambassador Kenneth Keating called this report "totally false" and pointed out that there is no American nuclear submarine named Fargo. The chief of staff of the Indian navy told a press conference recently that it was a Pakistani submarine that sank the Khukri.

But news stories and editorials continue to pin the attack on the U.S. Navy.

"CIA Conspiracy to Foil Bangladesh Revolution" screams the headline from Darpan, a Bengali weekly. It reports from Dacca, without attribution to anyone, claims that the CIA and "Indian vested interests" are plotting

against the new country and that Bangladesh has "set up a special cell to watch on the CIA and its agents."

These are just samples of the journalistic fever, the press paranoia, that evidences one fact: U.S. relations with India have been bad during past crises, but they have never been worse than now. And there is slim hope for improvement very soon.

I visited Asoke K. Sarkar, managing director and editor of the Standard and Ananda Bazar Patrika, the papers that kept accusing the United States of sinking the Indian ship despite even Indian government denials. I asked Sarkar when these emotional attacks might end — when there might be some improvement in U.S.-Indian relations.

"Not as long as Nixon and Kissinger are in power," Sarkar said, "and I expect Nixon to win another term."

Sarkar's papers, like many others, take the line that they still like Americans but they hate Nixon and Kissinger. Nonetheless, the attacks go far beyond the two men in the White House, portraying the Pentagon, as pushing a war strategy in which Americans incite Asians to kill each other, deploring U.S. foreign aid as a foul attempt to buy up countries and, of course, whipping the Central Intelligence Agency as an omnipresent, almost-but-not-quite-omnipotent international ogre.

Sarkar is in fact an enigmatic example of the deterioration in Indo-American relations. He was for years an outspoken friend of the United States but is now one of the most intemperate critics.

In mid-December the Bengali weekly Darpan, which has leanings toward the Communist party—Maoist

branch—had a front-page story that "Darpan understands from a reliable source that Abhik Sarkar, eldest son of the proprietor of the Ananda Bazar Patrika-Hindustan Standard group of newspapers, has been supplying unauthorized war news to a suspicious news agency, Asian News Service. Its headquarters are at Manila and Hong Kong. Both are jurisdictions of the ill-famed CIA."

Darpan claimed that only after charges of the CIA link surfaced did Ananda Bazar Patrika begin to write anti-American editorials.

Several editors and others here say that the Communist parties will realize what Asoke Sarkar called "maximum benefit out of this situation created by Nixon and Kissinger." This volatile, poverty stricken, highly emotional state of West Bengal is where they might make the most of anti-Americanism.

The Maoist branch of the Communist party won 111 seats in the West Bengal Assembly in the 1971 mid-term poll whereas Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress Party won only 105 (total seats: 280) and had to join with the Russian-leaning Communist party and other splinter groups to form a ruling coalition. That coalition fell apart quickly and West Bengal is now ruled from Delhi.

New elections occur here in March and Mrs. Gandhi already is campaigning heavily to help her party exploit her new popularity gained in the military triumph over Pakistan and the "liberation of East Bengal."

Her party is expected to gain several seats, but there is uneasiness that the Communists may parlay anti-

Americanism into stunning gains of their own.

This fear may explain Indian government leaks to newspapers about "letters pouring in" from the American people, praising Mrs. Gandhi and deploring the Nixon-Kissinger policies.

"Whatever conspiracy may have been hatched against India and Bangladesh by the Nixon administration, these letters prove that the U.S. government is detached from the people of its own country," says Kalantar, another Bengali daily.

But it may not be so easy to steer West Bengalis away from the simplistic notion that during the crisis "the Russians were our friends and the Americans were our enemies, so let's vote Communist." Except that Mrs. Gandhi is going to remind them that the Communist party she fears most leans to China, which was on Pakistan's side.

The question is whether voters will hear this distinction over the din of anti-U.S. rhetoric.

The Stanford Weekly  
13 Jan 1972

# CIA Supports Bengali Elite

Today, the guerrillas—most of them are not Maoists—equipped with light machine guns, sten guns, and other small arms, are refusing to surrender their weapons to the Awami League government or its Indian Army allies.

West Bengal (India) traded extensively and profitably with East Pakistan. Now Calcutta businessmen hope to resume old business ties.

One of India's motives for invading was fear of the growing leadership of local leftists in the Bangladesh liberation movement. These groups—virtually ignored by the American press—wished to create a socialist Bangladesh,

STATINTL

At long last—a television war. Every night we watched to see who was winning, to count casualties, and to give thanks that we wouldn't have to fight. And, after a few weeks, it ended. Indian troops occupy Bangladesh attempting "to keep the peace" and disarm the Bengali guerrilla forces. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the President of Bangladesh, is freed from a West Pakistan jail after nine months of imprisonment and is returning home.

Why did it happen? What now?

When Indian policy-makers decided to intervene in East Bengal (East Pakistan or Bangladesh) this November, they were responding to a series of economic and political crises. Though masses of anti-Moslem, anti-Pakistani Indians had been demonstrating in the streets since March, the war fever only made it easier for Indian leaders to go to war.

## Refugee Burden

Ten million East Bengali refugees now living in India have been a tremendous burden on the Indian economy. Resources, including foreign aid originally intended for India, have been reallocated for the refugees. The total expenditure on refugees this fiscal year will be at least 20% of the entire Indian budget.

Mrs. Gandhi's government was worried about the potential political explosiveness of the ten million refugees. India feared that the Bangladesh struggle would spill over into an already unstable West Bengal. John P. Lewis, former AID director in India and

the chief South Asian adviser to Senator Edward Kennedy, reports that "refugees from East Pakistan, who have entered eastern India in several surges beginning in 1947, have tended to join extremist political factions. . . ."

## Worker's Rebellion

Discontent among the natives of West Bengal (the Indian province surrounding Calcutta) also threatens the authority of the Indian government. West Bengal landowners and employers have hired many of the refugees, lowering wages and forcing many Indians out of work in an area with already sizable unemployment. While there have been reports of clashes between native wage-earners and refugees, the real threat to India is the specter of a rebellion by West Bengali workers.

India has tried to contain the refugees in isolated camps. The government even hired several thousand young men to try curbing extremist agitation in and around the refugee camps. Indian officials contended that the refugees should return to their homes, but the bulk of the refugees would not return so long as Pakistani troops occupied East Bengal. And as long as the refugees remain in India, they are a political liability for Mrs. Gandhi's government.

On the other hand, a pro-Indian Bangladesh government will be an asset to India's economy. Before independence in 1948, Indian businessmen in Calcutta ran the

independent of India as well as Pakistan. Even before the Pakistani civil war began in March, 1971, the East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) had organized guerrilla bands, killed several landlords, and distributed land to the peasants. Just before the Indian invasion the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported fierce fighting between the Maoists and the Awami-League-backed guerrillas in East Bengal.

## Armed Guerrillas

Today, the guerrillas—most of them are not Maoists—equipped with light machine guns, sten guns, and other small arms are refusing to surrender their weapons to the Awami League government or its Indian Army allies. The Mukti Bahini control many areas of Bangladesh, including the banks, the offices, and the local treasury. A large proportion of the guerrillas are students who are radicalized and want the struggle to be carried to its logical end. They do not want any "going back" on their revolution.

"We want an exploitation-free, socialist, democratic society with social ownership over modes of production," one of them told a reporter.

The Awami League elite, which basked in the sunshine of the Mukti Bahini's guerrilla operations, is now in power after nine months in the relative comfort of exile, in India. They do not relish such talk. They would like the guerrillas to be disarmed before the Indian Army

## From 2 Reporters' Notebooks:

# In Pakistani-Held Dacca, With the Indian Army

## War Swirls Into a Hotel-Neutral Zone

By JAMES P. STERBA

Special to The New York Times

DACCA, Pakistan, Dec. 20—Notes on a 14-day stay in Dacca, during the Indian-Pakistani war:

### Dec. 3

"I say it is not essential that one die of cancer or in a car accident. I say, why not die doing a fine job for your country and take a few of those devils with you."

Lieut. Col. Hakeem Arshad Queshi, 39 years old, expressed the fatalism of his men best. His regiment, the 26th Frontier Force, was defending Dinajpur in the far northwest against Indian probing and shelling in the morning. The Indian invasion started a few hours later—at about teatime.

Diplomats have only fuzzy reports and military phones don't answer. The Dacca radio announces an immediate curfew and blackout. There is a poker game by candlelight at the Hotel Inter-Continental.

### Dec. 4

Fireworks. The first wave of air raids—Indian jet fighters—comes at about 3 A.M. rocketing and strafing. Tracers fill the sky from ground gunners. The war has come to Dacca.

By day the raids continue, with sorties about hourly on the airport, a mile north of town and adjacent to the Pakistani military cantonment. Through the day there are dog-fights overhead, rocketing, strafing and antiaircraft fire.

Crows, soaring above, are constantly mistaken for Indian and Pakistani warplanes.

Foreigners, waiting to be evacuated, pile into the hotel. The hotel is filled by late afternoon with foreigners and frightened Pakistanis, and there is no beer.

When it was apparent that the Indian planes were aiming at only military targets, many Daccans go about business as usual—beggars beg, some shops stay open, newspapers publish and tea is served at open stalls.

### Dec. 5

The morning paper said the "get-a-word" lottery pool competition was still on and the Naz Theater in downtown

Dacca would have four showings today of "Operation Crossbow," starring Sophia Loren.

A paid notice said: "Begum Badrunnessa regrets to announce that in view of unavoidable circumstances the marriage and walima receptions scheduled for Dec. 5 and 8 respectively on the occasion of the wedding of Ruhul Amin and Razia Ahmed have been called off. Inconvenience caused to the invitees is very much regretted."

### Dec. 6

Hotel service is fine but laundry is considered a gamble now. Hugh Breadford Syme, the Scottish chef, has been cooking on charcoal to feed about 400 people a meal since he ran out of bottled gas two weeks ago. He's been here four months and hasn't received a paycheck yet.

Six raiding planes swoop over the hotel, dropping pods that burst into orange flames and black smoke near the airport runway.

A family appears on the roof and a television correspondent says: "You're crazy. They're firing ack-ack around here—you could get killed." The mother snaps, "Hey, you can't talk to my kids like that!"

Gunners shoot at Indian planes on low passes over the hotel en route to the airport. With magnets, hotel workers fish shrapnel from the swimming pool daily.

Harried foreigners, their hopes for evacuation thwarted, file back into the hotel. Bernard Holt, the British manager, stands by the door in a neat blue suit, saying "Welcome to the Inter-Continental Hotel." He adds: "What else can I do. I said good-by to them an hour ago."

Mrs. Douglas Townsend of San Leandro, Calif., sits in the lobby with her gray toy poodle on her lap. "He's doing just fine now," she says.

The Pakistani International Airlines regional director and some others flew a small plane out to Burma last night. He left a note to one of his employer's reading: "You are now the new regional manager."

### Dec. 7

At 1:45 P.M. the bombing starts again, and for the first time white balloons attached to ground cables appear over the airport and cantonment, presumably to ensnare a low-flying MIG.

The bombing and antiaircraft fire keep up all afternoon. Father Timm, an American priest, has organized basketball games at Notre Dame College here every Monday, Wednesday and Friday since the crisis began months ago. If enough people turn up this afternoon, he says, there will be a game.

### Dec. 8

The hotel workers are digging slit trench air-raid shelters in the back lawn near the swimming pool.

More bombing of the airport this morning, and more and more cars are topped with bushes, twigs and leaves. "If this keeps up, Dacca isn't going to have any foliage left," someone says.

Jeff Lungu, an exchange medical student from Malawi, has been here for six years trying to get his degree. He was evacuated in March just before final exams, then went to Karachi and took his exams there.

The Government flunked everyone from schools in East Pakistan to show standards in the Western wing were higher. He flew back to Dacca a week ago and, in the middle of all the confusion, has been searching out professors who can upgrade his marks so he can get his degree and return to Malawi.

Ray Maas, a Colonel Sanders-looking character and an accountant for an engineering company, has been in East Pakistan since 1967. He tried to telephone his home in Marion, Illinois, on Thanksgiving and was up to eighth on the list when the air raids started.

"My kids think I'm a C.I.A. agent," he says. "Every place I go—Korea, India, Brazil—there's trouble. Now here too. My kid pulled me on the side back home once and asked me if I was an agent. I told him if I was I couldn't tel him."

Before the mighty press poker game, martinis are served with vermouth and olive—both rare

commodities scrounged by a growing brotherhood of trapped souls. Marshmallows are toasted on the candles on the poker table.

### Dec. 9

Dacca looks virtually normal just after noon. Six cows graze on the traffic circle in front of the American Consulate, but on the edges of town people are fleeing, carrying what belongings they can.

At the hotel an attendant discovers a bomb in the ground-floor women's toilet. The hotel security officer, Asgher Beg, disarms it and carries it out to the swimming pool. The word spreads through the hotel and relaxed expressions become frowns of worry.

An hour later Red Cross officials announce that as of 5 P.M. the hotel and the nearby Holy Family Hospital will be declared neutral zones. Foreigners awaiting evacuation and those Pakistanis already in residence can stay. No weapons are allowed, and the big

problem is collecting all those already inside.

At 5:40 P.M., just after another MIG completes a bombing run, hotel workers hoist a wooden sign with red letters on the front of the hotel. It reads: "Neutral Zone International Red Cross Geneva." Red cloth crosses are draped on the sides of the hotel.

At dusk a delegation of Red Cross officers and reporters goes from room to room asking guests to turn over their guns. Collected by 7 P.M. were 11 pistols, a rifle two shotguns and a lead pipe.

Ray Matelli, Esso manager for East Pakistan, worries about how he is going to collect his gasoline bill from the Pakistani Army. It owes him close to \$1-million.

### Dec. 10

At a Red Cross meeting Mr. Beg, the security man, is applauded for carrying the bomb from the hotel. It is resting under sandbags on the lawn, and people are advised to avoid walking on it.

Someone asks why room service has stopped and is told: "This is a compound now."

Dacca is full of traffic and people today, with many people leaving town. But news-

12 NOV 1971

# Yahya Willing to Meet With East Pakistanis

By Lee Lescaze

Washington Post Foreign Service

NEW DELHI, Nov. 11—Pakistan's President Yahya Khan has privately expressed willingness to meet leaders of East Pakistan's outlawed Awami League party to discuss a political solution of the civil war, according to reliable sources.

His statement has been conveyed to East Pakistani leaders at their Calcutta headquarters, but several major points remain to be clarified before any talks can begin, the sources report.

Despite Yahya's willingness to open a dialogue, he has made it clear that not all members of the East Pakistani Bangla Desh government in exile would be acceptable to him as representatives at talks between the two sides.

The Indian government is also determined to exercise right of approval on any emissary chosen by the East Pakistani leaders, despite India's public assertion that Bangla Desh officials operate free of Indian control. India keeps close watch on the exile government and would presumably want to monitor any contacts between the rebels and Pakistan's military government.

Another unresolved question is the role of Awami League head Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who is being tried in West Pakistan for treason. His subordinates in the Awami League, who now lead the exile government in his absence, are reportedly reluctant to open talks with Yahya without Mujibur's consent.

However, Yahya has given no indication that the sheikh could participate in any talks unless he is first acquitted by the military court. Nor has Yahya agreed that Mujibur could be consulted in prison by any Bangla Desh representative.

Nevertheless, the establishment of communication between Yahya and rebel leaders is the first evidence of any progress toward a political so-

lution of the almost eight-month-old civil war.

The United States reportedly was instrumental in helping communication begin between the two sides. India, the United States, the Soviet Union and other nations have long urged that avenues toward a political solution be explored to stop the bloodshed in East Pakistan and to reduce the threat that Pakistan's civil war will lead to a full-scale India-Pakistan war.

Indian officials have publicly welcomed American or any other third-party efforts to establish contact between the Pakistani factions. However, Yahya's privately expressed receptivity to talks has apparently aroused Indian and Bangla Desh suspicions of American intentions.

Indian newspapers have recently carried stories charging that CIA agents are seeking to split the Bangla Desh leadership with the aim of arranging a compromise solution short of independence for East Pakistan.

Mistrust of the United States stems from America's continued good relations with Pakistan and President Nixon's refusal to condemn Yahya's government for its actions in East Pakistan, which have driven 9.6 million refugees across the border into India.

## No 'Surrender'

Some Indian officials therefore believe that Washington's primary objective is to bail Yahya out of his present trouble with the least possible cost to the Pakistan regime. They stress that any talks must not involve "a surrender" to the West Pakistan government by Bangla Desh.

D. P. Dhar, the chairman of India's policy planning commission and the principal Indian strategist on East Pakistan, is critical of American attempts to help resolve the crisis.

"The remedies which have been casually suggested by the United States administration do not have any relationship to the realities of the situation," he said in a recent interview.

The suspicion of U.S. intentions here puts into question whether any further American intermediary role will be possible. On Oct. 28, the ruling Working Committee of the Awami League restricted contacts with Americans by instructing elected members of the National Assembly not to make individual contact with foreigners.

The same Working Committee meeting reiterated that it would accept nothing short of independence.

## No Solution in Union

Most Indian officials also argue that no political solution can be found which would leave East Pakistan within a united Pakistan.

If that is the only position which Awami League members and their Indian patrons would bring to a bargaining table, there would be no basis for discussions with Yahya Khan, who launched his military occupation of East Pakistan to preserve the unity of Pakistan's two wings.

The longer the war goes on, well-informed observers believe, the less chance there will be of either side moderating its position and the greater the chances of an Indian-Pakistan war.

"I don't see much hope for talks reaching any real solution even now," one Western source said. "Too many people have been killed and the bitterness on all sides is too great."

NEWE BERLINER ILLUSTRIERTE  
2 NOVEMBERHEFT 1971

## INDIEN/PAKISTAN

### Explosive Lage

Die bewaffneten Zwischenfälle an der indisch-pakistanischen Grenze häufen sich. Die pakistanische Armee hat in Ostbengalen Streitkräfte von 80 000 Mann an der Grenze zu Indien zusammengezogen. Indien berief 600 000 Reservisten ein und traf andere Maßnahmen zur Verteidigung. Premierminister Indira Gandhi erklärte, ihr Land unternehme „alles Erdenkliche, um einen bewaffneten Konflikt zu vermeiden“.

Die Kriegsgefahr auf dem Subkontinent, wo etwa ein Fünftel der Menschheit lebt, ist eine Folge der blutigen Ereignisse in Ostpakistan. Als dieser Landesteil, der fast 2000 Kilometer durch indisches Territorium von den westlichen Provinzen getrennt ist, seine Autonomie durchsetzen wollte, entsandte die Zentralregierung in Westpakistan im März 1971 Truppen. Sie erstickten mit Waffengewalt den Widerstand in der östlichen Region, die von der Bourgeoisie Westpakistans als innere Kolonie betrachtet und ausgebeutet wird (siehe auch „Die aktuelle NBI-Karte - Zum Konflikt in Pakistan“, Heft 22/71).

Um den Verfolgungen und Repressalien der Armee zu entgehen, ergoß sich ein Strom ostpakistanischer Flüchtlinge über die Grenze nach Indien - vor allem in den Unionsstaat Westbengalen. Noch immer flüchten täglich etwa 30 000 Menschen. Inzwischen wuchs ihre Zahl auf insgesamt fast zehn Millionen Menschen an, die meist in primitiven Lagern kampieren. Ihre Versorgung

bürdet der Wirtschaft Indiens zusätzliche unerträgliche Lasten auf, welche die Verwirklichung der sozialökonomischen Programme der Regierung Indira Gandhis spürbar verlangsamt haben.

Es gilt bereits als offenes Geheimnis, daß sich die amerikanische Geheimdienstzentrale CIA verstärkt in Pakistan engagiert hat. Die US-Gesellschaft „World Airways“, die ebenso wie die „Air America“ und „Continental Air Service“ in Laos eine verkappte CIA-Firma ist, befördert Truppen von West- nach Ostpakistan. Bereits in diesem Sommer trafen amerikanische Militärberater ein, die wie in Laos der US-Botschaft zugordnet sind und einen diplomatischen Status haben. Wie kürzlich Senator Edward Kennedy erklärte, liefern die USA - trotz gegenteiliger Versicherungen - Waffen und Munition nach Pakistan und heizen damit die Spannung in diesem Gebiet weiter an.

Auf der UNO-Vollversammlung hat Außenminister Gromyko die Haltung der Sowjetunion, deren Friedensverhandlungen schon 1965 den pakistanisch-indischen Krieg beendeten, dargelegt: „Wir sind davon überzeugt, daß nur auf dem Wege einer politischen Regelung der in Ostpakistan entstandenen Fragen auch eine Entspannung in diesem Gebiet erreicht werden kann... Die Flüchtlinge müssen nach Ostpakistan zurückgebracht werden; aber das wird nur dann möglich sein, wenn dort ihre Sicherheit gewährleistet ist.“ Andrej Gromyko gab der Hoffnung Ausdruck, daß „Selbstbeherrschung und Vernunft die Oberhand behalten werden“.

Jan Willen

DAILY WORLD

8 SEP 1971

## U.S. agents pressuring Bangla Desh

By SADHAN MUKHERJEE

NEW DELHI, India, Aug. 31 (By airmail) — The U.S. is reportedly using the case of Bangla Desh leader Mujibur Rahman, now under so-called trial in West Pakistan, as a bait to blackmail the leaders of the Bangla Desh Government. Iran is the go-between, and its representatives have already contacted Bangla Desh representatives for a "settlement."

The main proposal is that Bangla Desh give up its claim for "independence." Bangla Desh leaders argue such a compromise would amount to a betrayal to the cause for which so much blood has been shed, especially when the freedom fighters are dealing heavy blows against the military junta. Mujibur Rahman himself has declared that if necessary a free Bangla Desh "will rise on his dead body."

Several U.S. organizations have become active among the intellectuals who have fled from Bangla Desh and taken shelter in India. One such organization, the International Rescue Committee, headed by Mrs. Oswald Lord, is reported to be spending some \$24,000 per month. It is already paying handsome "allowances" to some 55 intellectuals from Bangla Desh "for research work" and to 10 artists "for holding exhibitions."

This organization was active among the Cuban counter-revolutionaries and also among emigre Hungarians. Mrs. Lord is known to have links with the CIA.

STATINTL



WASHINGTON POST

9 APR 1971

STATINTL

The Washington Henry-Go-Round

# Intelligence Ills Have Fatal Results

*By Jack Anderson*

**FAULTY INTELLIGENCE** and military leaks have caused heavy casualties, contributed to the Mylai massacre and triggered other tragedies in Indochina.

Because intelligence reports are highly classified, the mistakes have been swept under the secrecy label. The public is entitled to know, however, about the terrible cost of intelligence errors.

By monitoring enemy radio transmissions, for example, the Defense Intelligence Agency learned that Hanoi had advance knowledge of both the Cambodian and Laos invasions.

Intercepted enemy messages, called "gamma controlled items," revealed that the Vietcong had overheard two U.S. officers discuss the Cambodian invasion plan. The eavesdroppers learned enough to alert Communist forces in Cambodia.

Before the Laos invasion, allied commandos made repeated, hit-and-run raids against the Ho Chi Minh infiltration routes. It became evident in the fall of 1970, however, that these surprise raids, planned under the secret code name "Prairie Fire," were no longer surprising anyone.

## Raiders Ambushed

Someone began tipping off the enemy exactly where and when to expect the raids, with disastrous results for the raid-

ers. More than once, helicopters had to be rushed in to rescue the so-called MACSOG teams from ambush.

The South Vietnamese invasion to cut off the Ho Chi Minh trails, similarly, was anticipated by the North Vietnamese. Intelligence estimates placed only 1½ divisions in the area. These were expected to fade back, avoiding any concentrations that could be blasted from the air.

Instead, the South Vietnamese ran into four divisions, which defied withering air attacks to drive the invaders out of Laos. The Communists also threw more tanks into the battle than the intelligence experts had thought in the area.

In earlier columns, we also detailed how Hanoi has been alerted in advance of 1:52 raids. Plans for the raids, obtained from GIs for stashes of marijuana or caps of heroin, had been delivered to a Soviet trawler off Okinawa's Minatogawa Point. The trawler's high-powered transmitters would radio the information to Hanoi in time for the North Vietnamese to move their trucks off the Ho Chi Minh trails before the big bombers arrived.

It's also no secret that the Mylai massacre was the direct result of faulty intelligence. The attackers were told that the whole area was infested with Vietcong, that two Vietcong companies, and a field headquarters were located in Mylai and that the villagers would be away.

The tragic result was that three companies, including Lt. William Calley Jr. and his men, surged into Mylai with guns blazing. They didn't stop when the expected Vietcong turned out to be unarmed villagers.

## Unpublicized Massacre

Intelligence goofs have been responsible for other, unpublicized massacres. U.S. pilots, guided by wrong intelligence, have bombed and strafed friendly Montagnard villages. We will document these charges in future columns.

Of course, the celebrated Sontay raid, which sent daring Americans into the outskirts of Hanoi to rescue war prisoners, was a dangerous wild goose chase thanks to poor intelligence.

Brig. Gen. Leroy Manor, who directed the operation, admitted to the press afterward that the American prisoners had been gone from the camp for "several weeks." His secret message to the Pentagon, stamped "FLASH-PRECEDENT," reported that the camp hadn't been occupied for "three or four months."

The price for these intelligence goofs has been paid in blood. Should those who were responsible be allowed to remain in their shadowy world safe from public exposure?

Footnote: Intelligence reports, based on captured documents and intercepted messages, led to the Laos invasion. The reports claimed that

Hanoi planned to drive across South Vietnam to the sea in August, thereby disrupting South Vietnamese elections and turning the American withdrawal into a retreat. The assault upon the Ho Chi Minh trail complex was ordered largely to head off this anticipated offensive.

But unhappily, the latest intelligence reports show that the truck traffic down the Ho Chi Minh trails has picked up dramatically since the South Vietnamese pullout. Truck sightings have been running as high as 1,000 to 1,200 a day. This means the North Vietnamese are making a mighty effort to replace the supplies that the invasion force destroyed. The August offensive, if the original reports were correct, may still be possible.

## Diplomatic Grapevine

U.S. intelligence officers say the Chinese party organizers have run up against a wall of apathy among the Chinese people on communism, just as the Russian people are turning off on the same subject.

Rumors have been whipping through Karachi that the Central Intelligence Agency is behind the rebellion in East Pakistan. The whispers charge that the U.S. seeks to establish a more friendly, independent government in East Pakistan. The rumors undoubtedly will be believed although they are absolutely false.

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## Paul Grimes: U.S.-Pakistani relations

# Guess who's the scapegoat?

No matter how much the United States may try to keep out of the civil strife in Pakistan, it seems destined to be a loser.

Many Pakistanis seem unable to accept the fact that it's their own fault their country has cracked up. The truth is that they lacked the national unity to keep it together in peace.

Rather than admit this, however, they have sought a scapegoat. And no scapegoat is more convenient than the same one they blamed for troubles in the past.

Namely, the United States.

### CIA, U.S. officials blamed

In a dispatch the other day from Rawalpindi, Tillman Durdin of The New York Times gave a few examples of what's been going on:

—A right-wing politician complained to a rally in Karachi last week that the U.S. Central Intelligence

Agency, Premier Golda Meir of Israel and officials of India had teamed up to divide Pakistan under U.S. "patronage."

—The U.S. ambassador, Joseph S. Farland, is regularly portrayed as a pro-Indian agent of the CIA.

—A recent letter in a Karachi newspaper depicted Americans in Pakistan as having gloated over boxer Mohammed Ali's recent loss to Joe Frazier because Ali is a Moslem.

### Lies are not suppressed

The Pakistani Government is well aware that such reports are lies. Significantly, however, it has done little or nothing to suppress them.

Actually, the recent stress is only the latest manifestation of a malaise that has sorely afflicted U.S.-Pakistani relations more than ten years. Once, the two countries were close allies. But shortly after the death of John Foster

Dulles, the United States increased sharply its economic aid to nonaligned India.

Pakistan, which regards India as Enemy No. 1, didn't like that at all. It liked it less when the United States began to ship arms to India during the brief fighting there with Communist China in the fall of 1962.

Three years later, when Pakistan and India used American arms against each other, Washington cut off aid to both. Many Pakistanis felt they had been betrayed.

### Easy way to rally mob

After that, it was easy to blame the United States for all sorts of things. If a Pakistani politician wanted to rally a mob behind him, all he had to do was point a scolding finger at Uncle Sam.

It doesn't seem to matter these days that the United States provides Pakistan with about \$200 million in economic aid a year. The rumormongers say that the purpose behind such aid is to "dominate" Pakistan and "undermine" her security.

In the strife between East Pakistan and the central government, the United States is damned if it does anything and damned if it doesn't.

If it's friendly toward the East wing, it's damned by the Western-dominated central government as encouraging secession. When it insists on dealing only through the central government, it's damned by the Easterners. When it does nothing, it's damned by both.

### Needs a scapegoat

Regardless of the ultimate fate of East Pakistan, the central government has been badly weakened. It will continue to need the scapegoat that Uncle Sam provides.

If East Pakistan becomes free, however, the people there will doubtless remember that in time of crisis, the United States was not on their side.

Mr. Grimes, of The Bulletin staff, has reported extensively from Pakistan.

26 MAR 1971

STATINTL

## Americans in Pakistan Find Bitterness Against the U.S.

By **TILLMAN-DUHN Durdin**

Special to The New York Times

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan, March 25—An American newly arrived in Pakistan might have been surprised by the speech of a right-wing Pakistani politician at a Karachi rally Monday claiming that the United States Central Intelligence Agency, Premier Golda Meir of Israel and Indian officials had teamed up "to divide Pakistan under the patronage of the United States of America.

To Americans resident in Pakistan, and particularly American officials, such allegations elicit only a weary shrug.

During the last year hardly a day has passed without some politician or publication accusing Americans in Pakistan of activity damaging to Moslem Pakistan or to Moslems elsewhere around the world.

The attacks reflect the simmering acerbity that marks relationships between the United States and Pakistan, which were the warmest of allies against Communist expansionism in the nineteen-fifties.

Much of Pakistan's bitterness seems to stem from the United States failure to support Pakistan in the 1965 war with India and from the stopping of military supplies to both countries at that time.

Pakistan expected a renewal of those supplies and other favors when Mr. Nixon, who was Vice President under President Eisenhower during the congenial nineteen-fifties, took office. But these expectations have not been fulfilled.

United States economic aid to Pakistan, now about \$200-million a year, is regularly described as a stratagem to secure United States domination of Pakistan or to undermine her security.

### Ambassador Accused

A letter to the editor in a Karachi paper the other day depicted Americans in Pakistan listening to radio broadcasts of the Muhammad Ali-Joe Frazier boxing match and gloating over Ali's defeat because he is a Moslem.

A common charge is that the United States, which is on rec-

ord as favoring the continued unity of Pakistan, is behind the present campaign for self-determination in East Pakistan. The United States Ambassador, Joseph S. Farland, who paid a routine visit to Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the East Pakistani leader, in Dacca on his way from here to Bangkok last month for medical treatment, has been depicted as the mastermind.

One story that recently spread through the country was that the United States Sixth Fleet, still reliably reported to be in the Mediterranean monitoring Soviet naval strength, had arrived in the Bay of Bengal to assert a long-standing United States claim to a naval base there.

Ambassador Farland is regularly portrayed as a C.I.A. agent subverting Pakistan's interests—often in favor of India. As proof that he and other Americans in Pakistan belong to the C.I.A., Pakistan cites an East German publication which purports to list American agents.

STATINTL

## East Pakistan's Left is split over 'CIA plot'

From S. R. GHOURI, Dacca, February 5

The National Awami Party, Pakistan's only party close to communism with a Chinese bias, has splintered into three warring factions, leaving Maulana Bhashani, aged 87, its president and a legendary figure in East Pakistan, the almost hopeless task of picking up the pieces.

Party members have been infighting for about three months, but now a battle is being waged in public around what is described as a CIA document which "fell into the hands of some party leaders about two years ago."

The document, Mr Bhashani's party men used to claim, described a "plot" by the agency to create chaos in the country, especially in East Pakistan, to suppress peasants and workers, and to bring Pakistan under hegemony. For months the document has been the lynchpin in NAP's machinery, churning out propaganda against American capitalism and its "stooges" in the country, and praising Chinese socialism.

About two weeks ago at a peasant rally in Santosh, Mr Bhashani's home village, the leader accused his secretary, Mr Toaha, of failing to publish the document upon which Mr

Toaha alleged that Mr Bhashani had prevented publication of the document.

Mr Toaha said that he had received a copy of the document from Mr Bhashani and had requested him to publish it immediately. The document, he claimed, as did Mr Bhashani, contained a plan to massacre Socialists by lending full American support to Right-wing parties such as Jamaat-e-Islami "on the Indonesian pattern."

Mr Toaha said that in spite of his repeated requests, Mr Bhashani had failed to publish the document but Mr Bhashani denied to the "Guardian" today ever having seen it. Mr Toaha had told him of the document's existence, he said, and had asked him to send copies to the Government if he was convinced of its authenticity.

Cracks in the party had become visible soon after President Yahya Khan's decision to hold elections to the National Assembly in October.

While all the other parties declared their intention to participate Mr Bhashani said his party would decide in March. Evidently an overwhelming majority in the party's working committee, which is dominated by East Pakistan, is

against participation but the party's 85-man council, including West Pakistanis, is in favour of the elections.

Mr Bhashani continues to maintain an ambivalent attitude, but his faction may finally plump for contesting the elections if the council endorses this view.

The second group, led by Abdul Haq and Motin Ahmed rejects ballot-box democracy and favours armed revolution. It is named after the leader of a Bengali Marxist Communist party and advocates booting and killing to secure "workers' rights."

The third faction, under Mr Toaha, is also against the election and prefers armed revolution to a sustained peaceful agitation.

The party infighting has made Mr Bhashani's position within that party awkward but so far he continues to wield a magical influence on the peasantry mainly because of his ability to employ his rustic genius and religious background to sell socialism without incurring the stigma of being Communist—something which Mr Bhutto's Islamic socialism, in spite of its dazzling intellectual content, has failed to achieve.