

Meanwhile, I urge all Senators to read Mr. Ragin's letter, which I commend him for writing, and which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORT COLLINS, COLO.,
April 19, 1971.

HON. GORDON ALLOTT,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ALLOTT: As an American citizen recently evacuated from Dacca, East Pakistan, and a member of your constituency, I am writing to you regarding the lack of an official American response to the events in Pakistan since March 25th. As a result of complete press censorship by the Pakistan Government and sensationalism by some news media, it may have been difficult for you to obtain a firsthand account of the Civil War which is raging in East Pakistan. My own personal experience in Dacca up to April 6th verifies many of the reports appearing in the International Press regarding the brutal tactics being used by the Pakistan Army against unarmed civilians. In addition, the American Consulate in Dacca has sent lengthy reports to the Department of State containing detailed accounts of systematic and random killing of civilians, students, faculty members and political leaders.

Amidst the myriad of political and strategic considerations surrounding our Government's lack of response to the inhumane repression of the 75 million people of East Pakistan, several relevant facts are clear. The first democratically-elected majority party of Pakistan, the Awami League, has been banned and its leaders, including Mr. Mujibur Rahman, have been jailed or killed. American weapons which were allocated to Pakistan for defense are being used by the military against unarmed Bengalis. The statement by the Soviet Union on April 1st condemning the massacre and urging an end to the carnage was widely hailed in India and East Pakistan.

Fully realizing the inadvisability of the United States to actively intervene in a Civil War, I urge you to seek and support a condemnation by Congress and the President of the United States of the inhumane treatment being accorded to the citizens of East Pakistan. The silence of our Government is being regarded as tacit approval of the action taken by the West Pakistan military. No political or strategic consideration should outweigh the importance of a humanitarian stand reiterating the American belief in the value of individual lives and in a democratic process of government.

I urge you to speak out now and to help bring an end to this tragic situation.

Sincerely,

JAMES F. RAGIN.

**A FIRSTHAND EXPERIENCE OF
TURMOIL IN EAST PAKISTAN**

Mr. ALLOTT, Mr. President, I urgently want to call to the attention of the Senate a letter I have received from a person with firsthand experience of the recent turmoil in East Pakistan.

The letter is from Mr. James F. Ragin, of Fort Collins, Colo. He recently was evacuated from Dacca, and has composed a most impressive and alarming report on what he saw before being evacuated.

Mr. Ragin's letter is the more impressive because it does not indulge rhetorical flourishes. With deadly matter of factness he recounts the orgy of mindless bloodletting he saw while in East Pakistan.

I am sending copies of this letter to appropriate persons in other branches of the Federal Government. I expect to be apprised by these persons concerning the U.S. response to the events Mr. Ragin describes and concerning appropriate modifications of U.S. policy in the light of these events.

**FACT SHEET ON INCIDENTS AND INFORMATION
COLLECTED BY AMERICANS IN DACCA**

**I. ATTACK ON UNARMED CIVILIAN INHABITANTS
IN DACCA**

A. Sadarghat is the dock area of old Dacca. On the morning of March 26th army troops attacked the terminal. No civilians were armed in that area. A machine gun was installed on the terminal roof and all men, women and children were fired upon. Inspection of the terminal on March 29th revealed pools of dried blood on the terminal floor. The washrooms were completely soiled and soaked with blood. According to an eyewitness, a Bengali student, all civilians who were waiting for boats in the terminal were killed. After the massacre, bodies were dragged into buses and burned. Corpses were still floating in the Buriganga River adjacent to the terminal on March 29th.

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B. Shandari Bazaar is a Hindu artisan center of old Dacca. According to an American missionary who lives near the area, machine guns were placed at the ends of the street and soldiers attacked the entire bazaar area without warning on the morning of March 28th. On March 29th and 30th, not a sign of life remained in a once busy bazaar area. Corpses remained unburied on the street and inside gutted homes. Parts of three-story buildings had completely collapsed from the ferocity of the attack and shell holes marked heavy armament attacks.

C. Bamna Kalihari is an ancient small Hindu settlement situated in the middle of the Dacca Racecourse. Even during the most violent Hindu-Muslim riots of partition, the village was able to avoid participation in communal strife. On the night of March 28th soldiers attacked the village killing all inhabitants—estimated at 200 people. On March 29th, a pile of approximately 70 to 100 bodies, charred and machine-gunned, was on visible display in Kalihari. The entire village was burned to the ground.

D. Other areas of Dacca, such as Nyar Bazaar, Ryar Bazaar and multiple "bustis" (shanty areas) were completely destroyed by fire because soldiers attacked during curfew under the cover of darkness. Details surrounding these attacks are not well known. However, many eyewitnesses described sudden attacks of submachine guns, grenades and burning to force the civilians out into the open. Such an occurrence was witnessed at 7:00 a.m. on March 29th when, near a hospital in Mohakali, bustis were set afire and fleeing inhabitants "gunned-down like dogs."

II. ATTACKS AGAINST UNIVERSITIES, STUDENTS AND FACULTY MEMBERS

A. Iqbal Hall, student dormitory center of the Student Council, was attacked on the morning of March 26th by tanks and soldiers with submachine guns and grenades. Although the exact number of students killed is uncertain, not one survivor was found.

Inspection of the Hall two days later revealed a building demolished by tank blasts and gutted by fire. Bodies were still visible—many of them having been taken to the roof to prevent body count. One man and two children corpses were charred leaning against a window. The degree of armed resistance offered by the students is not clear. One American physician upon inspection of the Hall saw a pile of burned rifles. All of these rifles had false wooden barrels and may have reflected the degree of armed resistance which these students offered.

B. Jagannath Hall is the dormitory of the Hindu students at Dacca University. According to one student survivor who was treated at Dacca Medical College, all 103 students were killed. Soldiers attacked the dormitory on the morning of March 26th without warning. Approximately six students were spared and forced at gunpoint to dig a mass grave (in a field adjacent to the dormitory). They were then shot. This student was left for dead and was able to crawl away to the hospital under the cover of darkness.

C. Home of Professor G. C. Dev, Head and Professor of Philosophy at Dacca University, was also attacked the same night. Professor Dev, a noted Bengali Hindu Philosopher, has never been politically involved. He was an elderly bachelor who housed poor students, often leading discussions about philosophy and religion. His home was attacked and all students were killed. Professor Dev himself was marched to the adjacent field and killed.

D. Names and rank of faculty members at Dacca University who were killed or wounded:

1. G. C. Dev, Head and Professor of Philosophy, killed.
2. Moniruzzaman, Head and Professor of Statistics, killed.
3. Professor Ail, Head and Professor of History, killed.

4. Professor Gubathakurta, Head and Professor of English, killed.

5. Dr. Munim, Instructor of English, killed.

6. Dr. Naqul, Instructor, department not known, killed.

7. Professor Huda, Head of Department of Economics, wounded.

8. Professor Innasali, Head of Department of Physics, wounded.

Other faculty members were also killed during the attack on the university, but their deaths could not be verified. Personal reports by wives of faculty members indicated that specific professors were sought by the army, especially those involved with Economics, Political Science and Bengali Culture. Although the exact circumstances of death are not known, one example has been pieced together by visits to faculty housing and eyewitness accounts from family members. On March 28th Building 34 contained pools of blood on the first and second floor foyers. According to wives of faculty members, troops attacked the building on the morning of March 26th. Apartment A was entered forcibly and the faculty member marched to the courtyard where he was shot. Fortunately he was only injured with a neck wound and was last known to be in critical condition at Dacca Medical College. The soldiers then went to Flat D, where Professor Muniru Zaman lived. He, his son, his brother, who was an advocate on the East Pakistan High Court, and the only son of his sister-in-law were marched to the first floor foyer, lined up against the wall and machine-gunned. The wife of Professor Zaman dragged her wounded husband back to their apartment, hiding him in the bedroom. Three hours later when the soldiers returned to remove the bodies, they reentered his apartment, again dragged him down the stairs and killed him.

E. The British Council which is located near Dacca University was also attacked on the morning of March 26th. According to a British Council official, who was trapped in his home near the Council Building during the gunfire, the troops broke into the Council and destroyed some books because they mistook the Council for the University Library. In addition, eight Bengali local policemen who were stationed at the Council were killed during the surprise attack. This official's bedroom and house were subjected to machine gun fire during the entire night. Only after daybreak did he dare tell the soldiers that he was a British subject and they did not kill him.

III. ATTACK ON INDIGENOUS ARMED MILITIA

A. The East Pakistan Police barracks are located in Dacca. It housed approximately 5,000 policemen. On the morning of March 26th, it was attacked without warning by mortar, tanks and a large number of troops. Although there was resistance, most policemen were believed to be asleep when the attack occurred and to have died during the fighting. The barracks buildings were completely leveled by heavy arm fire and were gutted by fire.

B. East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) was formed as a native Bengali force to concentrate its efforts at border patrol. On the morning of March 26th the EPR barracks in Dhanmondi was attacked by a similarly equipped force. Once again the number of deaths is unknown, although reliable estimates indicated that approximately 1,000 EPR's were stationed in Dacca. Groups of EPR soldiers were seen by Americans being trucked away. The fate of these soldiers is unknown.

C. It is known that many Bengali officers who were members of the Pakistan Armed Forces were killed for "disloyalty." Whether these officers actually mutinied is unclear. One source, the recently retired Director of the Information Ministry of East Pakistan, indicated that four Bengali officers were called to General Tikka Khan's office and disarmed. While being disarmed, one managed

to shoot General Khan in the leg, but the General was not killed. This may have been the source of rumors printed in the Indian newspapers that General Khan had been killed.

IV. TERROR OF UNARMED CIVILIANS

A. Not only were large villages completely destroyed by the Pakistan Army, but individual Bengalis were subjected to terror and harassment. Martial law regulations indicated on March 26th that all government, semiautonomous and associated agencies would open immediately and that absent personnel were required to return to work or face ten years' imprisonment.

B. When large numbers of civilians fled from the war-torn capitol, Dacca, the army forced many at gunpoint to remain in the city.

C. Barda is a small village adjacent to Gulshan (a residential area for foreigners). On April 2nd it was raided early in the morning by 40 soldiers. All 600 men of the village were rounded up and marched at gunpoint to Gulshan Park where they were interrogated. Students, politicians, faculty members and those who were leaving their jobs in Dacca were particular people in whom the army had an interest. After one full day of terror under the sun with constant threats of a mass slaughter, ten selected men were trucked away.

D. One American physician visited old Dacca and was shown a man who had been shot by the army only one-half hour earlier. This Bengali had refused to open his shop at the request of soldiers and had been killed with a submachine-gun at 3:30 in the afternoon, when curfew was not operating.

E. One American missionary described the army tactics in old Dacca. Soldiers during the day carried whistles, which were blown when they wanted to search a civilian. At the blowing of a whistle any moving person was immediately shot.

F. An official of USAID, while driving through Gulshan, witnessed a jeepload of soldiers fire submachine guns at three children who were playing in the rice paddies. No one was injured.

G. Multiple episodes of the army plundering shops were witnessed by many Americans in Dacca from March 26th to April 6th.

V. Not only was censorship complete, but news that was distributed by the Pakistan Government by radio and newspapers was contrary to the true situation in Dacca. From March 25th life never returned to "normal" in Dacca. Even on April 6th when we were evacuated, fewer than 10% of the shops were open for business. English and Bengali newspapers were forced to open and printed only martial law news. Opposition Bengali language papers such as The People, Ititfaq and Saughad were completely destroyed by the troops at night.

VI. The Awami League is the first truly democratic party of Pakistan. Placed into its position as the majority party of Pakistan by an honest election, it has been outlawed and its leader Mujibur Rahman jailed and accused of treason. Prominent members of the party (which includes virtually the entire educated and prominent community of Dacca) have been systematically sought after. In addition to high-level members, as of April 4th people such as Gabriel Gomez, a teacher at Holy Cross College and a Christian leader of the Awami League, was being sought. Miss Doll DeRosario, a young woman Bengali appointee MNA, was also being sought.

VII. HARASSMENT OF FOREIGN CIVILIANS

A. On March 30th, three British citizens were almost executed by the Pakistan Army. These civilians were walking through old Dacca taking photographs of the destruction when they were arrested by the army. Two Americans who were accompanying the Britishers were subsequently released and immediately reported the incident to the

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British High Commission. Only the last-minute insistence of the British representative saved the lives of the three British subjects who were lined up against a wall in an army station ready to be shot after three hours of interrogation.

B. The home of an American doctor was entered by two soldiers when his wife was home alone. One soldier at gunpoint looted the servant quarters. Another armed with a hand grenade threatened the wife and took money, clothing, rug and a watch.

C. While driving in Gulshan, an American and his wife were stopped by two soldiers who ordered them out of their car. They were robbed of watch, money and a ring.

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