

danger of a terrible famine in East Pakistan.

Owing to the civil war and the dislocation of masses of people from their homes and farms, the sowings in the rice paddies did not take place in time. Hence, the impending shortage of foodgrains. The system of transport and communications has been disrupted. An alienated population is unwilling to extend its cooperation to a military regime whose functionaries are, in the eyes of the local populace, alien in language and culture and medieval, to say the least, in their brutal methods of rule.

The threat of famine looms large in East Pakistan, and there are reports to the effect that some 30 million people may be affected by it in the coming months. That may further step up the exodus of East Pakistan refugees to India.

#### III—THE WAR OF RESISTANCE TO ARMY RULE

In recent weeks, a new feature has emerged in prominence in East Pakistan, and that is countrywide armed resistance by the Bengalis to the West Pakistan Army. Before the military crackdown, which began on 25 March, there were perhaps about 40,000 to 50,000 Bengalis trained in the use of arms, belonging to the country's military and paramilitary units such as the East Pakistan Rifles, the East Bengal Regiment, and the police. These Bengalis deserted their units to the last man and after unsuccessful initial pitched encounters with the Pakistan Army, went underground with their arms and other equipment. In addition, much military equipment has been captured from the Army of West Pakistan.

This force appears to have been transformed into a network of guerrilla groups. They have launched a countrywide guerrilla warfare against the Pakistan Army in East Bengal.

That was bound to happen. Terror does not always succeed in subduing a people; it never wins their loyalty and affection. It only succeeds in strengthening their resolve to put an end to the tyranny to which they are subjected and to fight back for their lives and for their honor and freedom. The more brutal the terror, the more determined the resistance. That is the kind of battle that is developing in East Pakistan today. We have a new Vietnam in the making; it will be a Vietnam five times the first with which we are acquainted. I will attach a report from the New York Times, of July 30, which makes this point well and which contains quotes sadly like some of our leaders made in the early days of Vietnam.

#### IV—ALLEGATIONS AGAINST INDIA

Allegations are made by Pakistan that "miscreants" are infiltrating into East Pakistan from India. The fact is that a large potential guerrilla force was in existence in East Pakistan right from the start of the present conflict. It is quite possible, however, that some of the refugees who had fled to India initially to escape the Pakistan Army's campaign of terror and genocide have returned to participate in the fight. During my inspection of some of the refugee camps in West Bengal, I had met East Pakistani

young men who had suffered at the hands of the army, had fled to India to receive some medical treatment or to escort their parents, and loved ones to safety. They were itching to return to their homeland to seek revenge for the injury caused to them, for the loss of their near and dear ones and especially for the humiliation and dishonor perpetrated on their women.

So far as the Government of India is concerned, it has refrained from recognizing the Government of Bengal Desh. They have accepted and handled the burden of 7½ million refugees with remarkable fortitude and praiseworthy competence. The world has not given India enough help; it has not given India enough credit for its patience and restraint. The burden India carries is the world's burden, not its own.

At the same time, the Parliament, the press, and the people of India are openly, and for good reason, sympathetic to the people of East Pakistan and their fight for their freedom and survival. The frontier between East Pakistan and the neighboring states of India is 2,720 miles long. There are no natural features along this frontier. People on both sides speak the same language, wear the same dress, eat the same foods, and belong to the same ethnic and cultural group. This frontier cannot be sealed except with the fullest cooperation of the East Pakistani population itself. But that cooperation is not available to the Pakistan Army at all.

It is possible that the Indian people may give aid and shelter to East Pakistani guerrillas; but no government can prevent people-to-people cooperation in that manner. Besides, in the context of traditional India-Pakistan relationship, it would be futile to expect that the Indian Government join hands with the Pakistan military junta to quell Bengali resistance in East Pakistan.

This war of resistance in East Pakistan is bound to spread. A whole people has risen in revolt against an unpopular regime. The Pakistan Army cannot win this war. For that army is fighting an outmoded colonial war in a land far away from its home base against a vast population of 75 million which its barbaric actions have totally alienated.

#### V—A POLITICAL SOLUTION

The war of East Pakistanis' liberation and independence may already be too far gone for a settlement short of independence through the processes of political conciliation and negotiation. The question really is how long will this war last? or how much more bloodshed will there be? or what will be its repercussions on the South Asian region? The one man who holds the key to these questions is held prisoner by President Yahya Khan in West Pakistan. President Khan has threatened to put the Bengali leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, on military trial in camera on grounds of treason, with death penalty if the charges are proved. The day that trial begins, the last remote hope for a peaceful, political settlement will have vanished for good.

#### VI—DANGER OF WAR

As the power and effectiveness of the Bengali freedom fighters increase, Gen. Yahya Khan and his military govern-

Mr. DERWINSKI. This is an attempt to add a technical amendment to the restriction relating to aid to Pakistan. Specifically it is my intention in this amendment—and I believe I have the concurrence of the gentleman from New Jersey—to create flexibility whereby specifically in the case of Public Law 480 funds and other items made necessary by emergency famine conditions in East Pakistan that the language in the bill would not preclude such aid.

Is that the gentleman's understanding of this amendment?

Mr. GALLAGHER. Yes. We discussed this in the committee and we feel that this is an amendment that should be adopted. The "and" does make it rather ambiguous with regard to distribution efforts. It may be interpreted as a means of limiting distribution through the United Nations and humanitarian aid solely through the United Nations. We agree to the amendment.

Mr. DERWINSKI. The purpose is to permit maximum use of U.S. surplus commodities to be distributed to the people in East Pakistan who are in obvious need and to avert famine conditions in that area of the country.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman, 4 months have passed since the Pakistan Army launched its campaign of genocide on the people of East Pakistan in an effort to suppress the verdict of the elections of last December and to terrorize the Bengalis seeking self-rule into submission. Since then, on conservative estimates, a quarter million innocent Bengalis have been massacred and 7½ million have taken refuge in the adjoining States of India. Even now, thousands of them are moving across the border into India every day to escape the humiliation, indignity, and the sheer brutality and horror of life in East Pakistan.

#### II—SPECTER OF FAMINE

There appears to be yet more tragedy in store for the unfortunate people of East Bengal. Senator KENNEDY recently brought to light some telegraphic reports from American officials in Dacca to the State Department stressing the

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ment become more desperate. Twice in recent days he has threatened to declare a general war upon India on hypothetical grounds. He is reported to have said on July 31 that if the Indians have the idea of taking a chunk out of East Pakistan, he would declare a general war on India.

The Indians want the Pakistani refugees to go back, but they have not said that they want any part of East Pakistan. Indeed, it makes little sense for the Indians to seek a chunk of East Pakistan territory. India is neither short of territory nor people.

But it is quite likely that the Bengali freedom fighters will liberate, sooner or later, one or more chunks or perhaps the whole of East Pakistan and set up their own independent government there. It seems to be Gen. Yahya Khan's intention, in that circumstance, to precipitate an India-Pakistan war with serious threat to world peace. That will be an act of the gravest delinquency on the part of a Junta which has already acted with extreme irresponsibility and in unbelievable cruelty toward 75 million gentle and cultured people whom it claims to be its own.

A distinguished and respected American, Angier Biddle Duke, who heads the International Rescue Committee team studying the plight of Pakistani refugees in India is reported to have told the Washington Post of July 29—Marilyn Berger's despatch attached—that the Pakistani Army has tried to maintain a desperate air of tension along the border with India by mortar fire.

There is every reason, therefore, for the world to take serious note of Gen. Yahya Khan's threats of war with India if he cannot get his way in East Pakistan and to forewarn him against such recklessness.

#### VII—PARALYSIS OF AMERICAN POLICY

In these circumstances, the paralysis in our Pakistan policy is a cause for serious concern. We are continuing to permit the despatch of arms and spare parts to Pakistan, knowing full well that these arms are being used by the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan. In its war upon the people of East Pakistan, the Pakistan Army is using artillery and tanks and jet fighters for which spare parts and ammunition continue to be shipped from here.

We have thus become partisans with the military against the majority of Pakistan's people. Are we in a position to advise others, the Indians or the Russians or the Chinese, to remain aloof in this civil conflict?

Our economic assistance continues to go to Pakistan even though the World Bank has said that in view of the disruption and alienation caused by the military action no constructive economic development activity can take place in East Pakistan for a long time. The money provided by us can, therefore, only be diverted to the purposes of war.

It must reluctantly be concluded that we have already intervened on the side of the Government of Pakistan.

The Awami League, the party for which the people of Bengal voted with near unanimity in the December elec-

tions, is an anti-Communist and a pro-Western party with friendly feelings toward the United States. It is this party and its following which have been driven to a bitter war of resistance and liberation. Our policy of drift antagonizes and radicalizes a people and a potential government who are inclined to be moderate and friendly.

Our current policy assists only the most radical groups in East Pakistan and in India. We are fomenting a Communist-controlled revolution in this region and we are laying the groundwork for a Communist dominated government. No policy could be further from the American tradition or more deeply against American long range interests.

Gen. Yahya Khan has shown no inclination to negotiate a political settlement with the elected leaders of the Awami League. And we have not effectively exerted pressure and persuasion on him to do so. We do not seem to be sufficiently alive to the dangers of the situation and seem to be persevering in their ineffective line with the Pakistan military regime at much peril to Pakistan, to South Asia, and the world.

By being firm with this reckless dictator from the beginning we would, perhaps, have helped save Pakistan. By being firm with him even now we could help avert an unnecessary war.

#### VIII—UNWELCOME MANEUVER

There is discussion of a maneuver which is anathema to India. This maneuver suits Pakistan and may have originated from there. The proposal concerns the stationing of United Nations observers both in India and East Pakistan with the ostentatious purpose of facilitating the return of refugees from India to Pakistan.

Indians are understandably indignant that they are being equated with a regime which because of its evil actions in East Pakistan has already imposed unbearable burdens on India.

Indians have rejected the proposal saying that the question of facilitating the return of refugees will arise only when conditions in East Pakistan are such as to generate confidence among the refugees that they can return to their homes and hearths with some assurance of safety of their lives and their honor.

These are the very provisions your Committee on Foreign Affairs has written into the foreign aid bill to allow assistance to be resumed.

The Indians also point out that close to a thousand foreign volunteers are working in refugee camps in India, which are open to inspection by foreigners. They have nothing to hide from the world in these camps and the Indian Ambassador here has personally extended invitations to a large number of Senators and Congressmen to visit the camps.

I share the Indian Government's view that a political settlement in East Pakistan is of fundamental importance and that the issue should not be confused by such diversionary moves as the proposed posting of U.N. observers on the Indian side. A large U.N. presence and the presence of other foreign voluntary agencies on the East Pakistan side would be en-

tirely justified, and is, in fact, necessary to the fair and equitable distribution of relief assistance in East Pakistan.

For the sake of a Pakistan which cannot survive in its present form we are alienating the people of the world's largest democracy, India. We are alienating the 75 million people of East Pakistan. By associating ourselves with the barbaric actions of a reckless regime, we are tarnishing our own image, as a humanitarian, free and freedom-loving people, in the world.

I have thought it necessary to bring these facts out in the open so that the Congress can assert its role in helping the administration formulate a rational and meaningful policy towards Pakistan, towards East Pakistan and towards India.

Because of the undue solicitude for Pakistan on our part, America's relations with India today face a serious challenge. Indians have not suggested that we endorse their viewpoint; but they are far more deeply concerned with the situation in East Pakistan than are we. We ought to have close consultations with them and show some deference to their concerns and anxieties even if we disagree with them. We should help them to bear their burden of Pakistani refugees. We should not permit them to feel that ours is not the country that they can look to for help and understanding in a difficult situation not of their making.

In Asia, India with its 600 million people is nearly as important as China. If India is antagonized to the point of being driven into the arms of Soviet Russia, any success in the policy of rapprochement with China would have been offset by an avoidable and unnecessary failure in the policy towards India because of a misplaced attachment for what is really no more than a medium-sized middle-eastern country, West Pakistan.

#### IX—DEFINITION OF AN AMERICAN POLICY

There is no longer any rationale, if ever there was, for the continued supply of American arms and economic assistance to Pakistan while the conflict between West Pakistan and East Pakistan lasts.

All such assistance must be stopped forthwith: Hopefully, the House of Representatives may force the issue by passing the foreign aid bill, including my amendment.

The United States should disassociate itself from and condemn the atrocities of the Pakistan Army in East Pakistan.

President Yahya Khan should be pressured to end the military action and to order the army back to its barracks in East Pakistan.

Pressure must be exerted on the military government of Pakistan to immediately release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and to enter into negotiations with him with a view to setting up a civilian, provincial government in East Pakistan headed by him and his Awami League party which swept the polls in December last on the platform of autonomy for East Pakistan.

Pending the formation of a popular

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provincial government, large scale relief assistance should be furnished to avert famine and epidemic in East Pakistan provided it can be insured that such assistance is administered either directly by or under the close supervision of U.N. personnel, by specialized agencies of the U.N., and by foreign voluntary agencies. Again this is exactly what your Committee on Foreign Affairs has provided.

It should be insured that there is no interference from the Pakistan military in the distribution of relief assistance where it is needed. It should also be insured that resources provided for relief, such as boats and vehicles, are not taken over or misused by the army for the purposes of military action.

The Awami League Government should then undertake the responsibility for the return and rehabilitation of East Pakistan refugees now in India.

Further financial assistance should be given to India on a scale commensurate with the needs of relief for 7½ million Bengalis who have taken refuge there.

The U.S. Government should suitably warn the President of Pakistan against any action which might precipitate a war with India. Any such war would lead to a confrontation between the Soviet Union, China, and the United States and divert attention from the fundamental issue of repression in East Pakistan.

The articles mentioned follow:

[From the New York Times, July 30, 1971]  
PAKISTANI REGIME IS PREPARING FOR LONG  
GUERRILLA WAR IN EAST

(By Malcolm W. Browne)

**DACCA, PAKISTAN.**—Pakistan's military Government is waiting for what it fears may be a protracted guerrilla war in East Pakistan, and Government strategists are drawing from the writings of Mao Tse-tung and other experts in their plans.

"Ours is a regular army," a ranking Pakistani officer said in an interview. "We recognize that regular armies are not suitable for guerrilla campaigns, as the Vietnam experience has shown. We can shield the nation against external threats, notably India, but only the people can conduct antiguerrilla warfare."

Pakistan's army, which consists mainly of West Pakistanis, attacked Bengali dissidents on March 25 to re-establish the authority of the national government and to suppress the separatist movement.

Tens of millions of East Pakistanis, it is reported, fled the major towns for the relative security of the countryside and several million crossed the border into neighboring India.

#### OPEN BATTLES FOUGHT

Initially, the Bengali separatists fought the army in open battles. Bengali forces included almost all of East Pakistan's police and militia forces, as well as the East Bengal Regiment, a unit in the national army.

But the national army quickly seized all the major towns in East Pakistan and wiped out opposition strongpoints. Resistance became sporadic and took the form of sniping and sabotage on railroad lines.

During the last two weeks, however, guerrilla activity has accelerated and has begun to pose a problem for the military authorities. The three divisions of troops, armor and artillery now being maintained in East Pakistan have not been able to prevent the dynamiting of power installations, bridges, roads and houses by guerrillas.

Most experts speculate that Bengali guerrillas who went to India on March 25 have

now had time to receive training and weapons in Indian camps and are now back in action in East Pakistan. According to one estimate, there are 30,000 active guerrillas in the province. One step toward countering this force was taken by the Government on July 15 when it organized the new Razakar (Volunteer) force.

#### AUXILIARY MILITIA FORMED

Razakar units are hamlet militia responsible to the local police as a kind of auxiliary. Anyone over 14 may join after a loose screening procedure. After brief training the recruit is given a rifle and paid about 70 cents a day while on duty.

"The Razakars guard vulnerable points such as power stations, bridges and so forth, but they should be especially helpful as members of rural communities who can identify guerrillas," an army officer said.

The Government says it has already recruited more than 22,000 Razakars of a planned force of 35,000.

"The people are definitely giving us information about the guerrillas," the officer said. "The people realize that the guerrilla operations are hurting the economy and that this hurts the people. If we can convert this resentment into support for us, we'll overcome the guerrilla problem."

The officer said the army was increasingly successful in determining guerrilla infiltration routes and in ambushing them.

"Mao Tse-tung teaches that roving rebels accomplish nothing and that successful guerrillas must have a base inside their target country," he said. "This we are denying them."

[From the Washington Post, July 29, 1971]

10 MILLION PAKISTANI EXILES PREDICTED  
BY END OF YEAR

(By Marilyn Berger)

Angier Biddle Duke, who headed an International Rescue Committee team studying the plight of Pakistani refugees in India, predicted yesterday that the continuing tension in the region would bring the number of refugees to 10 million by the end of the year.

Duke, a former U.S. ambassador, was in Washington to seek U.S. government cooperation in a number of programs the IRC has started in India to aid the refugees. In a report that Duke gave yesterday to Francis L. Kellogg, special assistant to the Secretary of State for refugee affairs, the IRC reported on "the desperate air of tension the Pakistani army has tried to maintain along the border by mortar fire to which the mission can bear personal witness."

The report stated: "There is no indication that the exodus has been halted. If the present trend continues, the figure is likely to go to seven million before July is out. Seven million is the total population of Cuba."

Indian sources indicated the prediction was correct. The movement of refugees from East Pakistan started on March 25 when the forces of the Pakistani central government cracked down, allegedly to prevent the establishment of a secessionist state. Reports from the scene told of rape, murder and other atrocities, and Bengalis poured into India to escape what was widely described as a blood-bath.

State Department officials said yesterday that military activity in East Pakistan has largely subsided since May although action against guerrillas continues. These officials also note that the flow of refugees has dropped to "as low as 20,000 a day."

Duke said that the continuing state of tension rather than any actual bloodshed is enough to keep the refugees coming into India. He said the IRC was setting up programs to use refugee doctors and teachers to work with the Bengalis who are filling camps in India. He said the IRC hoped to raise \$1 million and to get additional funds, partly from the U.S. government, to run a program

that would cost \$2 million over the next six months.

But Duke said that any attempt to work with the refugees is nothing more than a palliative. "Political solutions for the return of the Bengali refugees must be found," the IRC mission report said.

There is concern within the U.S. government that the continuing drain on India caused by the presence of the refugees could lead to an explosion.

Some officials are also worried that the end of the monsoon rains in October could bring more bloodshed. Intensified civil war with a greater flow of refugees could create still greater strains on India.

A possible Indo-Pakistani conflict carries with it the potential for a Sino-Soviet confrontation, U.S. officials have noted. Pakistan is understood to feel confident of Peking's support, while India has been backed by the Soviet Union.

The United States, meanwhile, has sought to keep up a dialogue with both sides. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco saw both the Indian and Pakistani ambassadors on Tuesday before he left for Israel. The United States has welcomed Pakistani President Yahya Khan's willingness to accept a United Nations presence along the border.

The Indians have turned down the Secretary General's proposal, refusing to be "equated" with Pakistan in this situation. Indian officials say further that it is impossible to seal a 2,720-mile frontier with no natural geographic barriers.

The United States has officially taken on a low-key stance, urging restraint on both India and Pakistan and quietly nudging Yahya to reach a political accommodation with the Bengalis that would allow the refugees to return.

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