

Arms Limitation Talks now under way in Vienna would succeed. His reasoning was economic: a halt in the missile race would "release considerable resources for constructive purposes."

CHINA. Soviet forbearance, claimed Brezhnev, has brought about a distinct improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. Trade has begun to increase between the two countries, and he expects a continued rise in the future. But subsequent Soviet speakers lambasted the Chinese—one described their brand of Communism as "repulsive"—creating a stir of disapproval among the North Korean, North Vietnamese, Japanese and Rumanian delegations.

MIDDLE EAST. Brezhnev reaffirmed Soviet backing for the Arabs and warned that Israel's 1967 victory may prove illusory. He urged the Israelis to accept a political settlement and said that Moscow was willing to join Britain, France and the U.S. in providing international guarantees to both Arabs and Israelis. It was not clear whether that meant the Soviet Union was willing to join the U.S. in the Middle East peace-keeping force suggested by Secretary of State William Rogers, though Moscow has hinted in the past that it might participate.

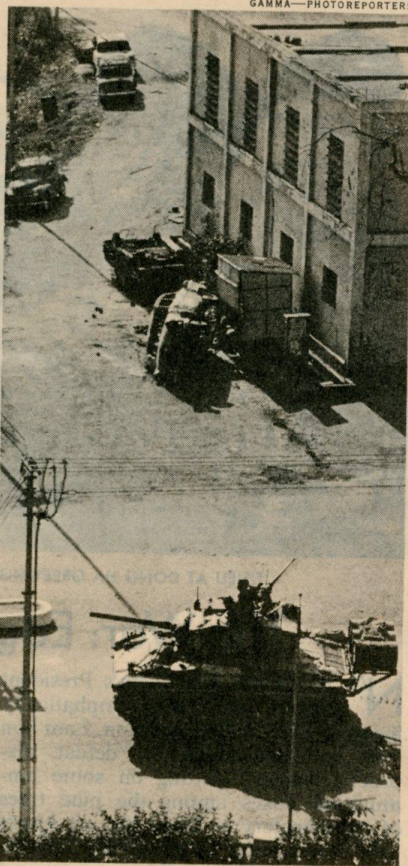
DISARMAMENT. Brezhnev dusted off several old Soviet propaganda ploys. There was some hope in the West, however, that his plea for a reduction of forces in Central Europe might lead to talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on mutual balanced force withdrawals. He also suggested a conference of the five nuclear powers (Britain, China, France, U.S. and U.S.S.R.) to discuss the total abolition of atomic weaponry—although both France and China sent regrets last time such a meeting was proposed in 1968.

On the same day that Brezhnev delivered his speech, the Soviet chief delegate to the 25-nation U.N. disarmament talks in Geneva unexpectedly adopted a hitherto rejected Western position on the outlawing of bacteriological warfare. For two years the Soviets insisted on lumping bans on bacteriological and chemical warfare together in one treaty. The U.S. and its NATO allies refused, because large chemical warfare arsenals are already in existence, which would require on-site inspection, a procedure that invariably is vetoed by the Soviets. The Soviet switch meant that a treaty barring the production and wartime use of germs and toxins might be ready for signing before year's end.

Kremlinologists in Munich described Brezhnev's speech as "relatively mild." In Washington, judgments ranged from "prudent militancy" to "controlled hostility." Most analysts agreed that what Brezhnev said reaffirmed his position *primus inter pares* in what is still essentially a collective leadership.

Further clues to his position should come available this week when the congress "elects" a new Central Committee, which, in turn, will choose a

new Politburo. The choices, of course, have already been made by the party leaders. The general assumption has been that few major shifts will take place. But Brezhnev dropped an intriguing hint in his speech that something dramatic and far reaching may be afoot. He noted that the Communist Party now has 14,455,321 card-carrying members—6% of the Soviet population—and that far too many of them, on all levels, are merely exploiting their positions. Accordingly, he said that for the first time in 17 years, there might be a "card exchange," the euphemism for weeding out the party membership. "You know, comrades," said Brezhnev, "none of us is entrusted with positions of authority in perpetuity."



WEST PAKISTAN TANK IN DACCA



BENGALIS AMID RUINS OF HOMES IN CAPITAL

Pakistan: Round 1 To the West

THERE is no doubt," said a foreign diplomat in East Pakistan last week, "that the word massacre applies to the situation." Said another Western official: "It's a veritable bloodbath. The troops have been utterly merciless."

As Round 1 of Pakistan's bitter civil war ended last week, the winner—predictably—was the tough West Pakistan army, which has a powerful force of 80,000 Punjabi and Pathan soldiers on duty in rebellious East Pakistan. Reports coming out of the East (via diplomats, frightened refugees and clandestine broadcasts) varied wildly. Estimates of the total dead ran as high as 300,000. A figure of 10,000 to 15,000 is accepted by several Western governments, but no one can be sure of anything except that untold thousands perished.

Mass Graves. Opposed only by bands of Bengali peasants armed with stones and bamboo sticks, tanks rolled through Dacca, the East's capital, blowing houses to bits. At the university, soldiers slaughtered students inside the British Council building. "It was like Genghis Khan," said a shocked Western official who witnessed the scene. Near Dacca's marketplace, Urdu-speaking government soldiers ordered Bengali-speaking townspeople to surrender, then gunned them down when they failed to comply. Bodies lay in mass graves at the university, in the Old City, and near the municipal dump.

During rebel attacks on Chittagong, Pakistani naval vessels shelled the port, setting fire to harbor installations. At Jessore, in the southwest, angry Bengalis were said to have hacked alleged government spies to death with staves and spears. Journalists at the Petrapole checkpoint on the Indian border found five bodies and a human head near the frontier post—the remains, apparently, of a group of West Pakistanis who had tried to escape. At week's end there were reports that East Bengali rebels

BANGLADESH

Mujib's Road from Prison to Power

TO some Western observers, the scene stirred thoughts of Pontius Pilate deciding the fates of Jesus and Barabbas. "Do you want Mujib freed?" cried Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, at a rally of more than 100,000 supporters in Karachi. The crowd roared its assent, as audiences often do when subjected to Bhutto's powerful oratory. Bowing his head, the President answered: "You have relieved me of a great burden."

Thus last week Bhutto publicly announced what he had previously told TIME Correspondent Dan Coggin: his decision to release his celebrated prisoner, Sheik Mujibur ("Mujib") Rahman, the undisputed political leader of what was once East Pakistan, and President of what is now the independent country of Bangladesh.

Five days later, after two meetings with Mujib, Bhutto lived up to his

promise. He drove to Islamabad Airport to see Mujib off for London aboard a chartered Pakistani jetliner. To maintain the utmost secrecy, the flight left at 3 a.m. The secret departure was not announced to newsmen in Pakistan until ten hours later, just before the arrival of the Shah of Iran at the same airport for a six-hour visit with Bhutto. By that time Mujib had reached London—tired but seemingly in good health. "As you can see, I am very much alive and well," said Mujib, jauntily puffing on a brier pipe. "At this stage I only want to be seen and not heard."

A few hours later, however, after talking by telephone with India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in New Delhi and with the acting President of Bangladesh, Syed Nazrul Islam, in Dacca, Mujib held a press conference in the ballroom of Claridge's Hotel. While scores of jubilant East Bengalis gathered outside the hotel, Mujib called for world recognition of Bangladesh, which he described as "an unchallengeable reality," and asked that it be admitted to the United Nations.

Clearly seething with rage, Mujib described his life "in a condemned cell in a desert area in the scorching heat," for nine months without news of his family or the outside world. He was ready to be executed, he said. "And a man who is ready to die, nobody can kill." He knew of the war, he said, because "army planes were moving, and there was the blackout." Only after his first meeting with Bhutto did he know that Bangladesh had formed its own government. Of the Pakistani army's slaughter of East Bengalis, Mujib declared: "If Hitler could

have been alive today, he would be ashamed."

Mujib spoke well of Bhutto, however, but emphasized that he had made no promise that Bangladesh and Pakistan would maintain a link that Bhutto anxiously wants to have. "I told him I could only answer that after I returned to my people," said the sheik. Why had he flown to London instead of to Dacca or some closer neutral point? "Don't you know I was a prisoner?" Mujib snapped. "It was the Pakistan government's will, not mine." Mujib's stay in London lasted only 24 hours. On Sunday he flew off in an R.A.F. jet to New Delhi and then to a triumphal welcome in Dacca.

Little Choice. Although Mujib's flight to London rather than to Dacca was something of a surprise, his release from house arrest was not. In truth, Bhutto had little choice but to set him free. A Mujib imprisoned, Bhutto evidently decided, was of no real benefit to Pakistan; a Mujib dead and martyred would only have deepened the East Bengalis' hatred of their former countrymen. But a Mujib allowed to return to his rejoicing people might perhaps be used to coax Bangladesh into forming some sort of loose association with Pakistan.

In the light of Mujib's angry words about Pakistan at the London press conference, Bhutto's dream of reconciliation with Bangladesh appeared unreal. Yet some form of association may not be entirely beyond hope of achievement. For the time being, Bangladesh will be dependent upon India for financial, military and other aid. Bhutto may well have been reasoning that sooner or later the Bangladesh leaders will tire of the presence of In-

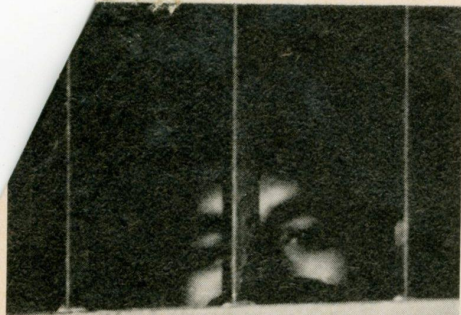
SHEIK MUJIBUR RAHMAN IN LONDON



AP

BENGALI WOMAN CELEBRATING NEWS OF MUJIB'S RELEASE





eral major issues between India and Pakistan remain—and it may well take months to resolve them: 1) repatriation of Pakistan's 60,000 regular troops in the East, 2) release of Sheik Mujibur Rahman, whom the Bangladesh government has proclaimed President but who is still imprisoned in West Pakistan on charges of treason, 3) disposition of various chunks of territory that the two countries have seized from each other along the western border.

Mrs. Gandhi may well try to ransom Mujib in exchange for release of the Pakistani soldiers. India is also expected to press for a redrawing of the cease-fire line that has divided the disputed region of Kashmir since 1949. The Indians have captured 50 strategic Pakistani outposts in the high Kashmiri

mountains. These are the same outposts that India captured in 1965, and then gave up as part of the 1966 Tashkent Agreement; India is not likely to be as accommodating this time.

In the chill, arid air of Islamabad, West Pakistan's military regime was finding it difficult to come to grips with the extent of the country's ruin. Throughout the conflict there had been a bizarre air of unreality in the West, as Pakistani army officials consistently claimed they were winning when quite the reverse was true. Late last week the Pakistani government still seemed unable to accept its defeat; simultaneously with the announcement of the cease-fire, officials handed newsmen an outline of Yahya's plans for a new constitution. Among other things, it pro-



vides "that the republic shall have two capitals, at Islamabad and at Dacca." It adds: "The principal seat of Parliament will be located in Dacca." That will, of course, be news to Bangladesh.

President Yahya Khan had declared the conflict a *jihad* (holy war) and, even while surrender was being signed in the East, he was boasting that his nation would "engage the aggressor on all fronts." He became the first political victim of the conflict. At week's end, Yahya announced that he would step down in favor of Deputy Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, head of the Pakistan People's Party. A rabid anti-India, pro-China politician who served as Foreign Minister in the government of former President Ayub Khan, Bhutto was the chief architect of Pakistan's alliance with China. In the nation's first free election last December, his party ran second to Mujib's Awami League. Regarding that as a threat to his own ambitions, Bhutto was instrumental in persuading Yahya to set aside the election results.

Ali Bhutto, who had a brief in-

Pakistani patrol passes half-buried body of soldier killed near Chhamb in Kashmir (left); Indian prisoner peers through bars (top); casualty of battle of Jamalpur (center); Indian general receives joyous welcome in Dacca (above).