

## MEMORANDUM

### Brief Assessment of the Present Situation in East Pakistan in relation to Future Relief and Rehabilitation Work.

1. The present army moves in East Pakistan (since 25th March), follow logically on an intensive military build-up from 30,000 to 70,000 men since early March, undertaken in apparently almost total secrecy. The aim of the army action is to crush all Bengali nationalist organisation and destroy all existing and potential leaders in a ruthless, speedy operation, designed to take control of, and cow, the whole country.
2. The original aim of the army has not been achieved. From all reports, it would seem that although control was achieved in Dacca fairly quickly, it was not so in Chittagong and some other smaller towns, and has not yet been effected at all in most of the rural areas. Apparently, the West Pakistan outspoken contempt of the Bengalis led them into underestimating the strength of the Bengali nationalist movement. Nevertheless, the army has probably killed relatively large numbers of potential and actual leaders and crushed the bulk of the initial resistance.
3. The attitude of foreign governments has been of crucial importance, and their generally negative attitudes has contributed substantially to the initial ruthless success of the army. The U.K. has considerable investment in West Pakistan and, since the cyclone, the High Commission has been carefully discouraging relief organisations from committing themselves too excessively in cyclone affected areas, on the grounds that it would be dangerous. It is now reasonable to assume that the High Commission had at least knowledge of the intended army action long before the army strength was sufficient to activate these plans. The U.S. has not been so deliberately cautious, but, like the U.K. has appreciable investment in West Pakistan and is clearly not anxious to do anything other than give tacit support to the Central Government. China has permitted the army to overfly its territory both during the military build-up and since the 25 March, and this must have been noted in East Pakistan. However, there are precedents for anticipating the possibility of a complete volte-face by China at a time when she judges the condition of the Bengalis to be at their most desperate and thus their most grateful for outside support. Russia has already gone on record as the only country which has officially mouthed disapproval of the army's action and she could be preparing to give support to a largely defeated, leaderless Bengali movement before the Chinese could do so, thus gaining considerable political advantage and undermining the pro-Chinese elements in Bengal. India has shown significant interest in, and emotional support for, the East Bengalis, even though an independent East Bengal would not be to her own best long term advantage, in view of its probable effects on the politics of West Bengal. Nevertheless, India will be liable to become progressively more interested and concerned, the longer the army operations have to continue and the more severe are the privations of the populace of East Bengal. Recognition of East Bengal is not a relevant issue at present, but could become so if the military operations have to be continued at length in circumstances akin to those in Vietnam.
4. There are three possible outcomes at present:
  - a. The army wins outright control - this is highly unlikely, and would probably have to be achieved by the end of April to be effective.
  - b. The Bengalis win outright control - this is as unlikely in view of the present lack of outside help from any source.
  - c. A military stalemate with the army in charge of the main towns, ports, airports and some surrounding areas and with no effective control, except through disrupted communications, of the rest of the country.

# WAR ON WANT

CAMPAIGN AGAINST WORLD POVERTY

Telephone: 01 - 567 - 1429.

2b, The Grove,  
London, W5 5LH.

17th May, 1971.

David R. Nalin, M.D.,  
Harvard Medical School,  
Department of Medicine,  
Boston City Hospital,  
818 Harrison Avenue,  
Boston,  
MASSACHUSETTS 02118,  
617 424,  
U.S.A.

Dear Doctor Nalin,

Many thanks for your prompt and generous response to our appeal for the East Pakistan refugees.

We sent a plane-load of relief supplies on Thursday, May 6th. The bulk of our consignment was of 60 marquees, tarpaulins, 5 tons of milk powder,  $\frac{1}{4}$ -ton of multi-vitamin tablets and a large quantity of clothing collected by East Pakistan families resident in London. This was received and is being distributed by the Indian refugee camps along the border. Our latest information is that 30,000 refugees a day are crossing the border and that priority needs are: money, shelter, milk, clothing. Medical teams are not requested as yet though there is the possibility of cholera when the rains start and the camps are flooded.

A Consortium of British charities, including Christian Aid, Oxfam and War on Want has sent 57 grain silos, 40 tractors and 40 boats to East Pakistan. We have a team of tractor drivers standing by and our aim is to get into the Ramgati (Noakhali) area and set up a tractor school which will prepare the ground for the November harvest. We have to be in there by mid-May to do any real good and I am glad to say that our Co-ordinator, Mr. Iain Macdonald, has managed to get to Dacca and is at this moment negotiating for the entry of our team.

Our greetings to the American friends of Bengal. We shall keep you posted as to developments.

Yours sincerely,

WAKIN

W.A. KERR

International Officer

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.
- B. ShanKari 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 in the evening of March 28th. In 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. Ramna Kalibari 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 Kalibari. 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.

## HINTS FOR LOBBYISTS (Revised 9/16/71)

1. The following materials are available for your use in the office in preparing for Hill encounters:
  - a. Card file summarizing our contacts with each member of the House and Senate to date
  - b. Profile of their voting records on certain indicative issues
  - c. Pamphlet for lobbyists put out by Quakers
  - d. List of Congressmen alphabetically including state, party, office room number and telephone ( see also July newsletter)
  - e. Text and list of co-sponsors of Saxbe-Church Amendment (Senate) and Gallagher Amendment (House) to the Foreign Assistance Act
  - f. Congressional Directory (biographies, committees, etc. etc.)
  - g. Press file containing editorials, letters to the editor, news stories, etc., hopefully from your Congressman's district
  - h. Reprints of materials useful for your information and for handouts to Congressmen's offices.
2. Plan your schedule with some thought to building locations (the numerous office buildings are large!).
3. Punctuality within five to ten minutes of the time set is expected. Should you be delayed, a prompt explanation (preferably by phone in advance of the appointment but as soon thereafter as possible) will be more warmly received than a later personal appearance. You can reschedule at the time of your phone call.
4. ASK FIRST to see the Congressman or Senator about the situation in East Pakistan and about the Saxbe-Church (Gallagher) Amendment to the Foreign Aid bill; if he is unable to see you, THEN ASK to speak to the PERSON WHO HANDLES THE CONGRESSMAN'S LEGISLATION ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
5. Obtain the name (do not be shy to ask for spelling) and position of the person you see and include this information in your report (questionnaire) to us so that we can build continuity.
6. Introduce yourself to your contact briefly: clear name, where in the U.S. you come from and what you are doing (e.g., teaching in a university). If you reside or vote in a Congressman's district or Senator's state, make this point clear (he will realize you can influence voters).
7. Ask the staff member how familiar he and/or the Congressman is with the situation in East Pakistan and with the Saxbe-Church (Gallagher) Amendment to Foreign Assistance bill. Conscientious offices welcome the opportunity to learn from sincere, informed, concise persons to the extent they have time available. Staff are often overworked, so that lobbyists are valuable sources of information to them--often the only sources consulted. Thus when you exchange information you are rendering them a service, not asking a favor. After determining his depth of knowledge, explain why it is important the U.S. assume a neutral position in the Pakistan "civil war."

Ask if the Senator (Congressman) supports the Saxbe-Church (Gallagher) Amendment--not "will he support" because this asks him to commit himself in the future when circumstances might have changed. Most people are sympathetic to the suffering of the Bengali people; however, they may feel they must vote against the bill for other reasons. If the person opposes or is non-committal, ASK WHY. This is not an embarrassing question, since Members of Congress and their staffs always expect to explain their positions on critical issues. You can be most persuasive when you understand their reservations.

We need to know what position has been taken so we know if we must do further work. Let us know the areas of disagreement or concern so we can approach him the next time prepared. (Note these on questionnaire. Your recollections are freshest if noted briefly before continuing on to your next appointment.) Any material you can supply verbally or written to inform and persuade your contacts will be most valuable.

9. Be sure to differentiate between aide's opinions and Congressman's position.
10. While feeling sympathy for the Bengal tragedy, many Members feel an obligation always to support the Administration position on foreign/security matters or may have reservations on other issues of substance. Explaining some of the following points may have an impact in such situations:
  - a. The intent of House and Senate legislation proposed is to keep the U.S. from favoring one side over another in yet another Asian civil war (disengage from our aid involvement in another potential Vietnam), especially where the separation of the country is now regarded as inevitable by knowledgeable observers in and out of the government.
  - b. The bureaucracy has urged the President to follow the above policy--for example, Assistant Secretary of State Sisco told the Foreign Relations Committee that Pakistan has less than a 50% chance of surviving as a unified nation. However, the President rejected that position because of his use of Pakistan as a conduit for Kissinger to fly to Peking--yet we could use other avenues to Peking (e.g., we've used Warsaw for years, Rumania is another possibility, as are Hong Kong or San Francisco!).
  - c. The only ones to gain in the present conflict are Mao tse-Tung and chaos--whereas losers will be U.S., India, Russia, and moderate democratic Awami League leaders.
  - d. The conditions which force out millions of refugees fuel the war machines of India and Pakistan; chances of another needless Indian-Pakistan war are high.
  - e. Withdrawing aid--especially including economic aid--will make continued occupation of the East extremely difficult financially for the West.

- f. It is dubious how "friendly" an ally Pak has ever been or how much "leverage" American aid has ever bought us with Pakistan (for example, they kicked us out of Peshawar intelligence base in 1969); Chinese potential is overrated, as has been shown by their promise of small amounts of aid, and their inability to afford giving very much (e.g. gave very little to North Vietnam). West Pakistan is likely to follow its own interests, not China's, as it has in the past.
- g. Pakistan defaulted this summer on its repayment of debts to us for past aid loans. It seeks further relief permitting rescheduling payments due October 31 and beyond. Stress that this form of economic assistance underwrites its occupation of terror in Bangla Desh, and that as a matter of good economics we shouldn't stand for this threat to our aid program's viability.
- h. Relief: UN supervisory prospects and State Department assurances are totally inadequate to prevent misuse of food as a weapon while the present military and civilian regime continues. Until a genuinely representative political settlement is achieved, nothing short of an airlift is likely to reach villagers impartially and effectively. Over 10% of the population has fled to India, hopefully somewhat reducing demand. Need is likely to be greatest in provinces adjacent to India due to the Pak army military measures there. It is essential we offer PL 480 food shipments to India for refugees, and these supplies could possibly spill over the border.
11. If an aide or Congressman wants more particular information on legislation or the Pakistan situation which you are unable to provide, let us know both verbally and on the questionnaire so that appropriate follow-up can be expedited. If at all possible, obtain the information yourself and see that it reaches the person who asked for it.
12. Please send us copies of any material you feel is useful in responding to the concerns of Hill offices.



Telephone: (202) 737-9169  
(202) 737-9538

*Handwritten signature in Bengali script*

BANGLADESH MISSION  
1223 Connecticut Avenue  
Fourth Floor  
Washington, D.C. 20036

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

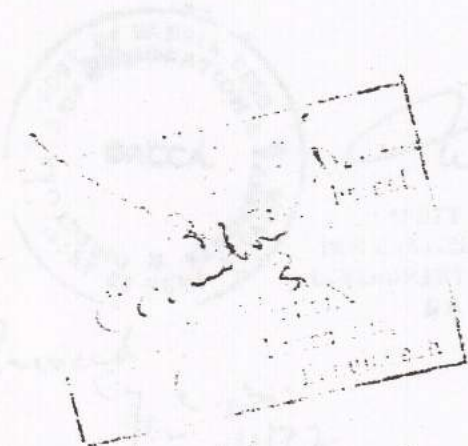
This is to certify that Dr. David Nalin was working in the Cholera Research Institute at Dacca upto March 1971. He has been an active lobbyist for Bangladesh in U.S.A. during the last eight months. He is going back to his works. He may kindly be accorded all facilities during transit.



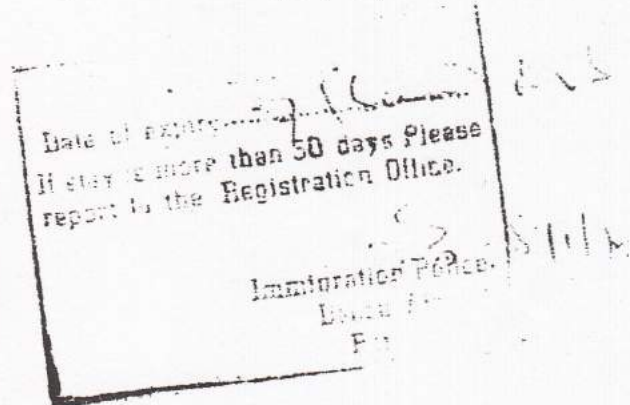
*M.R. Siddiqi*  
(M.R. SIDDIQI)  
Ambassador for Bangladesh  
to U.S.A.

*He is permitted to go to ...  
for a week*

*M. Thani*  
*Return*



*81.72.88*





Mrs. Margaret wife of an A.I.D. Officer with her daughter, Mrs. Anna Braun Taylor and Dr. David R. Nalin (left to right), demonstrating in front of the White House Washington.



EDWARD W. BROOKE  
MASSACHUSETTS

24

COMMITTEES:  
APPROPRIATIONS  
BANKING, HOUSING AND  
URBAN AFFAIRS

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 9, 1971

OFFICES IN THE COMMONWEALTH:  
2003-H KENNEDY FEDERAL BLDG.  
BOSTON 02203  
1883 MAIN STREET  
FEDERAL BUILDING  
SPRINGFIELD 01103

Dr. David R. Nalin  
Dr. James O. Taylor  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Dear Friends:

Thank you for sharing with me your views on the conflict in East Pakistan.

I have followed developments in this area with considerable interest, for these people have suffered much in recent months and many of their claims against the central government certainly seem to be legitimate.

It is my sincere conviction that the United States should not become involved in providing support to either side in the struggle. On the basis of this concern Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota and I addressed a joint letter to the Secretary of State, requesting a full account of the amount and distribution of American aid to Pakistan. We are particularly interested in the use to which our military aid has been put, and in whether our government has any present plans to resume such aid to the Rawalpindi government. I have also cosponsored a resolution introduced by Senators Mondale and Case urging the suspension of all military assistance and sales to Pakistan until hostilities are concluded and relief to East Pakistan is resumed.

Please know that your interest in this matter is appreciated, and that your views have been particularly helpful to me.

Sincerely yours,



Edward W. Brooke

EWB/md

JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK., CHAIRMAN

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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

JAMES R. CALLOWAY  
CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR

May 11, 1971

David R. Malin, M. D.  
872 Mass. Avenue  
Boston, Mass. 02139

Dear Dr. Malin:

Thank you so much for sending me the background material on the recent tragic events in East Bengal. This information will be of excellent reference to me when there are future debates on the implications for U. S. foreign policy and relations with nations in that area of the world.

Be assured that I will weigh the facts carefully as I carry out my duties in the U. S. Senate.

Most sincerely,

  
LAWTON CHILES

LC/g

ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA., CHAIRMAN

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CHARLES H. PERCY, ILL.  
EDWARD W. BROOKE, MASS.

*United States Senate*

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

THOMAS J. SCOTT, CHIEF CLERK  
WM. W. WOODRUFF, COUNSEL

May 12, 1971

Dr. David R. Nalin  
Harvard Medical Unit  
Boston City Hospital  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Dear Dr. Nalin:

Thank you for taking the time to share with me your impressions of the conflict in East Pakistan.

I have been following developments there with great interest, and have joined with Senator Mondale of Minnesota in expressing our concern to Secretary Rogers that the United States not become involved in any way by providing arms or assistance to the government of West Pakistan. The State Department has assured me that no weapons or assistance of a military nature are being supplied when the conflict is in progress. The use of weapons previously supplied by the United States is, unfortunately, a matter beyond our control, since the original agreement suspended in 1965, permitted Pakistan to use these materials for "internal security."

I have taken the liberty of sharing your communication with the Department of State in the belief that your eyewitness account may be of some help to them as well.

Please know that I deeply appreciate having the benefit of your views, and will continue to do whatever I can here to alleviate the great suffering of the people of East Pakistan.

Sincerely yours,

  
Edward W. Brooke

EWB/mdm

EDWARD W. BROOKE  
MASSACHUSETTS

3B

COMMITTEES:  
APPROPRIATIONS  
BANKING, HOUSING AND  
URBAN AFFAIRS

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

OFFICES IN THE COMMONWEALTH:  
2003-H KENNEDY FEDERAL BLDG.  
BOSTON 02203  
1883 MAIN STREET  
FEDERAL BUILDING  
SPRINGFIELD 01103

June 29, 1971

Dr. David R. Nalin, et al.  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Dear Doctor Nalin:

Thank you for sharing with me your views on the conflict in East Pakistan.

I have followed developments in this area with considerable interest, for these people have suffered much in recent months and many of their claims against the central government certainly seem to be legitimate.

It is my sincere conviction that the United States should not become involved in providing support to either side in the struggle. On the basis of this concern Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota and I initially addressed a joint letter to the Secretary of State, requesting a full account of the amount and distribution of American aid to Pakistan. We were particularly interested in the use to which our military aid has been put, and in whether our government has any present plans to resume such aid to the government of Pakistan.

Since then, disturbing reports have continued to flow from East Pakistan, and the number of refugees in neighboring India has increased to alarming and unmanageable proportions. I have therefore co-sponsored a resolution introduced by Senators Mondale and Case urging the suspension of all military assistance and sales to Pakistan until hostilities are concluded and relief to East Pakistan is resumed. And I have joined with Senators Saxbe and Church in urging that economic assistance to Pakistan also be terminated until such time as it clearly will be used to benefit the needy of that country.

Please know that your interest in this matter is appreciated, and that your views have been particularly helpful to me.

Sincerely yours,



Edward W. Brooke

EWB/mdm

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J., CHAIRMAN  
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RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.  
ROBERT W. PACKWOOD, OREG.  
ROBERT TAFT, JR., OHIO  
J. GLENN BEALL, JR., MD.

STEWART E. MCCLURE, STAFF DIRECTOR  
ROBERT E. NAGLE, GENERAL COUNSEL

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 7, 1971

Dr. David Nalin  
872 Massachusetts Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Dear Doctor Nalin:

Thank you very much for your communication concerning recent events in Pakistan.


Although the conflict between East and West Pakistan is actually an internal matter, it is clear that the United States can play an important role because it is a major supplier of weapons to the government of West Pakistan.

There have been measures introduced in the Senate which would stop the shipment of arms to West Pakistan. I will support these proposals when they reach the Senate Floor.

I was pleased to learn that the United Nations is considering additional aid to East Pakistan. I hope these proposals can be acted upon promptly by the United Nations.

I am glad you took the time to contact me on this crucial issue. It is indeed tragic that Pakistan has had to suffer not only natural disasters, but political strife as well. I trust our government will respond properly to this situation.

Sincerely,

  
Alan Cranston

ROBERT F. DRINAN  
3d DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS

509 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
PHONE: 202-225-5931

COMMITTEES:  
JUDICIARY  
HOUSE INTERNAL SECURITY

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

DISTRICT OFFICES:  
76 SUMNER STREET  
FITCHBURG, MASSACHUSETTS 01420  
PHONE: 617-342-8722  
681 MAIN STREET  
WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS 02154  
PHONE: 617-891-9468

May 7, 1971

Dr. David R. Nalin, M.D.  
Harvard Medical Unit  
Boston City Hospital  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118


Dear Dr. Nalin:

Thank you for your recent letter, and the very interesting material concerning the war in East Bengal.

I am certain quite a lot of this splendid information will come to mind in the future when these issues are discussed.

With deep appreciation for your interest and concern, I am

Cordially yours,

  
Robert F. Drinan  
Member of Congress

RFD:dmv

293/885

PHILIP A. HART  
MICHIGAN

COMMITTEES:  
COMMERCE  
JUDICIARY

*United States Senate*

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 11, 1971

Mr. David R. Nalin  
and Mr. James O. Taylor  
813 Harrison Ave.  
Boston, Mass. 02110

Dear Messrs Nalin and Taylor:

Your concern about the Pakistan situation is one that I share. I am passing along to Secretary Rogers your informed comments and recommendation. Many are writing in this vein, and I hope they will be heard.


As you may know, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has reported favorably S.Con.Res. 21, which expresses the sense of Congress that all American military assistance and licenses for military sales to Pakistan should be suspended until the conflict in East Pakistan is resolved and the distribution of relief supplies in that area is undertaken.

In my view, we may need to go beyond that Resolution and consider both economic aid and relief in terms of the present situation.

Thank you for sharing your thinking with me.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

  
Philip A. Hart

VANCE HARTKE  
INDIANA  
STATE OFFICE  
810 ILLINOIS BUILDING  
17 WEST MARKET STREET  
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204  
(317)-633-7066

2E

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 5, 1971

COMMITTEES:  
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AVIATION  
GREAT LAKES-ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY, CHAIRMAN  
CONSUMERS  
COMMUNICATIONS  
FOREIGN COMMERCE AND TOURISM  
FINANCE  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

David R. Malin, M.D.  
James O. Taylor, M.D.  
~~Harvard Medical School~~  
Department of Medicine  
313 Harrison Avenue  
Boston City Hospital  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Dear Doctors:

I fully share your horror and dismay at the recent bloody events in Pakistan, and I intend to support legislation to curtail arms aid to the Karachi government.

Here again we have an example of the shocking misuse to which United States arms aid is all too often put by its recipients. Weapons which we provide for the ostensible purpose of helping a friendly regime defend itself against possible Communist aggression turns out to be used to crush internal disaffection, or as in the case of the India-Pakistan border war of a few years ago, is used for settling old scores with hostile neighbors.

Our entire arms aid program is badly in need of reconsideration, and I intend to play a leading role in that effort.

Thank you for expressing your deep concern to me.

Sincerely,



Vance Hartke  
United States Senator



24

JOHN C. STENNIS, MISS., CHAIRMAN	
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.	MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.	STROM THURMOND, S.C.
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.	JOHN G. TOWER, TEX.
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.	PETER H. DOMINICK, COLO.
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.	BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.
HARRY F. BYRD, JR., VA.	RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.
HAROLD E. HUGHES, IOWA	WILLIAM B. SAXBE, OHIO
LLOYD BENTSEN, TEX.	

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 24, 1971

T. EDWARD BRASWELL, JR., CHIEF OF STAFF

David R. Nalin, M.D.  
 Miss Anna Braun Taylor  
 James O. Taylor, M.D.  
 818 Harrison Avenue  
 Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Dear Friends:

Thank you for your recent letter on East Pakistan. I share your concern about developments there and have cosponsored legislation to stop American military and economic aid until the situation is resolved and adequate relief provisions are made.

It is tragic that our government has paid so little attention to this problem and that it prides itself in giving relief supplies which amount to only about half of what we spend each day on the war in Vietnam. When any of the legislation I have cosponsored or any other related measures come before the Senate, you can be sure that I shall keep your views in mind.

With sincere best wishes,

*Harold E. Hughes*  
 HAROLD E. HUGHES

HEH:oj

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
MINNESOTA

2D

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 4, 1971

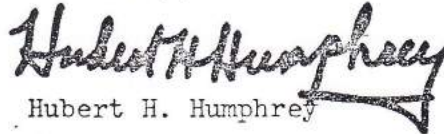
Dr. David R. Nalin  
872 Mass. Ave.  
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Dear Dr. Nalin:

I, too, am deeply disturbed by the latest events in East Pakistan. While I am only one man and not the government of the United States, I feel the same as any sensitive human being to the injustices being committed to the Bengali people. I have expressed my deep concern to the Secretary of State and other officials in government circles with the hope that the United States can use its good offices to reach an equitable solution which recognizes the rights of the Bengali people, affirmed in recent elections. I also have made some suggestions to these people to be taken as a guideline of what constructive action can be taken. I await the Secretary's reply.

Every day that is expended means a tremendous loss of human life. I pray that an end is in sight. Thank you for contacting me and sharing your thoughts on this tragic situation.

Sincerely,

  
Hubert H. Humphrey

JACOB K. JAVITS  
NEW YORK

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

COMMITTEES:  
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE  
FOREIGN RELATIONS  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
JOINT ECONOMIC  
SMALL BUSINESS  
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

May 25, 1971

Dear Dr. Nalin:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the civil war in Pakistan, and for the informative material.

Reports of widespread killings and repression command deep humanitarian concern. I have cosponsored a resolution introduced by Senators Case and Mondale which would prohibit all military sales and assistance to West Pakistan until the conflict is resolved and the distribution of relief supplies to East Pakistan is undertaken.

I appreciate your taking the time to write and send the useful material.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

  
Jacob K. Javits

Dr. David R. Nalin  
Harvard Med. Unit  
Boston City Hospital  
818 Harrison Ave.  
Boston, Mass 02118

JACOB K. JAVITS  
NEW YORK

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

COMMITTEES:  
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE  
FOREIGN RELATIONS  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
JOINT ECONOMIC  
SMALL BUSINESS  
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

July 8, 1971

Dr! David R. Nalin  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Dear Dr.Nalin:

Thank you for your recent communication urging my support of the Saxbe-Church amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, which would suspend all aid to Pakistan until relief assistance has been undertaken under international supervision in East Pakistan and the majority of the refugees in India have been repatriated. While I understand and share the deep humanitarian concern which prompted your letter, I do not believe a just political settlement and relief to the war victims will be best served by cutting off all economic assistance to Pakistan, as proposed by this amendment.

I am a cosponsor of the Case-Mondale resolution, S. Con. Res. 21, which seeks to prohibit all military assistance and all military sales to Pakistan until the conflict is resolved and relief distribution is undertaken in East Pakistan. As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I have been in close contact with the Secretary of State and have urged our government to take immediate steps to increase relief assistance not only to East Pakistan through international organizations, but also to the refugees in India.

I appreciate hearing from you and having the benefit of your views.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

  
Jacob K. Javits, U.S.S.

JEJ:hh

EDWARD M. KENNEDY  
MASSACHUSETTS

SD

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510  
July 1, 1971

Dr. David R. Nalin et al  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Nalin and Friends:

Many thanks for your recent communication regarding the massive human tragedy in East Pakistan. I certainly share your deep concern, and, as you probably know, I have from the beginning advocated greater humanitarian measures by our government and the international community to help relieve the plight of the peoples of that area.

Since the first of April, the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, which I serve as Chairman, has continued its efforts to focus attention on the problems of a people torn first by natural disaster and now by civil war.

In light of your interest, enclosed are copies of recent statements I have made on the East Pakistan tragedy. Again, thank you for writing, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

  
Edward M. Kennedy

Enclosure

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 26, 1971

Dr. David R. Nalin  
Harvard Medical Unit  
Boston City Hospital  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

Dear Doctor Nalin:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter on the tragedy that has overtaken East Pakistan.

As Chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, I have repeatedly addressed myself to the urgent humanitarian needs generated by the civil strife in East Pakistan. I very much share your concern and I can assure you that neither I nor the Subcommittee have said our last on this growing problem.

I appreciate your forwarding the background materials on the situation in East Pakistan. We will continue to investigate the circumstances and nature of American involvement in Pakistan.

Again, many thanks for writing. For your background information, I have asked my secretary to enclose copies of my statements on the East Pakistan problem.

Sincerely,



Edward M. Kennedy

Enclosures

3K

HERMAN E. TALMADGE, GA., CHAIRMAN	
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.	JACK MILLER, IOWA
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COTYS M. MOUSER, CHIEF CLERK

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 9, 1971

Dear Friends:

Many thanks for your recent communication in regard to the tragic conflict in East Pakistan.

The enclosed statement represents my view of an appropriate response from the United States, and I hope it will be of interest to you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

*George McGovern*  
George McGovern

David R. Nalin  
Ann Braun Taylor  
James O. Taylor  
Harvard Medical School  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

WALTER F. MONDALE  
MINNESOTA

59

**United States Senate**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 3, 1971

Dr. D. Nalin  
Harvard Medical College  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Nalin:

Thank you very much for your letter regarding the tragedy in East Pakistan.

I am hopeful that there will be an early vote on the Resolution I introduced to bar further U. S. arms shipments to Pakistan until the conflict is resolved.

Equally urgent, however, is an emergency effort to forestall the still greater horror of mass famine in Bengal. I am shocked by the neglect of this problem, and am urging the administration to take immediate and strong measures to mount the necessary relief effort.

Thank you again for your expression of concern and support. I will be doing all I can in the months ahead to avert further catastrophe in East Pakistan.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

*Walter F. Mondale*

Walter F. Mondale

*Example of hundreds of letters  
received from congress.*



EDMUND S. MUSKIE  
MAINE

*United States Senate*

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 11, 1971

David R. Nalin, M.D.  
Harvard Medical Unit  
Boston City Hospital  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

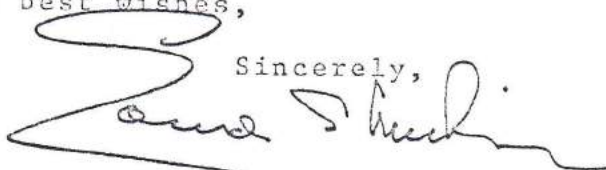
Dear Doctor Nalin:

Thank you for expressing your views with regard to the current situation in East Pakistan. I appreciate hearing from you on this matter.

I share your concern over the tragic events which have occurred in East Pakistan in recent weeks. You may be interested to know that I have joined in co-sponsoring a resolution which would suspend all U.S. military assistance to East Pakistan until the conflict there is resolved. I am enclosing a copy of a recent statement I have made on this subject which I hope will be of interest to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Edmund S. Muskie  
United States Senator

Enclosure

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

April 20, 1971

Dr. David Nalin  
872 Massachusetts Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts


Dear Dr. Nalin:

This will acknowledge your recent telegram regarding the Pakistani war. This was referred to me as I am the Representative for the district in which you reside. This is a matter of Congressional courtesy.

I appreciate having the benefit of your views on this issue. I will keep them in mind when the matter of arms and aid to Pakistan comes before me on the floor of the House.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

  
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.  
Member of Congress

pp

*Congress of the United States*  
*House of Representatives*  
Washington, D.C. 20515

May 11, 1971

Dr. David Nalin  
872 Massachusetts Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Dear Dr. Nalin:

This will acknowledge your recent letter regarding Pakistan and the material which accompanied it.

Your letters and packets have been referred to me as I am the Representative for the District in which you reside. This is a matter of Congressional courtesy.

Thank you for your consideration in sending me this information. I appreciate having the benefit of your views on this issue.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.  
Member of Congress

pp

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

July 28, 1971

Dr. David Nalin  
872 Massachusetts Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Nalin:

Some time ago you wrote me concerning Pakistan and the tragic situation which many of the citizens of that nation were experiencing.

Since then the problem has been brought to the attention of many of my colleagues in the House and Senate. Because of the gravity of the situation and this nation's relationship to Pakistan with regard to arms and supplies, I have decided to sponsor a joint resolution introduced by Congressman Morse, which would ban all sales and deliveries of military equipment and supplies to Pakistan, including equipment in the pipeline, for a period of 365 days from the enactment of this resolution.

I appreciate your bringing this important matter to my attention. Please be assured that I will do everything in my power to assist the citizens of Pakistan and thereby return that nation to a peaceful and secure status.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.  
Member of Congress

dm

ROBERT TAFT, JR.  
OHIO



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 30, 1971

David R. Nalin, M.D.  
Anna Braun Taylor  
James O. Taylor, M.D.  
Harvard Medical School-Department of Medicine  
Boston City Hospital  
818 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Mass. 02118

Dear Drs. Nalin and Taylor:

Thank you for your recent communication regarding the Saxbe-Church amendment to end U.S. aid to Pakistan until peace is restored there.

This legislation is Amendment No. 159 to S. 1657. This bill is presently pending in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. One hearing has been held.

Our government ceased all shipments of arms and spare parts to West Pakistan immediately after fighting began on March 25. At the present time we are participating in a number of international refugee relief efforts in India and Pakistan. Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, calling for suspension of military assistance to Pakistan until the present conflict in that country is resolved has also been referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. The Resolution has been reported from the Committee.

You may be assured that I will keep your viewpoint in mind, when this measure comes up for consideration in the Senate.

Sincerely,

*Bob Taft*

Robert Taft, Jr.

jp

Saxbe-Church amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act  
of 1961 as amended, regarding aid  
to Pakistan

June 8, 1971

Sec. . . All military and economic assistance,  
and all sales of military equipment and weapons,  
whether for cash, credit, or any other means,  
to Pakistan, authorized or appropriated  
pursuant to this or any other act, and  
all licenses for military sales, shall be  
immediately suspended and no commitments  
or expenditures, including the provision of  
debt relief, shall be undertaken or made,  
until distribution of food and other relief  
measures, supervised by international agencies,  
takes place on a regular basis throughout  
East Pakistan and the majority of refugees  
in India are repatriated to East Pakistan;  
provided, however, that these provisions  
shall not prohibit expenditures of previously  
appropriated funds pursuant to binding written  
agreements between the Government of Pakistan  
and the Agency for International Development  
in force on or prior to June 8, 1971.

CASE  
 BAYH  
 PASTORE  
 HART  
 PELL  
 GRANSTON  
 METCALF  
 MCGOVERN  
 TUNNEY  
 EASTON  
 SCOTT  
 MOSS  
 STEVENSON  
 MONDALE  
 BARNETT  
 HUGHES  
 HARKE  
 MUSKIE  
 BELMONT

June 22, 1971

Co-sponsors of Saxbe-Church Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961

*United States Senate*  
 COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

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 WAYNE MORSE, OREG.  
 ALBERT GORE, TENN.  
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 KARL E. MUNDT, S. DAK.  
 CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.  
 JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.

490, FRANKLIN STREET,  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.02139  
JUNE 22, 1971

Dear Sir,

WE APPEAL TO YOU TO READ THESE TWO ARTICLES which have appeared in England's and America's most respected papers. One chronicles the genocide perpetrated by the West Pakistan army for the past three months, the other documents America's incredible collusion in this genocide. We are not throwing these words around carelessly. They are unfortunately literally true in this case.

We sent you Anthony Mascarenhas' remarkable eye-witness report from East Pakistan. We urge you again to read that and the two enclosed articles.

We depend on you to register your protest with the State Department and to co-sponsor and support the Church-Saxbe Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act (to be introduced as an independent bill this week) which will suspend aid to West Pakistan and so stop our financing this massacre.

Yours truly,

A. Braun Taylor

A. Braun Taylor

David Nalin

Dr. David Nalin

James Taylor

Dr. James Taylor