

EAST PAKISTAN



Away in the manger, no crib for His bed,
The little Lord Jesus laid down His sweet head,

Merry Christmas

WHY STORY

Geography, language and customs all worked against a united Pakistan from the start. Now, civil war is tearing the nation further apart than ever.

Outbreak of civil war in Pakistan in late March marked the latest chapter in an old fight and the beginning of a new struggle that could have far-reaching consequences. The outcome is important-not only to 70 million East Pakistanis-but to the U.S. and the balance of power on the subcontinent of South Asia.

West Pakistan's use of troops, planes and tanks to crush East Pakistan's bid for self-rule was the most violent episode in a dispute between the country's two "wings" that dates back to independence from Britain nearly a quarter of a century ago.

END OF UNION? More significant, according to U.S. experts, is this: No matter how the fighting winds up, the union between East and West Pakistan is nearing an end. If East Pakistan fails to win autonomy, it will become a conquered colony-ruled by force from West Pakistan, 1000 miles away.

Some American authorities are convinced that East Pakistan is determined-despite the odds-to break away from the West once and for all and to establish the independent country of Bangla Desh (Bengal Nation).

"This is a foolish, bloody tragedy," says a West Pakistani source. "This use of military force will not keep East Pakistan enslaved to West Pakistan."

BORN IN VIOLENCE. Pakistan-"Land of the Pure"-was born amid religious strife on Aug. 14, 1947, and has been torn intermittently by violence ever since, much of it generated by East Pakistan's demands for autonomy.

An estimated 1 million persons were killed in religious rioting that followed the British decision to partition India into two nations, Hindu India and Moslem Pakistan. In one

PAKISTAN BEHIND

of history's largest mass migrations, 7.5 million Moslems moved from India into Pakistan and 10 million Hindus from Pakistan into India.

From the start, Pakistan-its East and West sections separated by hostile India-was described as an "impossible dream," and a "temporary phenomenon."

A common belief in Mohammed is the only tie between the two wings. Race, culture, economy, language, even food, are different. West Pakistan, peopled predominantly by light-skinned Punjabis who speak the Urdu language, is an extension of the arid Middle East. The dark-skinned Bengalis of East Pakistan, speaking Bengali, have closer ties with the humid countries of Southeast Asia.

West Pakistan's 310,403 square miles-an area almost as large as Texas and Oklahoma combined-has a population of just 60 million. East Pakistan's 70 million are crammed into 55,126 square miles-about the size of Iowa.

GOAL:SELF-RULE. Since

EXPLODED : A CIVIL WAR

independence, East Pakistani leaders have sought some form of self-rule for East Pakistan. The Central Government, dominated by the Army since General Ayub Khan seized power in 1958, has refused. Free elections and a return to civilian rule were promised only after country-wide riots forced Ayub to resign in 1969 and General Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan took over as President.

Still, East Pakistanis continued to accuse West Pakistan of draining the East of its resources to finance industrialization in the West. The Government in Islamabad, they said, was interested only in hard cash earned by East Pakistan's raw-jute exports-80 per cent of the world total.

East Pakistanis claim that per capita income in West Pakistan is \$108 compared with \$64 in the East. They say that the West receives four times as much foreign aid as the East, twice the development money and nine times the defense funds. Prices of wheat and rice are twice as high in the East. An

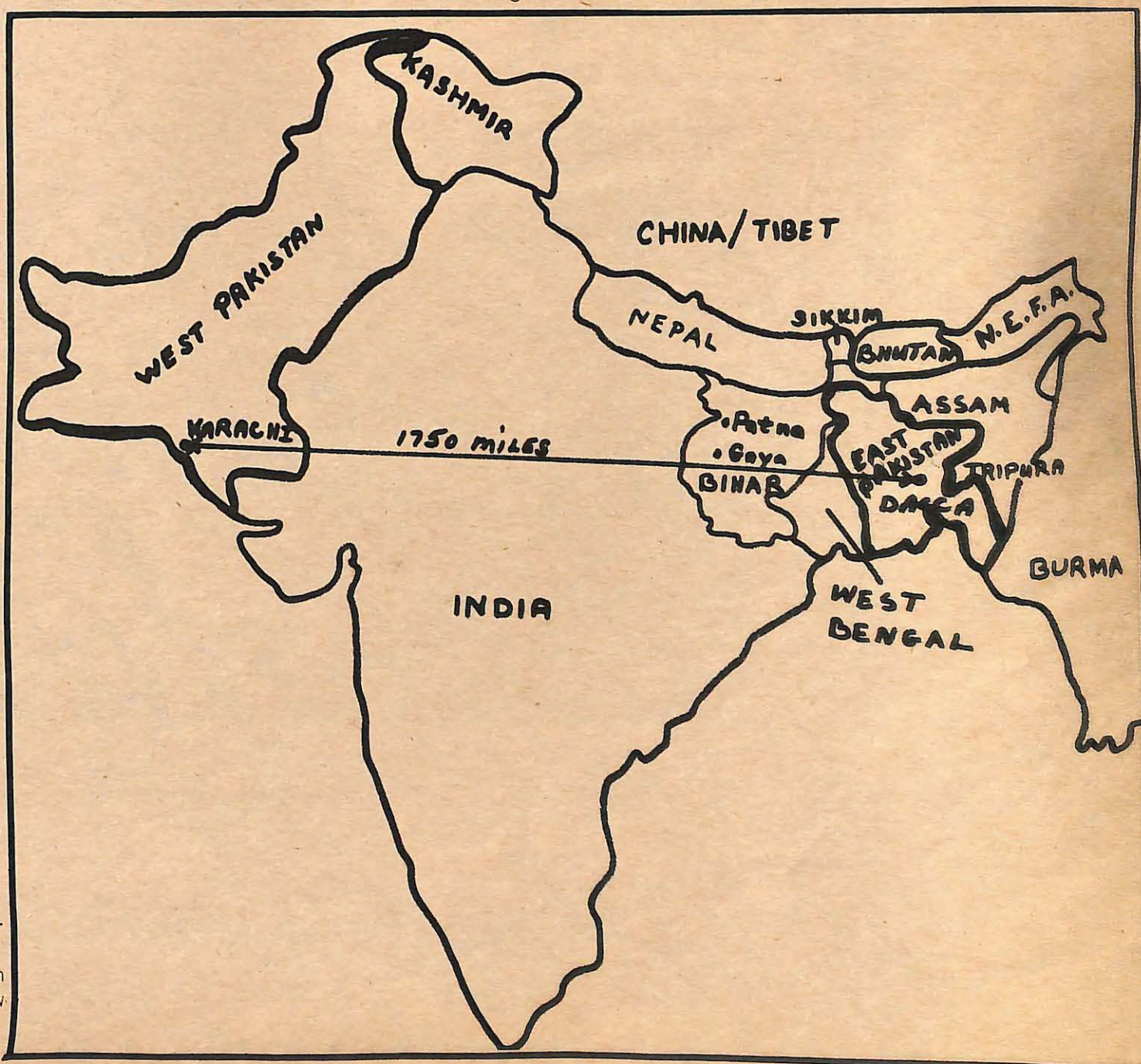
American expert explains:

"The East Pakistanis have felt over the years that they always got no more than crumbs from the West Pakistan table, that they were being treated as second-class citizens. West Pakistan dominates the military, the civil service, banking and business. The wealthy families all are West Pakistanis."

ANGER AFTER CYCLONE. East Pakistan's resentment came to a head in November when a cyclone and tidal wave killed at least 200,000 persons. The East was angered by what it believed to be slow and inefficient Government relief measures. Says a Western official: "The horror and tragedy of that disaster brought unity to East Pakistan."

East Pakistanis voiced their frustration in December elections for a 313-seat National Assembly that was to write a new civilian constitution. To the surprise of the Govern-

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ment, 167 seats for East Pakistan—an absolute majority of the Assembly—were won by the Awami League headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, a long-time leader of the fight for East Pakistan autonomy.

This Awami League victory raised the possibility that not only could Sheikh Mujib be elected Prime Minister but that East Pakistan could dictate provisions in the new constitution. President Yahya Khan warned that he would veto any constitution that divided the country. When he postponed opening of the Assembly, rioting broke out in the East Pakistan capital of Dacca, and martial law was declared. Sheikh Mujib launched a nonviolent civil-disobedience campaign, virtually taking over administration of East Pakistan.

Yahya Khan and the Sheikh negotiated for 11 days in Dacca on the impasse. Finally, just as some observers were predicting a compromise, Yahya Khan abruptly returned to West Pakistan, apparently angered by what he considered to be excessive demands by the Sheikh. He outlawed the Awami League, declared the Sheikh to be a traitor and sent his Army into action in East Pakistan on March 25.

Sheikh Mujib proclaimed East Pakistan's independence, and the civil war was on. U.S. authorities say it may be years before peace is achieved. One Western diplomat gives this assessment:

"The day of moderation is over. After what has been done to them by the West Pakistanis, no leader or would-be leader in East Pakistan, Communist or not, dares now to talk of moderation toward West Pakistan."

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT,
April 12, 1971

Cont'd from page 6

o "The Army hunts the Mukti, but they don't find them. They burned three villages near Faridpur yesterday."

How do you know this?

"My home is near there. I heard it from my family."

Why do you tell me this?

"Because the world must know. You are a journalist."

Dacca, East Pakistan—In the name of "God and a united Pakistan" Dacca is a crushed and frightened city.

The extent of death and destruction in Dacca was obvious: Students dead in their beds, butchers in the markets killed behind their stalls, women and children burned to death in their houses, Pakistanis of Hindu religion shot en masse, bazaars and shopping areas razed by fire.

The first target of army tanks that rolled into Dacca Thursday night was the students.

Caught by surprise, some 200 students were killed in Iqbal Hall, headquarters of the militantly anti-government Students Union as shells slammed into the building and their rooms were sprayed with machinegun fire.

Two days later bodies

were still smoldering in their burned-out rooms, others were scattered outside, more floated in a nearby lake, an art student lay sprawled across his easel, seven teachers died in their quarters and a family of 12 were gunned down as they hid in an outhouse.

At another hall the dead were buried by the soldiers in a hastily dug grave, then bulldozed over by tanks.

By 2 a.m., fires were burning all over the city, troops had occupied the university and surrounding areas, were shooting at students still in hiding and were replacing Bengali independence flags with Pakistani national flags.

But the worst was yet to come. At midday Friday, again without warning, columns of troops poured into the old section of Dacca where more

than a million people live in a sprawling maze of narrow winding streets.

The lead unit was followed by soldiers carrying cans of gasoline. Those who tried to escape were shot. Those who stayed were burned alive. About 700 men, women and children died there that day between noon and 2 p.m.

As quickly as they appeared, the troops disappeared off the streets. On Saturday morning the radio announced the curfew would be lifted from 7 a.m. until 4 p.m.

By 10 a.m., with palls of black smoke still hanging over large areas of the Old Town and out in the distance toward the industrial areas, the streets were packed with people leaving town.

By midday they were on the move in the tens of thousands.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, TUESDAY,
MARCH 30, 1971

WHAT DO YOU DO ABOUT

NINE MILLION REFUGEES ?

Over the rivers and down the highways and along countless jungle paths, the population of East Pakistan continues to hemorrhage into India: an endless unorganized flow of refugees with a few tin kettles, cardboard boxes and ragged clothes piled on their heads, carrying their sick children and their old. They pad along barefooted, with the mud sucking at their heels in the wet parts. They are silent, except for a child whimpering now and then, but their faces tell the story. Many are sick and covered with sores. Others have cholera, and when they die by the roadside there is no one to bury them. The Hindus, when they can, put a hot coal in the mouths of their dead or singe the body in lieu of cremation. The dogs, the vultures and the crows do the rest. As the refugees pass the

rotting corpses, some put pieces of cloth over their noses.

The column pushing into India never ends, day or night. Most are shepherded into refugee camps where they are given ration cards for food and housed in makeshift sheds of bamboo covered with thatched or plastic roofing. TIME, AUGUST 2, 1971

It is costing the Indian government approximately 5 million dollars a day to feed the refugee population. But obviously this cannot continue. The question which faces each individual in East Pakistan is "should I remain in Pakistan and risk being shot or risk starvation; or should I pack my belongings and risk being shot on the roads and possibly starving in an Indian refugee camp?" Some choice.

When one sees the pic-

tures of saddened, seemingly passive refugees, it is easy to say that the eastern mind accepts the conditions of his life without question.

Why should we do anything to interfere? Imagine again, you have been bombed and strafed, your family completely lost, possibly forever, your lands destroyed, your home burned to the ground; you have walked several hundred miles to a refugee camp and are crowded in with 250,000 other refugees, and then try to assume an active role. Try to lift your spirits to do something.

Several sections of the northern provinces of India now contain more refugees than local citizens and of course, the welcome is beginning to wear a bit thin. CHEVRON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1971

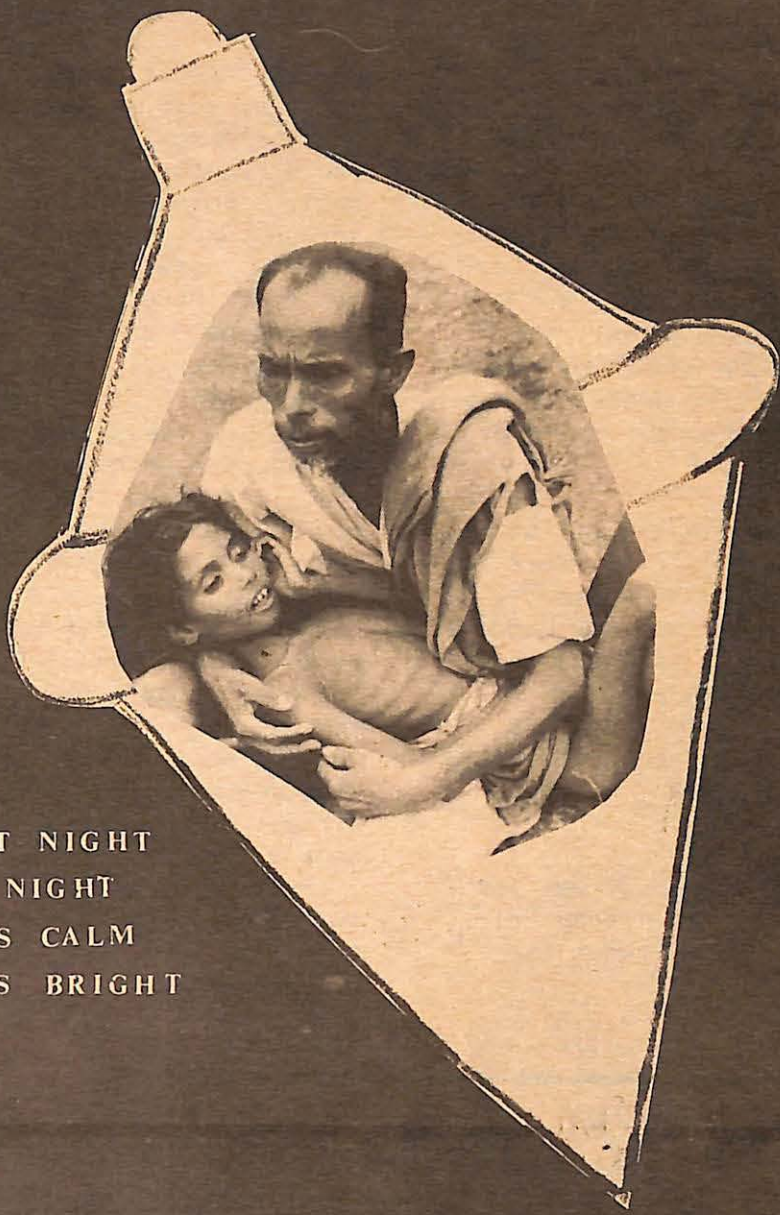
A whisper and a flat denial.

You take your choice in accepting or rejecting the very existence of this secret internecine war. Somehow you can't help believing the little people. Their tale of terror is

told too often to be always wrong.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1971

TRANSITIONAL



SILENT NIGHT
HOLY NIGHT
ALL IS CALM
ALL IS BRIGHT



ROUND YON VIRGIN
MOTHER AND CHILD



IT'S CALLED THE TRA
THE AGONY BETWEEN
AND THE FIRST INTA

PERIOD



SLEEP IN HEAVENLY PEACE,
SLEEP IN HEAVENLY PEACE.



HOLY INFANT,
SO TENDER AND MILD

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD...
THE LAST BREATH OF LIFE
KE OF DEATH

total WAR threat looms along INDIA , EAST PAKISTAN borders

ON MARCH 25, 1971 WEST PAKISTAN INVADED EAST PAKISTAN.

ON DECEMBER 1, 1971, EIGHT MONTHS LATER, THE BATTLE STILL RAGES AND IS WORSENING.

NEW DELHI (AP)-- Pakistan called some of its military reserves to active duty today, as Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India reported Bengali rebels had seized large parts of East Pakistan and inflicted heavy casualties on the Pakistani army.

Radio Pakistan said all reserve officers and officers on leave before retirement were being asked to report for duty immediately. The broadcast said some men from the ranks also were affected but details were not given.

India had a partial mobilization of its reserves in mid-October.

Mrs. Gandhi told the Indian Parliament that no Indian troops were fighting inside East Pakistan, but she did acknowledge that Indian troops entered East Pakistan after a tank battle near the border Sunday.

REPORTS ATTACK She said Pakistani infantry, supported by tanks and artillery, launched an offensive on the Mukti Bahini—the East Pakistan libera-

tion army—who she said had liberated an area around Boyra, five miles from India's border.

"Pakistani armor, under heavy artillery cover, advanced to our border threatening our defensive positions," she said.

"Their shells fell in our territory, wounding a number of our men.

"The local Indian military commander took appropriate action to repulse the Pakistani attack. In this action, 13 Pakistani Chafee tanks were destroyed."

The Boyra area, about 45 miles northeast of Calcutta, borders the Jessore district of East Pakistan, where the Pakistan government announced Monday that 130 Indians were killed and an estimated 500 wounded in fighting that involved tanks.

SAY 3 JETS DOWNED Boyra also is across the border from the area where India claims it shot down

three Pakistani F-86 Sabre Jets Monday. Pakistan said it lost two Sabres but insisted the battle with Indian Gnat fighters took place over East Pakistan, not over India as claimed by New Delhi.

The Pakistanis claimed two Indian jets were downed. Mrs. Gandhi called the air battle a "purely local action."

Pakistan says hordes of Indian troops have crossed into East Pakistan in support of the Mukti Bahini.

"This is wholly untrue," Mrs. Gandhi said. "In fact, it was Pakistan which threatened total war and moved its entire armed strength into operational positions on our borders and launched a massive hate-India campaign with slogans, 'Crush India, conquer India.'"

"It has never been our intention to escalate this situation or to start a conflict.

"To this end, we have

instructed our troops not to cross the borders except in self-defence."

The fighting brought expressions of concern from Britain and the U.S. as well as UN Secretary General U Thant. The state department in Washington said a meeting would be held soon with the Soviet Union. Sources in Dacca, the East Pakistani capital reported that Pakistani forces repelled an Indian assault in the Comilla district, on the eastern border, and that 157 intruders were killed. Another Indian attack was reported at Akhaura in the north-eastern sector.

Heavy fighting continued in the Jessore area on the western border, a Pakistani army spokesman said, that invading forces "were not allowed to make any headway."

The Mail Star, Wednesday, November 24, 1971

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PSSST — THE ARMY WANTS TO KILL ME !

The Time: a warm Sunday afternoon.

The place: a country bazaar in a small village some five hours (by car and ferry) out of Dacca. The noise of 500 or so bartering and chattering Pakistani peasants makes it difficult to hear the old man standing before you.

He's telling you a tale of horror—a tale of war.

"Who are you, and where do you reside?" he asks precisely, his face within 6 inches of ours. He wears a long, white shirt, vest, beard, and white skullcap. He turns out to be a local primary-school teacher. He speaks

Urdu—and some English. My two colleagues and I tell him who we are.

He then tells us he has come to this bazaar to mix with people because he now fears for his life. He is convinced the Pakistani Army wants to kill him because he can read and write.

"The Army," he says, "kills everyone who doesn't have an identity card." He held out his card for us to see. "And they also kill everyone whose card indicates he is literate."

Is this true, you wonder later? You only know a Pakistani teacher felt this was the most important thing he could tell

three foreigners while standing in a roadway with hundreds of his gaping countrymen listening to whatever they could hear.

....."Do we burn villages?" repeated a husky Pakistan Army captain from Rawalpindi an hour later on the route back. He smiled in disbelief, showing white teeth. "No we come here from West Pakistan to help our Muslim brothers." Hindus plainly were not included under his protective wing.

"You can't distinguish friend from foe here," complained the handsome Pakistani lieutenant beside him. "These miscreants don't wear uniforms."

EVIDENCE NOT VISIBLE

We saw no burned villages, no slain villagers. ("You see," the captain had said when we admitted this, "it's just enemy talk.") But then this is the secret war of East Pakistan. Officially, it doesn't exist. It's always somewhere else. You don't see it. You just hear about it—from ordinary frightened people with no reason to lie.

"You are a journalist—American?" says a man in a doorway. "It is still very bad here." He pauses as a man walks by.

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if you are not part of the solution

. you are part of the problem

Having read through the paper, I suppose you are wondering where it came from and what it is all about. So, here is a brief background.

On October 25/71 Jack Lakavitch (now secretary for the Student Christian Movement in the Atlantic Region) spoke at MSVU of the Pakistan crisis after his return from East Pakistan. As a result of this encounter Larry Fisk (Political Science Professor, MSVU) learned of and informed some students about a meeting Jack was to have with the Steering Committee of the Halifax-Dartmouth Combined Appeal for Pakistani Relief (CAPR). Two

of us from the Mount, along with several other students from various universities, attended this meeting. The overall purpose of the meeting was to encourage students to begin a movement of concern and involvement on each campus.

The initial objective of the CAPR was to act as a catalyst to encourage people to donate to CAPR or to the agency of their choice, but not to become involved in direct fund raising.

The future of the CAPR was to re-evaluate the activities and to appoint a steering committee to discuss the alternatives and

propose a strategy for the future.

That future is now present and we are a part of it. On November 3/71 members of the Steering Committee met with a group of concerned students, faculty and administrators at MSVU to create an awareness within this larger group of the crisis in East Pakistan. We hoped to spark a sense of responsibility in this urgent matter. The people present agreed to have another meeting on November 8/71 to make preparations for a Pakistan Day on campus. The date is set for December 8/71 and plans are well under way.

The purpose of this Day is to instill in people an emotional contact or identity with fellow human beings. The theme is a contrast of what was East Pakistan and what is East Pakistan today. What has this crisis wrought? We hope you will be so moved as to feel a responsibility towards our brothers and become involved. Surely the attempt must be made.

**WRITE TO THE
GOVERNMENT!**

**LET THEM KNOW
YOUR VIEWS!**

DEMAND THEY TAKE THE FOLLOWING STEPS:

1. BRING THE ISSUE TO THE UNITED NATIONS. THE CONFLICT WITHIN EAST BENGAL IS AN INTERNATIONAL CONCERN, BRINGING IT BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD GIVE IT INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION. MOREOVER, IF ONLY THE INDIAN-PAKISTAN CONFLICT IS BROUGHT BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS IT WILL OBSCURE THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE CRISIS, THE CONFLICT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN. THEREFORE, THE ENTIRE MATTER MUST BE RAISED IN THE UN TO SEEK A GENUINE POLITICAL SOLUTION.
2. PRESS THE UN TO ESTABLISH A GENUINE NEUTRAL RELIEF EFFORT WITHIN EAST BENGAL.
3. TO INCREASE THE GOVERNMENT'S AID COMMITMENT TO INDIA BY A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT.
4. TO ENSURE THAT AID IS DELIVERED WITHIN EAST BENGAL. ALL AVENUES SHOULD BE SEARCHED TO GET RELIEF INTO EAST BENGAL WHILE AVOIDING DISTRIBUTION THROUGH THE MILITARY.
5. TO SEEK A SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT BY TAKING INITIATIVES JOINTLY WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.

**POSTAL ADDRESS: HONORABLE MITCHELL SHARP
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, C/O
HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA, CANADA**

RESPONSIBILITY

'We are trying to make the problem of India the problem of the world.

India has been wonderful in accepting and taking care of the millions of Pakistan refugees and India will continue to take care of them. In opening the door to them, the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, has done a wonderful, a Christ-like thing.

Let us remember this: the people of Pakistan, the people of India, the

people of Vietnam, all people where-ever they may be, are the children of God, all created by the same hand. Today, the Pakistan people belong especially to us. They are part of the family of God in all the world.

This problem is not only India's problem, it is the world's problem. The burden must be carried by the world, the answer must be given by the world.

For us in India, good has come from the problem because our people have made considerable sacri-

fices and will continue to make them.

But the entire world must I repeat must become concerned. Let us all, where-ever we are, realise that we have millions of children suffering from malnutrition and starvation, and there are other difficulties, the enormity of which people find it hard to appreciate. Here again, unless the world comes in with food and proteins and those other things the children need just to lead ordinary, healthy lives, these children will die-and the world

will have to answer for their death.

I have been working among the refugees for five or six months. I have seen these children, and the adults, dying. That is why I can assure the world how grave the situation is and how urgently it must help.

The appeal is to the world-and the world must answer.'

MOTHER TERESA, founder of 'The Missionaries of Charity', India

How can I say "Merry Christmas" this year
 How can I give gifts to those who have everything,
 while there are people who have nothing...?
 How can I find appetizing a lavish Christmas dinner,
 while there are people hungry...
 How can I luxuriate in warmth and hospitality,
 while there are people cold and homeless...
 How can there be for me Christmas peace,
 when people are enduring war...
 How can I spend the holidays eating more,
 drinking more, smoking more,
 travelling more, telephoning, when there
 are people having daily less and less...
 How - unless I truly share with those who
 are really in need - can I have -
 or can I dare to wish others -

A Merry Christmas!

Sister Catherine

For further information keep in touch with
 the media, as the situation is changing daily.