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This contempt was expressed in the brutality with which the West Pakistani army crushed the democratic machinery of the East, jailed and murdered its elected representatives, and is now exterminating its people. The ignorance of the West is likely to show in the long run. Ultimately, it cannot win. East Bengal is ideal guerrilla territory and hell for a conventional army. There are hardly any passable roads and during monsoon, every meadow and rice paddy becomes a lake. The West Pakistani army cannot paralyze the East by bombing its industrial centers for the simple reason that they are all in the West. Nor can they demoralize it by razing the towns of Dacca or Jessore. There is no way of bombing a village that covers 55,126 sq. miles, and that is what East Bengal is, actually. Resentment and hatred for the West are universal. Blowing up Dacca airport could virtually maroon the West Pakistani army in a sea of hostility.

America's present posture of neutrality and non-interference is a sham. It has tremendous power in Pakistan--about \$5 billion's worth, to be exact. (By 1969, Pakistan had received about \$3 billion in industrial aid and about \$2 billion in military aid). Last October, the US negotiated a sale of over \$10 million dollars' worth of arms. This shipment is due soon. Simply by putting an embargo on arms and aid, the US stymied the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965. If America stops its aid now and the World Bank presses for payment of debts due June 30, Pakistan can become bankrupt within 2½ months (Washington Post, April 11). In short, all America has to do is to be neutral in deed as well as word.

And it can have its cake and eat it. It can stop the slaughter--and not lose West Pakistan to China. It didn't in 1965. China just could not aid Pakistan in the style to which it had become accustomed. Besides, China's flirtation with West Pakistan puts it in the awkward position of opposing a popular revolt in favor of "capitalist oppressors."

On the other hand, America has much to lose if, once again, in its myopic fearfulness, it backs the short-term winner--and long-term loser--by allying itself, tacitly or openly, with the West. It can create another Vietnam. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, head of the Awami League which won almost 98% of East Bengali votes in the recent election, is a pro-Western moderate. His Six Point plan would have redressed some of the political and economic wrongs suffered by the East, while preserving "the integrity and unity of the nation" so dear to the West. East Bengalis so far have been suspicious of communists: the leftist National Awami Party won very little support in the election and the Mao Naxalites of West Bengal have made no headway in the East. But failure and frustration can only radicalize the moderates. Mujibur Rahman jailed and martyred may well become another Ho Chi Minh.

These are some of the facts and consequences that Mr. McClosky and the State Department should consider--soon.

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I mourn for the 1,500,000 hungry and homeless refugees who fled to India. I mourn for the 2,000,000 cyclone victims who go unfed. I mourn for those who now live in fear, my friends in Bangla Desh.

I ask you to mourn with me.

Anna Braun Taylor
Anna Braun Taylor

East Pakistan can be saved

American money and arms are being used by the West Pakistani army to massacre East Pakistanis and their democratically elected leaders.

The State Department must put an embargo on arms and aid to Pakistan as it did during the Indo-Pakistani war. That embargo stopped the war. It can now stop the frantic and atrocious killing of civilians in East Pakistan.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: For only 90¢ you can send a Public Opinion telegram of 15 words; for \$2.55 you can send a Night Letter of 100 words. Just tell the operator the name of the senator or congressman--no address needed. Urge them to STOP SENDING MONEY AND ARMS TO PAKISTAN.

We must act NOW! Thousands of East Pakistanis are being slaughtered daily in a Gestapo-like orgy of killing. This disaster follows on the heels of the cyclone. The rice harvest is being neglected in the chaos of war and millions may die of starvation. Help us AVOID ANOTHER BIAFRA, ANOTHER VIETNAM. Write that telegram and get your friends to write, too.

Friends of Bangla Desh,
the Bengali Nation.

HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL - DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE
BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL

HARVARD MEDICAL UNIT

THORNDIKE MEMORIAL LABORATORY AND
SECOND AND FOURTH MEDICAL SERVICES

818 HARRISON AVENUE
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02118
AREA CODE 617
424.

May 8, 1971

THE PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES,
RICHARD M. NIXON,
THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

American aid money and arms are being used by the West Pakistani army to massacre East Pakistanis and their democratically elected leaders and, in the process, to destroy a billion dollar U.S. aid program. Death through famine now threatens the millions who survive the military carnage.

WE APPEAL TO YOU:

- (1) To rescue democracy in Pakistan by putting an official embargo on all arms and aid as we did during the Indo-Pakistani war of 1965. That embargo stopped the war. It can now stop the frantic and atrocious killing of civilians.
- (2) To avert famine by using American political and economic pressure to force distribution of available grain, Red Cross and Care supplies to cyclone victims and refugees.
- (3) To initiate discussion of the crisis in the United Nations.

We thank you respectfully for your attention to our plea.

Anna Braun Taylor
Anna Braun Taylor

Dr. David R. Nalin
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THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 1971

The Vultures of Bengal

Fat vultures brood over the ravaged towns of East Pakistan, grim testimony to the slaughter which took place during the Pakistan Army's savage crackdown on Bengali separatists. The fighting has died down for the time being, with the Bengali resistance largely routed, but what may become known as the year of the vulture in East Bengal is not ended. Famine now stalks this tragic land of chronic disaster.

As a result of the dislocations of the civil war, the devastation of floods and cyclones last fall and of persistent food shortages in this heavily overpopulated region, at least 10 and perhaps 30 million of East Pakistan's 75 million inhabitants face starvation within the next few months. Contrary to bland assurances which continue to emanate from West Pakistani spokesmen, the situation is unquestionably desperate and will require a large-scale international relief effort if a tragedy of major proportions is to be averted.

The groundwork for some relief operations is already being laid with a promise of American food aid and a visit of United Nations officials to India, where refugees from East Pakistan are already pouring across the border at the rate of 60,000 a day—to a current total of over 1.5 million, according to Indian officials.

The larger effort, however, must be made in East Pakistan itself. A report that the Pakistani Government is preparing to allow UNICEF to begin relief operations in the strife-torn province is encouraging. But there is little evidence so far of the kind of concern in Islamabad and preparation abroad that will be required to meet the needs of East Pakistan in time.

Because of this country's unique capacity to furnish needed relief supplies and essential logistical support, the United States has a special responsibility to take the lead in organizing the relief effort. Because of the heavy dependence of Pakistan's military regime on American economic and military support, the United States Government also is in a unique position to prod Islamabad to abandon its policy of repression in the East and to cooperate more fully in the international effort to deny the vultures of Bengal further human prey. Moves in Congress to suspend military and economic assistance to Pakistan until such changes are made represent the kind of firm policy in the Pakistani crisis that the Administration should have adopted long ago. Although Administration spokesmen have said that Pakistan aid programs are "under review" and that no arms have been shipped to that country since the beginning of the crackdown, no general suspension of aid has been announced and, in fact, it appears that some aid has been continuing.

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This contempt was expressed in the brutality with which the West Pakistani army crushed the democratic machinery of the East, jailed and murdered its elected representatives, and is now exterminating its people. The ignorance of the West is likely to show in the long run. Ultimately, it cannot win. East Bengal is ideal guerrilla territory and hell for a conventional army. There are hardly any passable roads and during monsoon, every meadow and rice paddy becomes a lake. The West Pakistani army cannot paralyze the East by bombing its industrial centers for the simple reason that they are all in the West. Nor can they demoralize it by razing the towns of Dacca or Jessore. There is no way of bombing a village that covers 55,126 sq. miles, and that is what East Bengal is, actually. Resentment and hatred for the West are universal. Blowing up Dacca airport could virtually maroon the West Pakistani army in a sea of hostility.

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On the other hand, America has much to lose if, once again, in its myopic fearfulness, it backs the short-term winner--and long-term loser--by allying itself, tacitly or openly, with the West. It can create another Vietnam. Sheik Mujibur Rahman, head of the Awami League which won almost 98% of East Bengali votes in the recent election, is a pro-Western moderate. His Six Point plan would have redressed some of the political and economic wrongs suffered by the East, while preserving "the integrity and unity of the nation" so dear to the West. East Bengalis so far have been suspicious of communists: the leftist National Awami Party won very little support in the election and the Mao Naxalites of West Bengal have made no headway in the East. But failure and frustration can only radicalize the moderates. Mujibur Rahman jailed and martyred may well become another Ho Chi Minh.

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THIS WEEK A PLANE LEAVES FOR CALCUTTA

with

tents, tarpaulins, food and clothing

for

the homeless families—probably a million people—who have fled from the tragedy in East Bengal into India.

HELP

is urgently, desperately needed. We want this plane to carry just the first of the supplies we send. Milk powder and baby foods to save children's lives. Cover for people against the coming rains. And, later on, supplies to help rehabilitate the surviving families when they are able to return to their homeland.

Help us to work for humanity

SEND NOW

Arrangements have been made for the speedy distribution of all supplies on arrival in Calcutta.

OXFAM and WAR ON WANT

Cheques should be made payable to:
EAST BENGAL RELIEF FUND
PO Box 5
LONDON W5 5LN

from the office of

*Senator Edward M. Kennedy
of Massachusetts*

SENATOR KENNEDY URGES INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO MEET FAMINE THREAT
IN EAST PAKISTAN

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
Monday, May 3, 1971

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees, today urged the Nixon Administration to take immediate initiatives with the central government of Pakistan and the Secretary General of the United Nations, to organize a mercy mission and airlift into East Pakistan. Senator Kennedy said new reports to the Subcommittee confirm a deteriorating situation and threat of famine for millions. The full text of Senator Kennedy's statement on the Senate floor follows:

On April 1st I spoke in this chamber to express my deep concern over developments in East Pakistan.

Suppressed reports to our government were telling of a heavy toll being paid by the civilian population as a result of the violence. It was a story of indiscriminate killing, the execution of students and dissident political elements, and the suffering of tens of thousands of innocent civilians. It was a story of families dislocated and homes lost. It was a story of little food and water. And coming in the aftermath of tragedy by natural disaster, the outbreak of violence and the near total disruption of government services were compounding an already difficult situation. Conditions were threatening famine for millions -- and the spread of epidemic and disease.

Over the last month I have communicated my concern in this matter to officials in the Department of State and elsewhere, in an effort to encourage and support reasonable initiatives by our government and the international community to help meet the urgent political and humanitarian problems in East Pakistan.

Regretably, the record will show that little has been done. And so the plight of the people in East Pakistan is rapidly deteriorating into a nightmare of more suffering and death for millions.

Although reports suggest that violence has subsided considerably, reports also indicate that feelings are tense between the people and the army of the central government. The great bulk of the population is alienated as a result of the army's violent repression -- which, as events in Dacca last week underscore, continues sporadically.

people -- are slowly reaching the point of starvation and death.

We are conditioned in the world we have created, to accept such suffering and injustice -- especially in our time when violent conflict and oppression are active in so many areas. But the newer world we seek will not evolve if we ignore these challenges to leadership, and take comfortable refuge in the mundane patterns and attitudes of the past.

In the case of East Pakistan -- in the effort to help her people caught in the passion of conflict -- I cannot believe that our government and the international community stand paralyzed in face of great tragedy. The situation can no longer be ignored. At stake are human lives -- innocent lives -- Pakistani lives -- thousands, even millions of lives -- whose destruction will burden the conscience of all mankind, unless something more is done to save them.

It is easy to deplore the repression and political disorganization in East Pakistan. It is easy to deplore the deteriorating conditions of the people. It is easy to proclaim a policy of concern. It is easy to advocate meaningful steps to ameliorate the conflict and bring relief to the people.

But such rhetoric is no alternative to action. And I strongly feel that whatever our own government has done on the humanitarian needs in East Pakistan, has fallen short of what should have been done -- and, like so much of our moral and humanitarian leadership in recent years, has been done without a sense of urgency, creativity, and deep compassion for those in dire need.

And so today, as an American concerned about the dignity and preservation of the ultimate resource on our planet, I appeal for immediate action by the United Nations, which so far has chosen silence over leadership. I appeal to the leaders of Pakistan, to the leaders of other countries, and to our own government, to support a mercy mission and airlift into areas in need. And, hopefully, the appeal of the Indian government for assistance to meet refugee needs within her border will receive a sympathetic response by all concerned.

Let us leave no stone unturned in accomplishing this objective. But let us do so with meaningful action to meet immediate needs, and with the urgency a serious crisis of people demands.

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