

AMERICA MUST WAKE UP TO
THE DANGER OF PAKISTAN
CRISIS

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, Crosby S. Noyes, the noted editor and columnist for the Washington Evening Star, has written a succinct critique of the Pakistan civil war and the threat it poses to world peace. He urges the United States to face up to the danger of the Pakistan crisis. He writes:

It is a question of whether the United States, as one of the major suppliers of aid to Pakistan, is going to join in the effort of repression and contribute to the threat.

Mr. Noyes continues:

It is the height of self-deception to pretend that any part of this aid is going to help the wretched millions in the eastern province. What it is doing is sustaining the government in Islamabad in a campaign of repression that is unparalleled in modern history, and creating the conditions for a major catastrophe.

I agree with this analysis. That is why Senator SAXE and I have offered a remedial amendment to the Foreign Assistance bill.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of amendment No. 159 to S. 1657 be inserted at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the text of the proposed amendment was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

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, take 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.

Mr. CHURCH. I think the Congress and the Executive should heed Mr. Noyes' conclusion:

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In the long run, it will not be possible for West Pakistan to keep the more numerous population of the eastern province subjected by force. It will not be possible either, for India to absorb the millions who have fled the repression. It is time for the United States to face up to the desperate urgency of the situation that is developing and to draw the proper conclusions.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Crosby S. Noyes be printed here in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star, June 15, 1971]

WE MUST WAKE UP TO DANGER OF PAKISTAN CRISIS

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

The situation that has developed in East Pakistan and western India is not only a human tragedy of staggering proportions, it also is a threat to world peace which this country can ignore only at its own considerable peril.

The apparent indifference of American public opinion to what is going on is ominous and ugly. It implies either a parochialism that borders on lunacy or else a belief that the problems of Asia are so vast and intractable that there is nothing that can be done about the agony and destruction of millions of human beings.

The facts, at least, are brutally clear.

Since March 25, when West Pakistan launched its campaign of murderous repression against its secessionist-minded eastern province, upwards of 6 million East Pakistanis have fled across the Indian border into West Bengal. They have brought with them an epidemic of cholera which has spread like wildfire through some 500 makeshift refugee camps set up near the border.

Despite the frantic efforts of the Indian government and sporadic help from the rest of the world, the situation is completely out of control. No one knows how many thousands of exhausted men, women and children already have died. At least 100,000 new refugees still are arriving daily. Cholera has now spread to Calcutta, whose population has swollen to 12 million and whose sanitation is the worst of any city in the world.

The influx poses an intolerable threat to the Indian government, whose own population is chronically near the starvation point. Millions of dollars are being spent to feed the refugees by a country desperately short of everything except people. West Bengal already is the most unstable of the Indian states and the arrival of millions of destitute Pakistanis is a prescription for disaster on a vast scale.

India's Prime Minister Indra Gandhi has told the Parliament in New Delhi that "conditions must be created to stop any further influx of refugees and to ensure their early return."

"If the world does not take heed," she said, "we shall be constrained to take all measures as may be necessary to ensure our own security and the preservation and development of the structure of our social and economic life."

But the conditions for the return of the refugees have not been created, and the world is taking incredibly little heed of the dangers involved. Although the government of West Pakistan continues to talk reassuringly about how quiet and secure conditions in the eastern province are today, the people keep coming and none shows a disposition to return.

And so the Indians are talking publicly and seriously about the possibility of war. Even a man like Jaya Prakash Narayan, who has

devoted his life to the teachings of Gandhi and worked for years in the interests of India-Pakistan reconciliation, does not rule out the possibility as a last resort.

Narayan has been in this country trying, without much apparent success, to alert American officials to the gravity of the danger. In his view—and that of a good many neutral observers as well—the disintegration of Pakistan is irreparable. The question is simply whether West Pakistan, in its effort to rule its eastern province as a colonial possession, will create a threat to India which cannot be tolerated.

It also is a question of whether the United States, as one of the major suppliers of aid to Pakistan, is going to join in the effort of repression and contribute to the threat. Arms aid to the government of West Pakistan has been "under review" since March. But economic aid, in the form of loans and grants, is still continuing.

It is the height of self-deception to pretend that any part of this aid is going to help the wretched millions in the eastern province. What it is doing is sustaining the government in Islamabad in a campaign of repression that is unparalleled in modern history, and creating the conditions for a major catastrophe.

In the long run, it will not be possible for West Pakistan to keep the more numerous population of the eastern province subjected by force. It will not be possible, either, for India to absorb the millions who have fled the repression. It is time for the United States to face up to the desperate urgency of the situation that is developing and to draw the proper conclusions.

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