

## Stop the killing

BY DEVOTING the whole of its centre pages to one article about East Pakistan, The Sunday Times has taken a considered and exceptional step. We have done so first besidered and exceptional step. We have done so first because this is the fullest authoritative, first-hand account so far available of the acts and intentions of the central Pakistan Government in its eastern province. Secondly, because the story itself is so horrifyingly revealing about what the millions of refugees are fleeing from, that it needs to be told at length. The Sunday Times has checked as far as possible the accurage of this second. as possible the accuracy of this report. But in any event, we have the fullest confidence in the integrity of our reporter, who has himself abandoned home and career in Pakistan

to bring the news to the world.

The present crisis would never have arisen had it not been for Yahya Khan's commendable wish to end the military dictatorship in Pakistan by calling, last aulumn, for general elections. The outlet for Bengali nationalism which those elections provided later lit the fire which has been so brutally extinguished. But long before that the seeds of brutally extinguished. But long before that the seeds of disunity and dissension were sown when, in 1947, the State of Pakistan was created in two unequal sections. From that day to this, the Bengali people of East Pakistan have, justifiably, felt themselves to be the unequal partner, the poor relation in a state to whose general economy they in fact contribute a large part. Moreover, in the present welter of blood and persecution, the Bengalis themselves, as our story makes plain, must bear some responsibility for their acts of retributive violence against non-Bengalis. But when all this has been said, there is no escaping the terrible charge of deliberate, premeditated externing levelled by the facts originate the present Parkickers.

the terrible charge of deliberate, premeditated extermination levelled by the facts against the present Pakistani Government. Yahya Khan may conceivably mean what he says when he speaks of a return to civilian hale and normality. But how, after what has happened, can the Pakistani Government persuade what is left of the Bengali leadership that they are brothers and equal members of the same nation?

With the Army still operating on a directive to enforce submission to the Central Government, there is the danger that if the Western Powers to whom Pakistan is now appealing for financial aid respond positively, that aid will contribute, directly or indirectly, to the army's gruesome operations. Yet totally to withhold this and other aid would simply condemn Pakistan to economic disintegration with all the extra human suffering involved. The most hopeful formula is for the Western countries concerned. Britain among them, to make the grant of extra

oncerned. Britain among them, to make the grant of extra aid dependent upon Yahya Khan's readiness to institute a new deal for East Pakistan and specifically to ensure that his army desists from excesses. While the United Nations and the voluntary relief organisations should stand out for control over relief operations in East Pakistan, nothing can alter the fact that Pakistan is a sovereign country which cannot be forced to do what she does not want to do which cannot be forced to do what she does not want to do. The best, indeed the only safeguard, is to direct, wherever and whenever it is possible, the spotlight of publicity upon the words and deeds of the Pakistani Government in the hope that the pressure of world opinion will in the end have some effect.

Exactly what form a new deal for East Pakistan should take is very diffcult to say. Whatever it is, it is unlikely that the bulk of the refugees now in India, most of them Hindus, will ever be willing to return to East Pakistan. In the present fog of war and atrocity, one thing stands out all too clearly. It is that Yahya Khan's terrible mistake, and its terrible consequences, have created a new area of instability in Asia and the world; an area comparable, in its racial and territorial elements, with the Middle East, and likely, in the future, to cause just as much misery to its inhabitants and concern to the outside world.