



Pakistan Divided

Here we publish an excerpt from Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Sydney H. Schanberg's famous article titled "Pakistan Divided". He, as a reporter of The New York Times, covered the Liberation War of Bangladesh. This article was published in Foreign Affairs in its October, 1971 issue.

SYDNEY HILLEL SCHANBERG

HISTORY, geopolitical forces, power balances and election results all helped shape the crisis in East Pakistan; but only in terms of "the pathology of the sub-continent," as one diplomat described it, can this bloody upheaval be adequately explained. From the night of March 25, when the Pakistani army launched its surprise offensive in East Pakistan in an attempt to crush the Bengali autonomy movement, normal standards of logic and reason stopped applying. The mindless brutality of the West Pakistani troops demonstrates the military regime's irrational determination to hold on to East Pakistan at whatever cost and by whatever tactics necessary. In turn, this brutality has fired and fed an increasingly effective and popularly supported guerrilla counteroffensive that keeps East Pakistan in chaos. Every army reprisal against the civilian population produces new Bengali freedom-fighters. The Bengalis now sullen, bitter, hating seem ready for a long fight for full independence. Talk of anything less, such as the old goal of East Pakistani autonomy within Pakistan, is considered heresy.

hope for a political settlement when no diplomat or other qualified observer in East Pakistan can see any lasting solution but independence. Washington continues military aid to the Pakistani government on the ground that it may thereby maintain its leverage for a moderate settlement. Yet, so far, there is no evidence of any successful leverage. The incompatibility of Washington's so-called pragmatic approach with the inflamed emotions in Pakistan has been obvious to observers for some time.

After the army crackdown began in East Pakistan on March 25, the State Department announced a new embargo on arms to Pakistan and said no military supplies were in the pipeline. But in late June, a newspaper report disclosed that arms shipments were continuing from American ports on Pakistani ships. The State Department at first ascribed this to bureaucratic bungling, but later dropped this explanation and announced that the shipments were legitimate, that they had all been contracted for before March 25 and that they would continue. Congressional demands for halting these shipments were unsuccessful; authoritative sources in Washington reported that the policy decision was made by President Nixon personally. Meanwhile, US economic aid has been temporarily suspended ("under review," is the State Department's phrase). But the State Department has said it will not deny aid as an



Sydney Schanberg (L) interviewing Bengali refugees at the Bongam Camp, May 16, 1971.

instrument of applying pressure on Pakistan and analysts view the suspension largely as a reflection of Washington's reluctance to go it alone against the hard line of other members of the World Bank's 11-nation aid-to-Pakistan consortium. A special World Bank report in June concluded that the military crackdown had so ravaged East Pakistan that international development assistance "would serve little purpose" and "will have to remain in a state of suspension for at least the next year or so." Pakistan is heavily dependent on the consortium's aid, which amounts to about \$450 million a year (the United States provides about \$200 million of it). Desperate

to repair its world image and bring about resumption of foreign aid (its foreign-exchange reserves are dipping toward zero), the government of President Yahya agreed to the posting of over 100 UN observers in East Pakistan. Their ostensible job would be to help normalise conditions and thus facilitate the return of refugees from India.

The United Nations also asked India to accept a similar team on its soil, but the Indians angrily refused, pointing out that the refugee exodus would not stop until the army terror stopped in East Pakistan and that this could not be achieved by putting observers in India. New Delhi dismissed as baseless propaganda the

Pakistani charge that India has been obstructing the refugees' return. (And indeed India has every reason to want them to return.) Indians see in the observer proposal their old bugaboo the treatment of the crisis as simply an Indo-Pak dispute, and the assigning of equal responsibility for the resolution of the problem to India and Pakistan. India also noted that President Yahya's acceptance of the observers came only after a marked increase in guerrilla activity and effectiveness in East Pakistan.

The presence of the UN team may force the Pakistani army to curb its reprisals and terror and thus may induce some refugees to return. As such it is a positive development. But judging from extensive interview tours of the refugee camps by this correspondent and other foreign observers one feels that the vast majority of the refugees will probably never return. For one thing, their homes and other property have been destroyed and their land given to collaborators. For another, the Hindus -- who make up the bulk of the refugees -- naturally feel safer in predominantly Hindu India than they can ever feel again in East Pakistan after the army pogrom.

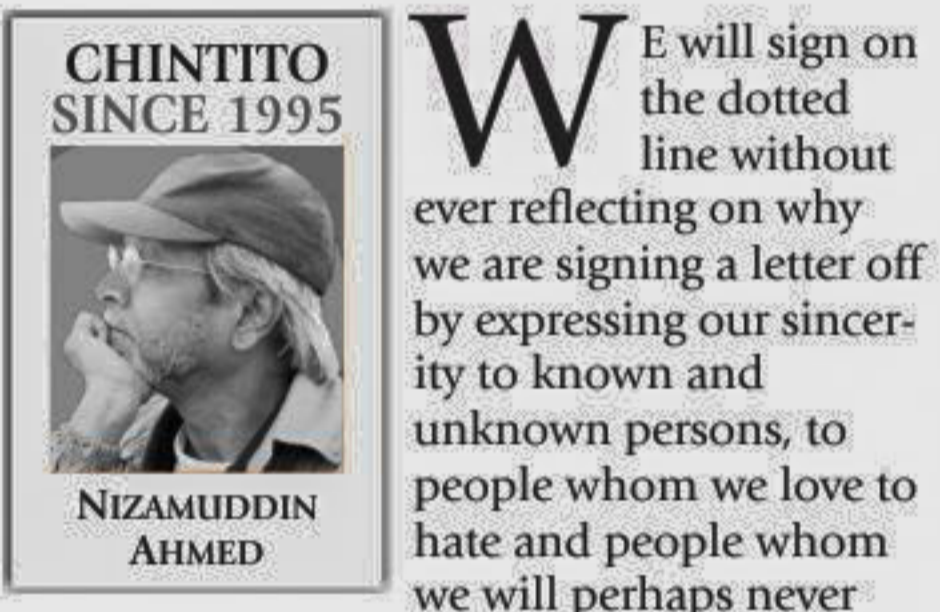
Moreover, the presence of UN observers will not stop the guerrilla activity, which will keep the region in chaos unless the army pulls out. But it may lead to criticism in the United Nations of Indian aid to the guerrillas. This of course Pakistan would welcome. India was apparently concerned

that UN observers on its side of the border could interfere with its support programme -- arms, training and sanctuary -- for the resistance fighters. Since the move for posting observers in both India and Pakistan was reportedly initiated by Washington, it has further estranged India from the United States. Most Asia analysts feel that in clinging to its notion of maintaining a balance between India and Pakistan and in treating the current crisis as an Indo-Pak dispute, Washington is pursuing an unrealistic and shortsighted policy. They believe that Pakistan cannot be treated as equal to India -- in size, importance, democratic traditions or stability -- and that the realistic course for Washington would be to try to persuade Pakistan to adjust to a secondary role instead of inflating its delusions.

Washington's apparent desire to separate the refugee and humanitarian issues from the basic political problem in East Pakistan seems equally unrealistic. To many familiar with affairs on the subcontinent, the proposal to send UN observers, like other US moves, seems an attempt to paper over the real conflict and produce a temporary standoff that can at best only postpone the inevitable division of Pakistan.

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Yours sincerely ...



CHINTITO SINCE 1995
NIZAMUDDIN AHMED

WE will sign on the dotted line without ever reflecting on why we are signing a letter off by expressing our sincerity to known and unknown persons, to people whom we love to hate and people whom we will perhaps never meet. Does it make a difference? What if we signed saying, 'take care' or 'go tigers, go'? It would be more sincere in some ways.

'Yours sincerely' came about because our learned ancestors knew we will someday lack all of it, and that day has long arrived. Consequently, to keep a semblance of our rich heritage ticking they devised a scheme that reminds us to be sincere every time we finish complaining, brooding, demanding and begging. The number of times a person signs off with the two most misunderstood pair of words is equal to his/her attempts to keep away from faithfulness. Yes, we also write 'faithfully yours.' Fortunately and paradoxically, no one is supposed to take our signed valediction seriously.

A newspaper, prior to marking its first anniversary several years ago honoured me, they did, asking over telephone (the roads were jammed) what was the one thing that was required in my opinion to alleviate us of our various problems. I do not know whether the brief interview was published in their celebratory issue, it must have been, but the answer was 'sincerity.'

In our existence as habitants of the most densely populated basin in the world, if ever we required genuineness, honesty, earnestness, authenticity, truthfulness, and forthrightness, it was four decades back. But, it is never too late.

Our teachers (including in business and profession) need to be sincere by preparing lectures through self-study, by pursuing formal and informal higher studies, by researching, by trying to understand the psyche of the students and apprentices. Yet, you will find some teachers (!) who are averse to any scheme that will make them deliver better education and training.

Some of us enrolled as students or employed as novices will do everything that epitomises studentship and employment except learn. We will sport trendy attires, we

will befriend the roadside Mama for endless cups/glasses of tea, we will rebuke a stranger for being harsh on a rickshaw-puller, and we will partake in *jompesh adda*, but we will bring the books to class tomorrow, and maybe submit the report a week after it is due. Good grades and salaries are, however, our rights. Our sincere 'teachers' alone cannot build this nation. Our 'students' need to reciprocate, and sincerely so.

Sincerity is relevant in any sphere. For instance, our builders (here buildings) need to abide by applicable codes, apply technology and use materials appropriately, and fulfil their commitment to their client, whom they cajoled by charm and wheedled by wheeling and dealing. We cannot build a nation on a foundation of deceit.

The health sector remains questionable for untold sufferings meted out to patients by some ruthless practitioners. Yes, there are stories of dedication and wisdom by some medical practitioners, including nurses and attendants, but some of our doctors will have failed the Hippocratic Oath, if not always, at least several times in their career. They are simply not performing in their chosen profession. The number one complaint against some doctors: they do not give adequate time and a patient hearing to a patient. As an example of malpractice, there is strong belief that the reason for the rise in the number of birth by Caesarean section is not purely medical. The less said about boundless tests, the more will diagnostic centres flourish.

The lawyers for years now are divided along the line of party politics, and therefore it is near-impossible for those involved publicly to deliver their service sincerely as per their professional ethics and understanding. A nation cannot survive, let alone thrive, if the people serving in the profession are not wholly sincere, fully committed and above partisan politics.

On that count, teachers, engineers, diploma engineers, doctors, bankers, journalists and a host of other professionals are at loggerheads with their opposite number (at least in the public eye) on the basis of their respective political beliefs. In order to appease the supremo and *ghetus* in the party hierarchy, they cannot deliver an opinion or service otherwise. A nation is being crippled for centuries for the insincerity of some in the intelligentsia. Pssst! It is

our nation, not the one in Timbuktu.

The restaurateur needs to be clean especially when no one is watching. Some of our on-the-outside spick and span diners, eateries and cafes have the filthiest havens for cockroaches. Street food should be covered and served with gloved hands, and that gloved finger should never be used for nose-picking or other such deep purposes.

How many of you have honked ten times or knocked on the gate twenty times before the night guard indicated he was alive? Most night guards forget that they need to hit the bed at daytime. But, it is not unusual to see them employed under the sun. It is obviously due to economic hardship, and here the sincerity of the employer, often a building owners' association, comes to play. Any low-paid guy will have to catch up on lost sleep.

There is a need to practice 'sincerely yours' (US) in every aspect of our life. The tailor needs to give a date three weeks beyond the date he is estimating he will finish sewing the blouse. An employee should not report more than one pregnancy of his wife in a year. His grandmother will die only once and he ought to remember that when he is applying again for extra-ordinary leave within two months.

Vendors should sell in right measures. Retailers should not display out-of-date foodstuff. Fruiterers should not bathe produce in formalin, and such people should be charged with murder. Then again, buyers should not conceal a torn note between some good ones.

Industrialists and businesspeople expect blue-ribbon service in their factories and offices from their workers and employees, yet they will dither and delay over their monthly salary, overtime and bonuses. Sincerity of the employer would have been evident if during protests for adequate and timely payment, he/she was not flying off to a holiday resort after a stressful week in town. The unpaid-for-months poor have stress issues too.

The list is unending, but the fact is the solution to a bulk of our problems lie in embracing the two words in thought, word and deed. You got it, yours and sincerely.

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Walk unafraid

AMITAVA KAR

THE postindustrial economy is indifferent to men's strength. The attributes that are most valuable for business -- innovation, leadership, passion, open communication, the ability to focus -- are not predominantly male. Women own more than 40% businesses in China. They are now, for the first time in history, the majority of the workforce in the US. Bangladeshi women are not far behind -- today they constitute about 40% of the workforce, according to the World Bank data.

These statistics, however, do not tell the whole story. Only in seven countries of the world -- Panama, Thailand, Ghana, Ecuador, Nigeria, Mexico and Uganda -- do women participate in business at rates equal to men's.

There is still a large wage gap. Women entrepreneurs face harder obstacles, from balancing work and family to accessing financing, mostly due to deeply ingrained gender bias, discriminatory laws and regulations and a lack of collateral.

Microfinance providers such as Grameen Bank and others have shown that small loans can make a big difference and women are better borrowers. The social business model championed by Grameen has opened up new avenues for women around the globe. Financial institutions must do a better job of banking on women's potential.

Bangladeshi women entrepreneurs need help to develop networks with their counterparts in other countries to share knowledge and learn from them. They also need entrepreneurial education and training that provide them with necessary skills and can equip them with confidence to see their bold ideas through.

When it comes to setting up business, research points out stark differences between men and women. Men tend to do more research identifying business opportunities, are more profit-driven, and bigger risk-takers.

For women, wealth is not always the main driver. They tend to prefer lower risk opportunities. They are happy with lower returns and a more localised customer base. Despite smaller growth trajectories, women are more likely to earn positive revenues and offer employees family-friendly benefits like flexible hours and job sharing.

Research shows that women business lead-

ers inspire other women to pursue their dreams. For instance, Selina Jahan of Nasingdi founded a cooperative farm comprised mostly of women who are growing organic, diverse food crops and creating lives of courage and dignity. Last year, she was given the Islamic Development Bank award as the best farmer in 52 Islamic countries.

Women reinvest what they make in their families and communities. Studies show that women spend more of their earnings on food, healthcare, home improvement and schooling for children.

In other words, investing in women is a good investment in our collective future. Empowering women has a multiplier effect, leading to more job growth and stronger local economies. Multiple studies also show that women save more than men -- and a higher savings rate translates into a higher tax base.

A McKinsey survey found that of the companies that had made efforts to empower women in emerging markets, 34% reported increased profits, and another 38% said they were expecting to see higher profit as a result of those efforts.

Women are today the world's third largest "emerging market" after China and India. A Boston Consulting Group survey forecasted that by 2028 women will be responsible for about two-thirds of all consumers spending worldwide.

Not only as business owners, but also as engineers, doctors, farmers, teachers, workers, and householders, women are central to the global economy. Yet laws, customs and practices that reinforce gender discrimination at multiple levels remain. Women constitute most of the world's poor and hungry, hold less than 20% of the land titles.

Many parts of the world remain a dangerous place for women. Girls make their way to school, afraid of men who might punish them for daring to learn to read and write. To these men their greatest strategic threat comes not from a drone but from a little girl with a book. The West, on the other hand, must realise that books are way cheaper and far more effective than bombs.

All over the world, millions of women are courageously venturing far from tradition that holds them back; little girls are walking across the desert to school.

Let's walk with them.

The writer is a feature writer, The Daily Star.

QUOTABLE Quote
Education is not the filling of a pail, but the lighting of a fire.
William Butler Yeats

CROSSWORD by Thomas Joseph

- ACROSS
1 Stagers
6 Air traffic aid
11 Use
12 Banish
13 Reach
14 Major criminal
15 "Woe --!"
17 Give permission to
18 Texan grazer
22 Region
23 Chinese food veggie
27 Soda fountain orders
29 Summation
30 Portions out
32 Cruise stop
33 Slickers and the like
35 Possesses
38 Concept
39 One with a record
41 "Once upon --"
45 Without aid
46 Right now
47 Marry again
48 Make a speech
- DOWN
1 Cloth scrap
2 Cain's mother
3 Consume
4 Court-room lawyer
5 Spill over
6 Game official
7 Chopping tool
8 Kitchen herb
9 Lotion ingredient
10 Monthly expense
16 Janitor's tool
18 Asian monk
19 Uttered
20 Dickens girl
21 Cockpit worker
24 Do some modeling
25 Tex. neighbor
26 Glade grazer
28 Tough to clean
31 Rocker Vicious
34 "Swell!"
35 Get news of
36 Wheel connector
37 Flat-bottomed boat
40 Start of a count
42 Lupino of films
43 Yoga need
44 Retina setting

Yesterday's answer

D	E	N	T	S	D	O	G	I	E
E	Q	U	I	P	E	L	E	N	A
L	U	G	E	R	W	E	L	D	S
T	A	G	S	U	P	A	R	E	
A	T	E	C	A	P	I	T	A	L
S	E	T	E	P	I	L	O	G	
A	S	S	U	R	E	A	L	A	
G	R	A	S	P	E	D	G	A	S
A	C	T	R	A	V	E	N	S	
M	A	Y	B	E	W	I	N	C	E
E	R	R	E	D	A	L	D	E	N
R	O	S	E	S	Y	E	A	S	T

CRYPTOQUOTE 1-31
IVRVCITG DR MWINCSDKVF TPID WRDJA.
DJ DR YWBDEX CEF YIADFX LDJG C
YPIYRV. -- KWIC EVCSV GPIRWE

YESTERDAY'S CRYPTOQUOTE:
I SELDOM END UP WHERE I WANTED TO GO, BUT ALMOST ALWAYS END UP WHERE I NEED TO BE.
-- DOUGLAS ADAMS

A XYDLBAAXR is LONGFELLOW
One letter stands for another. In this sample, A is used for the three L's, X for the two O's, etc. Single letters, apostrophes, the length and formation of the words are all hints. Each day the code letters are different.

BEETLE BAILEY by Mort Walker



HENRY by Don Trachte

