

ACH

# STATEMENT DISCOURS

SECRETARY  
OF STATE  
FOR EXTERNAL  
AFFAIRS.

SECRÉTAIRE  
D'ÉTAT AUX  
AFFAIRES  
EXTÉRIEURES.



NOTES FOR A STATEMENT BY  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,  
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,  
STANDING COMMITTEE ON  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND  
NATIONAL DEFENCE,  
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1971

"PAKISTAN"

The roots of the tragedy unfolding on the sub-continent lie in the very considerable differences between the two parts of Pakistan. East Pakistan is more populous than West Pakistan and produces more foreign exchange, while political power has been concentrated in the West. To this must be added the physical separation of the two "wings" by over a thousand miles of Indian territory and the generally low level of economic activity in Pakistan. These economic problems were intensified last year by the disastrous cyclone and tidal wave in the Bay of Bengal. Given the magnitude of this natural disaster, I think we were all impressed by the courageous decision of President Yahya Khan to proceed with the promised elections for a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution for the whole of Pakistan and restore the country to civilian rule and democratic government. It is ironic that such an excellent aspiration could have such unhappy consequences.

The Awami League, campaigning for a very large measure of provincial autonomy, won all but two of the seats in East Pakistan but none in West Pakistan, which would have given it an absolute majority in the Constituent Assembly. The four provinces in the West Wing of the country elected parties having quite a different view of the future of their country. In this polarized situation President Yahya tried to establish a modus vivendi between the various groups within the country. His efforts did not succeed and within a few months East Pakistan was engulfed in a civil war.

There are varying estimates of the number of deaths that resulted but no question that a great many people were killed. The economy of Pakistan has suffered serious damage and the sufferings and privations of the people of East Pakistan have not come to an end. Though statistics may vary from a Pakistani estimate of about two million to an Indian estimate of 8.9 million, there is no doubt that an intolerable number of refugees have fled to India. They are still arriving, and their continued presence contains the seeds of international and communal strife. The refugees inevitably impose an extremely heavy burden on the economy of India, which itself faces chronic and intractable problems of economic development.

On the political side, there are grounds for cautious optimism in a series of steps recently taken by the Government of Pakistan, which include:

- (a) the establishment of an appointed civilian Council of Ministers, led by a distinguished Bengali civilian, Dr. A. M. Malik, to replace the military government in East Pakistan;

- (b) the announcement of a general amnesty to all those alleged to have committed offences during the disturbances, accompanied by a release of prisoners; the amnesty extends to refugees in India but not to Sheikh Mujib and certain other leading political figures in East Pakistan;
- (c) the announcement of by-elections to fill 78 out of the 167 Awami League National Assembly seats - seats that had been declared vacant because of the incumbents' alleged activities in the secessionist movement;
- (d) the acceptance of representatives of the United Nations to supervise the return of refugees and coordinate relief and rehabilitation operations.

While the Pakistan Government's moves are certainly in the right direction, there is no evidence yet that the flow of refugees has slackened significantly. A major impediment to halting the flow is the guerilla warfare between the so-called "Mukti Bahini" an irregular force operating in East Pakistan and the Pakistan Army. This irregular force appears to be receiving material support and safe haven outside Pakistan, assistance that the Pakistan Government claims thwarts its efforts to restore normal conditions and for which they hold India largely responsible.

A second factor influencing the possible return of refugees to East Pakistan is the food situation. Our most recent information suggests that there may be a food shortage in certain areas but not amounting to a large-scale famine. The Pakistan Government has requested international assistance in meeting the immediate food needs of the affected areas. So far, Canada has channelled \$7 million in Food Aid to East Pakistan through the World Food Programme of the United Nations and contributed \$500,000 to the United Nations to help defray the administrative and other costs of its relief programme. United Nations personnel are now in East Pakistan and more will be despatched, including some Canadians, to ensure proper distribution of food aid and relief material.

The United Nations is giving urgent attention to the repair of port and transportation facilities damaged in earlier disturbances and now the target of guerilla operations. Canada will be supplying material to help in this work. There are reports that the "Mukti Bahini" have threatened to sabotage the

U.N. relief operation in East Pakistan unless it is co-ordinated with them. A United States vessel carrying relief food aid was damaged near Chalna last week by the guerillas and there were three instances of attack on other types of shipping in that area the week before. This sort of activity, by adding to the suffering of the people and discouraging aid from the international community, can only do damage to the independence movement.

The suggestion that Canada and other donor countries should cut off all aid to Pakistan in an attempt to force the Government there to adopt particular policies for solving their internal problems would not have the results desired. It would only make difficulties for international relief operations and hurt those whom we mean to help. Since the outbreak of hostilities, we have not entered into new development assistance commitments with the Government of Pakistan. Our decision was made on the basis of developmental policy considerations. The drastically altered economic situation has invalidated existing plans and it would be wasteful to go on as if nothing had happened. Canadian technical assistance personnel withdrawn at the time of the original outbreak of violence will return as soon as conditions permit.

For some time we have not been sending arms to any part of the sub-continent, in accordance with established Canadian policy not to ship arms to areas of tension or potential conflict.

The international community has provided an estimated \$214 million for the relief of Pakistani refugees in India bilaterally and through the United Nations. Estimates of relief costs for this year alone vary from \$400 to well over \$600 million. This means that the Government of India will have to bear a considerable burden alone. I should like to pay tribute to the extraordinary and effective efforts made by the Indian Government. The refugee influx, according to Indian estimates, is equal to almost two-thirds of India's annual population growth, and relief expenditures for the refugees will amount to one-fifth of India's annual development budget.

Canada has thus far contributed more than \$4 million to help India to care for the Pakistani refugees and provided approximately \$300,000 worth of air transport for urgently required shelter materials. We are now considering plans for a further contribution. To assist in this, I have asked the President of CIDA to visit the sub-continent this month and report back to me. The Combined Appeal for Pakistani Relief launched in Canada by a number of voluntary organizations earlier this summer has so far raised over \$1,350,000 of its objective of

\$2.5 million. Contributions are still being accepted through Post Office Box 1000, Station F, Toronto, or Post Office Box 200, Station H, Montreal, and I commend this appeal to Canadians who wish to make a direct contribution.

The World Health Organization is co-ordinating the provision of medical and other voluntary personnel for work within the refugee camps, with the Government of India, and has indicated that there is no present need for volunteers without experience of working in refugee camps. There is a continuing need for supplies and means of distribution.

To give a clear picture of Canada's involvement in the relief efforts, I am making available to the Committee tables giving a breakdown of aid to the refugees in India and to East Pakistan, at the Federal, Provincial and Voluntary Agency levels.

These events have created serious tension between India and Pakistan and have wider implications for the world community. The Prime Minister has had exchanges of view with both Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and President Yahya Khan on this subject. The Prime Minister also sent a message to President Yahya Khan pointing out the value of magnanimity and humanitarian considerations with respect to the trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. We have urged upon the Government of India the continuing need for patience in a situation of great tension and we have confidence that it will. Nevertheless, there is a danger that either party might find itself in a position where a resort to arms would seem to be its only course.

The Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, drew this danger to the attention of the Security Council in early July, but there was no inclination on the part of its members nor on the part of the countries most concerned to have the matter dealt with in that forum. More recently, the Secretary General has concentrated on the proposed stationing of representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on both sides of the border to facilitate and encourage the return of the refugees. The Government of Pakistan has agreed to accept the observers. The Indian Government has refused on the grounds that it was offering no impediment to any refugee who wished to return. The Canadian Government nevertheless supports the view of the Secretary General and hopes that some such suggestion might still be found acceptable. During the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Canada will try, in concert with others, to find a way to ease or contain the tension building up in the sub-continent. Resolutions of exhortation are not the answer, results are what counts.

Pakistan and India have a responsibility to take the necessary action to bring about the stability that will reverse the flow of refugees into India. The international community has an obligation to help India deal with those refugees already on its territory. Canada is doing its part.

In the General Debate at the United Nations last week I referred to the growing concern felt by people everywhere as tragedies such as this unfold while the United Nations stands by able only to provide humanitarian relief. In Canada we believe in finding domestic solutions to domestic problems as do the peoples of other nations. Certainly this is the outcome to be hoped for in Pakistan. I regret to say that at the moment I cannot be very optimistic. As armed conflicts drag on in the Middle East, Indochina and now Pakistan it is clear that new means must be found for their resolution. The search for these new means will be a major preoccupation of the international community in the immediate future.

TABLE 1

October 5, 1971

SUMMARY OF CANADIAN CONTRIBUTIONS FOR  
RELIEF OF PAKISTAN REFUGEES IN  
INDIA AND POPULATION IN EAST PAKISTAN

FOR REFUGEES

Canadian Government	\$ 4,335,400
Provincial Governments	370,000
Combined Appeal for Pakistan Relief - Other Voluntary Agencies	<u>1,606,438</u>
TOTAL	\$ 6,311,838

FOR POPULATION IN EAST PAKISTAN

Canadian Government	\$ 7,500,000*
---------------------	---------------

\*See note Table 4

SUMMARY OF CANADIAN CONTRIBUTIONS FOR  
RELIEF OF PAKISTANI REFUGEES IN INDIA

A. Government of Canada

Rapeseed to produce edible oil	
- shipped July 7	\$1,250,000
- shipped August 30	<u>1,240,000</u>
	2,490,000
 UNHCR	
- being disbursed through UNICEF, WFP, and WHO for food, shelter and medical supplies	370,000
- announced July 26 (\$350,000 UNICEF, \$50,000 WHO)	<u>400,000</u>
	770,000
 Canadian Red Cross	
- being channelled through the League of Red Cross Societies for medicine, shelter and clothing	150,000
- League of Red Cross Societies (announced July 26)	<u>100,000</u>
	250,000
 Oxfam of Canada	
- for food, clothing and medical facilities	150,000
 Canadian Church Groups	
- for food, clothing, medicine: Mennonite Central Committee \$50,000, Canadian Council of Churches \$40,000, Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace \$40,000, Canadian Lutheran World Relief \$40,000, Unitarian Services Committee \$40,000	210,000
 Canadian Armed Forces	
- transport of ambulances, blankets, clothing, shelter material in 12 aircraft	285,400*
 World Vision of Canada	40,000
 CARE of Canada	40,000
 Combined Appeal for Pakistani Relief (CAPR)	<u>100,000</u>
 Total Canadian Federal Government Contribution	\$ 4,335,400

\*Represents actual costs to the Department of National Defence for 2 flights Hercules aircraft and 10 flights by 707 aircraft. Cost for chartering commercial aircraft for same flights would be in excess of \$500,000.

TABLE 3

October 5, 1971.

SUMMARY OF CANADIAN CONTRIBUTIONS FOR  
RELIEF OF PAKISTANI REFUGEES IN INDIA

B. Provincial Governments

Government of Ontario	
- ambulances and medical equipment, shelter	\$ 145,000
Government of Saskatchewan	
- rapeseed to supplement food requirements (shipped on same ship as CIDA rapeseed which left Vancouver July 7)	100,000
Government of British Columbia	
- donated to Canadian Save the Children Fund	100,000
Government of Manitoba	
- donated to Combined Appeal for Pakistani Relief	<u>25,000</u>
Total Canadian Provincial Governments' Contribution	\$ 370,000

TABLE 4 --

October 5, 1971.

SUMMARY OF CANADIAN CONTRIBUTIONS FOR  
RELIEF OF CIVILIAN POPULATION OF EAST PAKISTAN

A. Government of Canada

Wheat to be distributed through the World Food Programme	\$ 7,000,000*
Local costs for United Nations Relief Programme	<u>500,000</u>
Total Canadian Federal Government Contribution	\$ 7,500,000

\*This is from normal CIDA food aid allocated to all of Pakistan.  
The Government of Pakistan has agreed that it be channelled to  
East Pakistan and be distributed by the World Food Programme.

TABLE 5

September 28, 1971.

COMBINED APPEAL FOR PAKISTANI RELIEF

Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (CCODP)	\$ 203,029.04
Canadian Red Cross Society	31,493.94
Canadian UNICEF Committee	36,900.15
CARE of Canada	61,350.49
Canadian Save the Children Fund	10,679.76
OXFAM of Canada	341,041.05
UNHCR	380.00
World Vision	72,250.00
Canadian Council of Churches	
Council	5,259.98
Anglican	55,000.00
Baptist	13,000.00
Lutheran	25,000.00
Presbyterian	18,107.37
Salvation Army	2,844.49
United	125,175.65
Donations to CAPR Central Fund (Includes Ottawa canvass of \$24,238.60)	<u>367,506.38</u>
TOTAL	\$ 1,369,020.12
 <u>OTHER VOLUNTARY AGENCIES NOT PART OF CAPR</u>	
Mennonite Central Committee	120,000.00
Unitarian Service Committee	<u>117,418.00</u>
TOTAL CANADIAN VOLUNTARY AGENCIES	\$ 1,606,438.12
 (ABOVE FIGURES DO NOT INCLUDE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DONATIONS TO CAPR, ITS MEMBERS, OR OTHER VOLUNTARY AGENCIES)	

TABLE 6

EAST PAKISTANIS IN INDIA

STATUS OF CONTRIBUTION THROUGH THE UN SYSTEM  
 SITUATION AS OF SEPTEMBER 8, 1971

<u>DONOR GOVERNMENTS</u>	<u>PLEGGED</u>
Argentina	\$ 240,000.00
Australia	560,035.84
Austria	99,789.58
Barbados	2,500.00
Belgium	200,000.00
Botswana	7,000.00
Canada	3,558,415.83
Ceylon	336,134.45
Chile	3,000.00
Cyprus	11,999.04
Denmark	666,666.67
Fiji	5,000.00
Finland	477,783.09
France	1,739,130.44
Germany (Fed. Rep.)	4,711,057.31
Ghana	25,000.00
Guyana	5,180.00
Iceland	2,843.14
Iran	183,606.56
Ireland	215,982.72
Jamaica	12,745.10
Japan	5,000,000.00
Korea (Rep. of)	5,000.00
Liberia	20,000.00
Libya	100,000.00
Liechtenstein	4,901.96
Malaysia	13,071.90
Mauritius	50,000.00
Nepal	2,450.98
Netherlands	423,864.41
Norway	1,990,560.18
Philippines	100,000.00
San Marino	1,602.56
Senegal	7,194.24
Singapore	13,147.08
Spain	42,857.00
Swaziland	1,999.90
Sweden	4,500,584.49
Switzerland	1,490,196.08
Tanzania	8,403.36
Thailand	12,300.00
Tonga	250.00
Trinidad & Tobago	10,058.44
Uganda	14,005.60
U.K.	7,199,403.06
U.S.A.	70,500,000.00
Yugoslavia	20,000.00
UN Agencies:	
UNHCR	500,000.00
UNICEF	600,000.00
WHO	155,000.00
WFP	3,097,280.00
TOTAL	\$ <u>107,775,577.57</u>