

**THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF OPERATIONS FOR EAST
PAKISTANI REFUGEES IN INDIA, 1971-72**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*

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1993**



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July, 1993

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Dissertation entitled "THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF OPERATIONS FOR EAST PAKISTANI REFUGEES IN INDIA, 1971- 72" submitted by THARKESHWAR NATH GIRI in partial fulfilment of Nine Credits out of total requirement of twenty four credits for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M.Phil) of this University, is his original work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this University or of any other University to the best of our knowledge.

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**DEDICATED
TO
MY PARENTS**

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In the course of my work, I am fortunate to have received cooperation from more than one quarter. It is my pleasant duty to put on record a few words of acknowledgments here.

I take this opportunity, to express my deep sense of reverence, gratitude indebtedness to my supervisor, Dr. C.S.R. Murthy, for his constant help, scholarly guidance and encouragement. He has no doubt deepened my knowledge of the subject through discussions and criticism.

I am extremely grateful to Prof. Sumitra Chisti and Prof. K.P. Saksena who have profoundly broadened my knowledge. I also thank to Prof. M.L. Sondhi(Chairman) for his cooperation.

I also thank to other faculty members for their cooperation; to all the staffs of JNU library, Indian Council of World Affairs Library, the United Nations Information Centre, the office of UNHCR(New Delhi) and the American Centre for their assistance in the course of this dissertation work. I also wish to thank Mr. Rajeev Prabhakar and Mr. Kailash Nautiyal who have rendered invaluable assistance by cheerfully typing the dissertation under tremendous pressure.

I express my gratitude to the Kamal Gyan Yajna (KGY) for providing me the much needed financial support.

I cannot hope to name all who assisted me, but, the risk of being invidious, I wish, however, to thank particularly Mr. Bedi sb, Mr. Shashi Bhushan, Miss Nandini, Mr. Deepak, Mr. Ashok Kumar Giri, Mr. Bashishth Nag and Mr. Shahnawaz Ahmed for their continuous help which contributed in the successful completion of the dissertation. Without the cooperation of Mr. Niranjan Dev Sharma, Mr. Asif Ali, Mr. Ajay Kumar Mallick, Mr. Surya Nath Singh, Mr. Ramesh Yadav and all the other friends, it would have been difficult for me to finish my work in time.

I wish to thank all my family members for their help and encouragement. I owe my debt to my parents who never made me feel the burden which they suffered silently.

Finally, however, none of the above is, but only I am responsible for the contents of the study.



New Delhi

THARKESHWAR NATH GIRI

July 1993

List of Abbreviations

ACC	Administrative Committee on Coordination United Nations
AIML	All India Muslmi League
AL	Awami League
ACABQ	Advisory Committee on Administrative Budgetary Questions
CBRS	Cooch Behar Refugee Service
CASA	Christian Agency for Social Action
CCC	Central Coordinating Committee
EBR	East Bengal Regiment
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council of the United Nations
EPR	East Pakistan Rifle
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of United Nations
GAOR	General Assembly Official Record
ICM	Intergovernmental Committee for Migration
IGCR	Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees

IRO	International Refugee Organisation
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LON	League of Nations
LNHCR	League of Nations High Commission for Refugee
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
LRCS	League of Red Cross Societies
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
OUA	Organisation of African Unity
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
PTI	Press Trust of India
SICU	Standing Interagency Consultation Unit
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEPRO	United Nations East Pakistan Relief Operations

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNETPSA United Nations Education and Training Programme for South Africa

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

UNIDO United Nations Industrial Development Organisation

UNROD United Nations Relief Operations in Dacca

WCC World Council of Churches

WFP World Food Programme

WHO World Health Organisation

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The dissertation attempts to examine the nature of the United Nations relief assistance to the East Pakistan refugees in India during the period, 1971-72.

Although, the refugees have been a matter of concern in international relations for many decades in the past, the problem today assumes global proportions, According to estimates, there are seventeen million refugees in most parts of the world. Many without the hope of going back to their respective native countries. As in global general purpose organization striving to find peaceful solutions to problems of social, cultural and humanitarian nature, the United Nations concerns itself with the alleviation of the refugee problem with its own limited resources. It spends nearly \$600 million a year for providing relief to refugees. Indeed the expectations of relief assistance have been increasing rapidly year after year.

In the history of the United Nations refugee relief assistance, the experience with reference to East Pakistan refugees in India during 1971-72 may be considered as one of the most gigantic efforts ever undertaken by the United Nations. An estimated unprecedented number (10

million) East Pakistanis crossed borders and sought refuge in India in a short span of five months. The relief assistance, the International Community channelled through the United Nations systems was not entirely adequate but substantial enough. Notably, the amount nearly equalled 1971 outlay of the regular budget of the United Nations. Another unique feature was the successful repatriation of the record number of the refugees in early 1972, once the conducive conditions were established in the refugee's homeland. A proper understanding of the subject matter requires a holistic approach. Some of the questions that become pertinent, in this connection are : How does the community of nations understand the term " refugees " ? What makes one a refugee ? What are the factors that lead to refugee flows ? In what form has the international community responded ? And to what effect ? In other words, what is the historical legacy of the United Nations in the field of refugee relief. How best was the United Nations geared to meet the challenge in 1971 ? What are the structural , procedural innovations made ? What were the expectations and experiences of the relief activities in 1971-72 ? What lessons does the 1971-72 experience offer to the United Nations programme of refugee relief activities undertaken subsequently elsewhere ?

It is these and associated questions that the present study seeks to explore. The discussion in the dissertation is organised in four chapters.

The first chapter combines both conceptual and historical aspects of general nature. It examines the concept of refugees, causes of refugee flows and the evolution of international response to address/alleviate the problem right from the early twentieth century to the present times. Stress is given, obviously to the establishment of the function-specific body within the UN system, viz the office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 1951.

In the Second chapter the origin and growth of the problem in Pakistan are discussed. Apart from the historical as well as immediate causes of influx of East Pakistanis in India and the international media attention, and the relief assistance organised by India before it turned to the multilateral agencies for relieving the heavy burden are some of the aspects addressed in the chapter.

The Third Chapter traces the response of the United Nations System. It discusses the organisational, functional, financial and logistical measures initiated and executed both at the apex and local levels. The chapter also pays attention to the term of developments in December 1971 that facilitated a smooth repatriation process. The final chapter embodies concluding observations and puts the

experiences in the larger framework of the UN's humanitarian activities. The study's approach, as can be seen, is a combination of descriptive and analytical methods. For the purpose, a variety of primary sources (like official publications and UN Documents) as well as secondary sources (like books and articles in journals) have been consulted.

CHAPTER I

EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN FOR REFUGEES

I

Every year, thousands of people are forced to leave their homeland. Some flee from persecution, others move as a result of war, violence, environmental disaster or harsh economic conditions. Millions have fled their homes and sought safety in foreign lands, where they are isolated and often impoverished. Determining who should qualify for refugee status and thereby enjoy international protection is a complicated and controversial issue. However an analysis of the refugee problem calls for a definition of who constitute a refugee. Refugees are the persons who have fled or been driven from their native countries and cannot return for fear of persecution, war, or oppression.¹

DEFINITIONS

As far as development of the concept is concerned, in treaties and arrangements concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, a group or category approach to the definition of refugees was adopted. That someone was a) outside the country of origin and b) without the protection of the govt. of that state, were sufficient and necessary conditions. A Russian refugee for example, was defined in 1926 as any person of Russian origin who did

1 Refugee magazine, (Geneva) No 50, Feb 1988, P.5.

not enjoy the protection of the govt. of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and who has not acquired another nationality.

A similar approach was adopted in 1936 arrangements in respect of those fleeing Germany, which developed by Article(1) of 1938 Convention :²

(a) Persons possessing or having possessed German nationality and not possessing any other nationality who are not to enjoy, in law or fact, protection of the govt.

(b) Stateless persons not covered by previous Conventions or arrangements who left German territory after being established therein and who are proved not to enjoy, in law or infact, the protection of the German govt. Article 1 (2) excluded from the definition persons who left Germany for reasons of purely personal convenience.

Commenting on definitions, one scholar observed in 1938 that all had certain inherent deficiencies. He stressed the importance of keeping in view the 'essential quality' of the refugee as one who has sought refuge in a territory other than that in which he was formerly resident as a result of political events which rendered his continued residence in his former territory impossible or

2 Guy S. Goodwin Gill, The Refugee in International Law (London, 1983) P.12.

3
intolerable. While the notion of the impossibility or intolerability of continued residence illustrates the problem of the refugees in broad strokes, after the Second World War stress was laid on more precise criteria. This was evident first in the constitution of the Statute of the office of the UNHCR, and finally in the provisions of the 1951 Convention relating to the status of Refugees.

Thus the definition, adopted by the 1950 Statute of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the related 1951 Convention and the 1967 protocol relating to the status of refugees, is contained in according to Article 1 (a) (2) of the Convention : a refugee is a person who " owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country."⁴

Besides this definition, according to Article 1(b) of the Convention the term refugee shall apply to any person who has been considered a refugee under the arrangements of 12 May 1926 and 30 June 1928 or under the Conventions of 28

3 ibid., p.4.

4 Convention and protocol relating to the status of Refugee (Geneva, 1983), P.12.

October 1933 and 10 February 1938, the protocol of 14 September 1939 or the Constitution of the International
5
Refugee Organization.

Section(c) of Article(1) of the Convention declines to grant refugee status if -

- a) He has voluntarily re-availed himself of the protection of the country of his nationality; or
- b) Having lost his nationality, he has voluntarily re-acquired it, or
- c) He has acquired a new nationality, and enjoys the protection of the country of his new nationality; or
- d) He has voluntarily re-established himself in the country which he left or outside which he remained owing to fear of persecution; or
- e) He can no longer, because the circumstances in connection with which he has been recognized as a refugee have ceased to exist able to return to the country of his former habitual residence.

Similarly, the provisions of the Convention do not apply to persons who are at present receiving from organs or agencies of the United Nations other than the UNHCR
6
protection or assistance. Again, this Convention shall not apply to a

5 ibid.

6 ibid.

person who is recognized by the competent authorities of the country in which he has taken residence as having the rights and obligations which are attached to the possession of the nationality of that country.⁷

Moreover a refugee in the strict sense of the Convention must meet the persecution test, but persecution is not defined.⁸ Article 33, which refers to a threat to life for the reasons stated, comes close but other serious human rights violation would also constitute persecution. Persecution may stem from action by state authorities, or from the sections of the population. In the latter case, persecution would come within the Convention only if it were knowingly tolerated by the authorities, or if the authorities refused, were unable to offer effective protection.

In different regions of the world it is now argued that many of today's asylum seekers do not qualify as refugees under these criteria. Asylum seekers may indeed face dangers or threat to their life, safety or freedom but it is claimed that these do not arise for "Convention reasons."⁹

7 ibid.,p.13.

8 Refugee Magazine, n.1.

9 ibid.

Other dangers or threat for example, from sustained generalised violence, foreign aggression and internal conflicts or massive violation of human rights do not amount persecution in the sense of the Convention and thus cannot form basis for the claim to refugee status. At the same time, some receiving states claim that many asylum seekers leave their countries of origin not because of danger or threat to their lives or freedom, but for economic reasons or other reasons of personal convenience. However, UNHCR has the responsibility to provide international protection not only to the refugees as defined by its statute and the 1951 Convention, but also to others brought under the mandate of the office by the United Nations General Assembly over the last 47 years. UNHCR's responsibility now extend to a wider refugee concept and includes those compelled to flee their country, or unable to return to it, for justifiable fear of danger to life, safety or freedom. Such individuals and groups, 'externally displaced in refugee like situations' must also be without effective national protection, either de jure or de facto and in need of international protection. The protection of UNHCR and the international community to identify such 'refugees' by reference, in particular, to coerced or involuntarily transfrontier movements and/or the inability to return because of justifiable fear of danger to life safety or freedom.

10

10 ibid.

However, another definition of refugee, adopted in 1969 by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and its Convention Governing the Specific Aspect of Refugee Problem in Africa had gone further than the scope of 1951 Convention to cover any person who reasonably fearing persecution on account of his race, religion, nationality, his membership of a social group or his political opinion is outside the country of which he has the nationality but cannot or will not because of fear, claim its protection. It also applies to any person who possessing no nationality and being outside the country in which because of such events, cannot or will not (because of fear of persecution), return there. The term refugee is applied to any person who following an aggression, the occupation or exploitation by a foreign power or other events which seriously disturbs public order in a part or whole of his native country or the country of which he possesses the nationality, is obliged to leave his usual dwelling to seek refuge in another place outside the country of which he is a citizen.

11

Besides this, the UN General Assembly in its resolution since 1975 has extended the mandate of the High Commissioner to groups of persons who did not necessarily

11 CIMADE, INODEP, MINK(Translated by Michael John), Africa's Refugee Crisis; What's to be done (London, 1986), pp 112 -13.

satisfy the statutory definition within his competence, but
• who were deemed by the General Assembly to be persons who
were his concern and who were entitled to benefit from
certain protection activities as well as assistance, thus
explicitly linking (refugees) with the displaced persons in
the refugee like situation.¹²

The report of the working group on the current
problems in the international protection of refugees and
displaced persons in Asia, 1981 noted that the definition of
term 'refugee' in article 1 of the 1969 OAU Convention,
along with the extended responsibility of the UNHCR after
the 1975, had the effect of including within the ambit of
its protection provision virtually all victims of a man-
made disaster including displaced persons, and approved it
in relation to the definition of the term 'refugee in

¹³
Asia'.

The Cartagena Declaration on Refugees of November
1984 proposed an extension of the concept of the 'refugee'
as applied to Central America, stipulating that a 'massive
violation of human rights' should be considered a legal
basis for extended definition of refugee. It laid down that

12 J.N. Saxena, "Problem of Refugees in the developing
countries and the need for International Burden
sharing" (Paper presented at World Congress on
Human Rights), New Delhi, 1990), P.3.

13 ibid.

the definition of refugee could not only incorporate the elements contained in 1951 Convention and the 1967 protocol (or the 1969 OAU Convention and General Assembly Convention), but also could cover persons who have fled their country because their life, their safety or their liberty were threatened by massive violation of human rights.¹⁴

By the introduction of 'defacto or dejure' refugees, the concept of refugee has become more and more complex. According to one scholar defacto stateless are persons who, having left the country of which they are nationals, no longer enjoying the protection and assistance of their national authorities, either because these authorities refuse to grant them assistance and protection or because they themselves renounce the assistance and protection of which they are nationals, and dejure are persons who are not nationals of any state, either because at birth or subsequently they were not given any nationality, or because during their lifetime they lost their own nationality and did not acquire a new one".¹⁵

14 B.S Chimni, "Rights of Refugees, including the right to return : The Language of Protection and the reality of rejection : end of cold war and crisis in Refugee Law", (Paper presented at World Congress on Human Rights, New Delhi, 1990), P.7.

15 Study of Statelessness, UN Doc. E/1112, 1 Feb 1949, pp 9-10.

However, this terminology has been described as 'inexact' by some scholars, since statelessness is a purely legal concept, connoting lack of nationality.

Category of Refugees

The first, is internal refugees. There are millions of people who have been displaced in their own country as a result of either national disaster or adverse political, social or economic conditions or armed conflict.¹⁶ In many ways these refugees suffer from serious violation of human rights or social or economic deprivation as their external counterparts; but for a variety of reasons have not been able to seek refugee outside their countries.

The second, category consists of people who have not been specifically persecuted, but have as a result of generalised violence or economic deprivation within their own societies and succeeded in fleeing to another country.¹⁷

The third and last category is those who have generally come from 'well off' urban backgrounds and simply

16 Amin Saikal, "Refugees in Global Politics" in Amin Saikal ed, Refugees in the Modern World (Canberra, 1989), p.5.

17 *ibid.*

have not felt it to register with the United Nations Agencies as refugees.

THE CAUSES OF REFUGEE MOVEMENTS

There are so many causes of refugee movement, however the more immediate causes of refugee movements are diverse and unpredictable. However, all types of causes are present in all parts of the world, but some may be more prevalent in some areas than others. In African countries strife pertaining to the end of colonial rule has been a frequent source of refugees. Refugee movements often arise from political, religious, ethnic, racial and tribal conflicts related to this situation.

Wars

Armed conflict between the military forces of one state with another has always caused human beings to flee their homes in order to avoid immediate danger. Sometimes this departure has resulted in long absences, sometimes in only shorter displacements. An outpouring of people from the border areas occurred in Europe at the beginning of Second World War, once the strong, largely successful, German attacks were actually under way, the volume of shelter seekers from the surrounding areas increased.

Political Warfare

During the fighting phase of a war and frequently before it, radio, television, and loud speakers may be used to encourage people of the enemy state to flee. This type of propaganda was used frequently by both sides in the Iran/Iraq War and during various phases of fighting that took place between Israel and surrounding countries.¹⁸ Some times the cessation of hostilities between military forces may give rise to a movement of population. For example, a large scale population movements took place in Korea after the defeat of Japan and the subsequent occupation of the North by Soviet troops.

Revolution

A Government that resists a revolutionary movement may fight on for a lengthy period before eventually being brought down. Even if it is not brought down, the fighting will oppress the population, in much the same way that international hostilities do. The revolution in Russia in 1917 and in Nicaragua in 1979, regardless of the differences between their circumstances, were both the cause of a great deal of movement of human beings in proportion to the population as a whole at the time fighting was taking place.¹⁹ In both these cases, the sympathies of foreign

¹⁸ Leon Gordenker, Refugees in International Politics (London, 1987), p.66.

¹⁹ ibid, P.70.

powers ensured that some transnational attention was given to those affected.

Coup' d'etat

Many times, coup d'etat creates refugee problem but unlike other factors it involves only a relatively small part of the society and involves the exchange of one elite for another, any resulting exodus is likely to include senior political figures and military officers who formed part of the replaced regime. For example, a group of military officers took over the government of Surinam in 1982 and many displaced politicians simply found ways to go abroad.

Insurrectionary Social Structures

In some societies, inherent elements cause conflicts of an insurrectionary nature. These result in a persistent outflow of people who have strong formal claims to refugee status and believe themselves to be forced into migration. South Africa is a clear example where extreme social stratification is enforced on the basis of racial separation. The black majority face a life of assured lack of equal political economic and social opportunity.²⁰ Enforcement of rules to maintain such a society ensures

20 CIMADE, n.11, pp.24-25.

violent responses. The leaders of such sporadic outbursts who survive repression form a continuous stream of refugees.

Divided Nations

Cutting national groups apart by allotting their territory to different states often stimulates irredentism. If a government responds by trying to re-unite the pieces, this can lead to tension with that country's neighbours and ultimately to violence. Refugees soon appear as is almost inevitably the case with the military activity. Such causes operated in Palestine in the late 1940's, in Somalia following the creation of the state, and in India and Pakistan at various times but with particularly dramatic effect during the Bangladesh conflict of 1970-71.

Minorities

The persecution of minorities ranging from the minor harassment to genocide, is a time honoured way of promoting or cementing the solidarity of national groups. It functions to distinguish the dominant nationality from the subordinate. Even without the efficiency of modern administrative techniques, it was a prominent producer of refugees. The persecution of national minorities can be either overt or covert. Overt persecution includes restricting the rights of minorities by a deliberate decision on the part of the government or dominant group. The expulsion of the Asian residents of the Uganda during

the early seventees was an obvious example of persecution of a minority in order to stir up national feelings. Direct persecution initiated by government policies or the decisions of the dominant groups, can encourage indirect persecution and unofficial actions against the subordinate nation. Such was the case in Rwanda and Burundi during the late 1960's when a great deal of strife affected both the dominant WaTutsi minority and the subordinate Bahutu majority.

Brutal Government

The use of a wholesale denial of human rights simply as a means of keeping a group of governors in power or in the belief of their part that gentler handling of the population would lead to national disorder or chaos forms an all-too-familiar aspect of human history. However, this led to forced migration. For example, the refugee exodus took place during the 1970's and the 1980's from the Argentina and Chile when right wing governments were in power. Another example in Gautemala and El Salvador during the early 1980's when the hunt for anti-government guerillas took precedence over a decent reserve on the part of the said governments.

If the government is incapable of making or implementing decisions or of controlling its administration and threatening and thus refugee problem

takes place. In many respect the situation in Lebanon in 1983 after the withdrawal of Israeli forces that pursued Palestine Liberation Organization units to Beirut may be characterised as a governmental incompetence. The flow of refugees to the surrounding countries provide ample evidence of the effects of such a situation.

21

Deliberately Undertaken Change of Social Structures

Deliberate attempts on the part of governments to alter existing societies to planned new forms or to undertake substantial changes in fundamental social arrangements have also induced substantial flows of migrants. The best example of this sort was - the Russian revolution of 1917 and the refugee exodus.

Economic Causes

Just as members of the allied or of defined sections of a population can be treated as dispensable under new social plans, so can broader layers of the masses not identified as opposing a government by political means. Sometimes the insistence by a ruling elite on maintaining patterns of production that support its members but impoverish the masses would affect the population just as seriously as forced nationalisation affects economic enterprises. In the case of Haiti, for example, the

21 Gordenker, n.18, pp. 74-75.

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failure to produce any substantial economic development has given those faced with inevitable hunger a strong impetus to leave the country.

22

Ideological Opposition

Sharply opposed ideological stances adopted by the governments do encourage dissidents to leave their homelands. Dissidents who escaped through restricted borders usually claim formally refugee status. They are likely to be treated as such in their country of asylum should they make their way to a territory where the ideological or political persuasion opposed to that in their own country hold sway. Clear examples of this are the Poles who slipped into Austria during the Polish unrest of 1981-82. Those decisions who leave under arranged decisions and have promises of asylum do not fit the definition of 1951 UN Convention on refugees but are usually received in the land of asylum as refugees. There is another development in refugee situations in recent past, giving rise to refugees who leave their country not due to any fear of persecution or events seriously disturbing public order, but for economic reasons or other reasons of personal convenience. Today an explosion of poverty refugees fleeing the distribution of their homelands, far exceeds the traditional refugees fleeing persecution and war. However, according to UNHCR, it is not possible to accurately establish the number of

22 ibid., p.81.

poverty-refugees but it is considerably greater than 29
23
million.

Prior to 1921, efforts to cope with refugees needs were undertaken mainly by private organisations or voluntary agencies and were predominantly in the form of relief. During 1920s, various European countries undertook bilateral negotiations aimed at transferring refugees from their own
24
territories to those of other states.

The governments concerned usually took little notice. They considered the refugees sometimes as an embarrassment, seldom as a major problem let alone a cause for action. At best certain charitable or religious groups looked after as best as they could. It is only within the last century and particularly the last 50 years that the conscience of the nations has been aroused sufficiently for international interest to be expressed and action eventually taken at the international level on behalf of refugees.

THE ORIGINS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ACTION

The need for organised international assistance to refugees seems really first to have become apparent during world war I when it is certain that more governments formed

23 The Hindustan Times (New Delhi) 29 Oct. 1990.

24 Louise W. Holborn, Refugee : A problem of our Time : The work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951-1972; Vol. I, (New Jersey, N.J., Press, 1975) P.5.

themselves faced with arrival of thousands of refugees than ever before. In both Europe and Asia minor especially, very large number of people fled their homeland and passed on from the countries in which they had first found themselves, for the fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality or political opinions.²⁵ Moreover, it was not only the plight of refugees that caused concern, many of the countries to which they had fled were themselves also ravaged by war, their economies disrupted and their political situation unstable and tense. However, on the initiative taken by the International Committee of the Red Cross[ICRC] that international interest in the fate of refugees began. The organised international concern for refugees dates from the appointment in 1921 of the first League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Fridtjof Nansen (a Norwegian national).²⁶ His appointment marked an epoch in the international acceptance of responsibility for the displaced civilians, victims of wars and revolutions who had hitherto been at the mercy of the countries to which they had fled. It was fitting that the League's action should have sprung from a conference convened in Geneva,

25 UNHCR, A mandate to Protect and assist Refugees : 20 years of service in the cause of refugees - 1951-1971, (Geneva, n.d.), p.20.

26 *ibid.*

earlier in 1921 by the International Committee of Red Cross, the pioneer international humanitarian organisation.

From the Nansen Era to the Second World War

The immediate emergency with which Dr Nansen had to deal was the existence of about 1.5 million refugees from Russian Revolution and subsequent fighting which spread throughout the former Russian empire from the Baltic to the Behring sea. Many of these refugees were already widely spread over Europe, others were living in camps in Turkey and Asia Minor, others again had fled to China. Initially, it was stated that the primary function of the High Commissioner should be in the legal and political fields those fields that are now summarised as international
27
protection.

Meanwhile another great exodus had started with the flow of thousands of refugees from Germany and the role of the League in this regard remained very restricted, even after the Nazi government had withdrawn from the
28
organisation.

Once again a major world figure which was inter-governmental committee for refugees [IGCR] had come into being as a result of an initiative taken by President Roosevelt. Functioning throughout the Second World War and

27 UNHCR, Forty Years of International Assistance to Refugees (Geneva, 1962), p.6.

until 1947, this organisation was especially effective in providing support for the many Jewish benevolent societies operating during that period and in assisting the resettlement of refugees escaping from various Nazi dominated territories. The outbreak of war in 1939 virtually eliminated the League as an effective supervisor of legal protection for refugees. However, as the second world war drew to a close it became apparent that an enormous refugee problem of size and complexity far exceeding anything with which international administrations had yet been faced was already arising. Nonetheless, organisations concerned with their problems, UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration[UNRRA] fills an important chapter in the story of international assistance to refugees. It came into existence even earlier than the UN Organisation itself. It was in fact the first new organisation to incorporate the words 'United Nations' in its title.²⁹

UNRRA's purpose was essentially practical since it was established to 'plan, coordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims in war in any area under the control of any of the UN through the provision of food, fuel, clothing and shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services.'³⁰

28 Gordenker, n.18, P.20.
29 UNHCR, n.25, p.25.
30 ibid, P.26.

It was soon realised that some sort of new organisation would be needed to cater for the needs of refugees as contrasted with UNRA 'displaced persons' and indeed to take over the functions of the various existing bodies- principally the office of League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees ;the IGCR; and insofar as it had not completed its work for refugees, UNRRA itself.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR REFUGEES

From the very outset, the UN recognised that the task of caring for refugees was a matter of international concern and that in keeping with the charter, the community of states should assume collective responsibility for those fleeing persecution. Accordingly, the General Assembly of the UN at its first session held at the beginning of 1946, adopted a resolution that laid the foundation for UN activities in support of refugees.

In this resolution, the General Assembly stressed that no refugee or displaced person who had expressed valid objections to returning to his country of origin should be compelled to do so. The Chairman of the Special Committee second on Refugees and Displaced persons which was established by Economic and Social Council under the terms of the resolution adopted on 16 Feb 1946, confirmed that objections of a political nature would be considered valid. However, the General Assembly stated that displaced

31 Resolution A/45 adopted on 12 Feb 1946.

persons who had expressed the wish to return home were to be give every assistance to do so.

International Refugee Organisation

In accordance with the recommendations of Special Committee, the General Assembly, at its 1946(second) session, established the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) to succeed the existing international organisations, that is, UNRRA, IGCR, and the office of League of Nations for Refugees.³²

It engaged in assisting and repatriating refugees, displaced persons and prisoners of war of whom there were, initially some 21 million scattered throughout Europe. The tasks of the IRO were mainly the protection and resettlement of 1.6 million³³ persons who were reluctant to return to their homelands either because they had lost all ties there or because of a well founded fear of persecution.

The IRO was intended as a temporary specialised agency of UN whose primary objective was to seek solutions to the problems of refugees and displaced persons still living in camps, mostly in Austria, Germany and Italy. Like the UNRRA, it was essentially a field agency conducting its own assistance activities with the help and support of the

32 Louise W. Holborn, The International Refugee Organization : A specialised Agency of the United Nations : Its History and Work, 1946-1952 (London ,1956), pp.32-33.

33 UNHCR, " Information Paper ", (Geneva , 1989), p.1.

local authorities and voluntary agencies. However, it quickly became clear that the refugee problem was not a temporary phenomenon and that some further organised international effort would have to be made. The member states of the IRO considered it appropriate that the responsibility for refugees should be taken over by UN itself. The main considerations were that the time had come for all member states of the UN to share the expenditure involved in aid to refugees, and that since conditions had improved in many reception countries, the UN was in a better position to provide refugees with the necessary assistance.

Establishment of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

In 1949, when the UN decided to assume more direct responsibility for international action in favour of refugees, upon the demise of IRO, two possibilities were open to the Assembly - either to entrust this task to a department of UN Secretariat, or to establish within the administrative and financial framework of UN, an ad hoc body capable of acting independently. On the proposal of the United Nations Secretary-General, the latter formula was adopted. In doing so, the General Assembly felt that it was preferable for the future body to remain as far as possible outside the political considerations with which the UN Secretariat had to deal. It also felt that a UN High Commissioner for Refugees ought to have the independent

authority and prestige required to enable him to intervene with the governments especially in the task of ensuring the international protection of refugees. However, the office of the UNHCR was set up on 1st January, 1951 for a period of 3 years in accordance with the General Assembly resolutions 319(iv) of 3rd December, 1949 and 428(v) of 14 Dec 1950. The office was established as a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly under the Article 22 of the Charter.³⁴ On a basis similar to that of other programmes of UN such as UNICEF and UNDP. It soon became clear that refugee problem required the continued attention of the the United Nations. Thus the General Assembly decided to prolong the UNHCR mandate renewable for a period of five years, beginning on 1st January, 1954. At its 42nd session, the Assembly adopted a resolution 42/108 by which the office was continued for a further five year period from 1st January, 1989 to 31st December, 1993.³⁵

According to paragraph 13 of UNFCR statute, the High Commissioner is elected by General Assembly on the nomination of the Secretary General. Under the terms of Chapter 1 of the statute, the High Commissioner acts under the authority of General Assembly and follows policy directives given to him by the Assembly and Economic and

34 Under Article 22 of the UN Charter, the General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

35 UNHCR, n.33, P.2.

Social Council(ECOSOC). He presents a comprehensive annual report on his activities through ECOSOC to the General Assembly where it is first considered by the Third Committee. Since 1970, ECOSOC considered UNHCR annual reports only if requested by the High Commissioner or one of its members to place it on the agenda. Otherwise, ECOSOC simply transmits the report to the General Assembly without debate. The administrative and financial aspects of UNHCR activities are considered by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions(ACABQ) and by the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly. ³⁶

FUNCTIONS OF UNHCR

The protection of refugees and the seeking of durable solutions to their problems are the two main functions of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In discharging the first function UNHCR seeks to promote the adoption of international standards for the treatment of refugees and the effective implementation of these standards in such fields as employment, education, residence, freedom of movement and safeguard against being returned to a country where a refugee may have reason to fear persecution. In discharging its second function, UNHCR seeks to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of refugees or where this is not feasible , to assist governments of countries of asylum, to enable the refugees to become self-

36 *ibid.*, p.13.

supporting as rapidly as possible. UNHCR has a major role in coordinating aid to refugees. Except in special circumstances, its material assistance activities are conducted through national or local authorities of the country concerned, other organisations of the United Nations system, non-governmental organisations or private technical agencies. Material assistance activities of UNHCR include emergency relief, assistance in voluntary repatriation or local integration, resettlement through migration to other countries, as well as counselling, education and legal assistance.

38

Emergency relief is provided mainly in the form of care and maintenance of new refugees or displaced persons when a variety of basic essentials such as food, shelter and medical aid are required on a large scale at short notice. With the increase and diversification of UNHCR's activities, relations with member agencies of the United Nations system, as well as with inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have continued to strengthen.

Assistance in voluntary repatriation hinges on the protection and material assistance functions of UNHCR. The protection element consists of ensuring that repatriation is voluntary. The assistance element consists of helping

37 *ibid.*, p.5.

38 *ibid.*, p.10.

refugees wherever possible to overcome practical difficulties concerning their voluntary repatriation. It also allows UNHCR to ensure that the refugees are given basic help upon arrival in their homeland. Assistance to persons repatriated to their country of origin has frequently proved to be indispensable on account of their destitute conditions.

The object of local integration is to assist refugees and displaced persons to become self-supporting in their country of residence and/or of first asylum. In industrialised countries, this is done in a number of ways, such as by providing refugees with loans or grants to establish themselves in a profession, by assisting them through vocational training to learn a skill, or by establishing themselves in gainful occupations.

From its inception, UNHCR has been actively engaged in the promotion of resettlement through migration, in close cooperation with interested governments, the Inter-Governmental Committee for Migration(ICM) and voluntary agencies concerned with the resettlement of refugees. Education is provided in order to facilitate the integration of refugees. Educational assistance at primary and secondary levels is made available under UNHCR general programmes. At higher level, assistance is given through UNHCR's Refugee Education Account. UNHCR cooperates closely with UNESCO and the United Nation Education and Training programme for Southern Africa(UNETPSA) in this field.

Counselling which is provided under various UNHCR programmes to help refugees to opt for an appropriate solution to their programmes and to avail themselves of such facilities as may be open to them. The rehabilitation of disabled refugees is mostly undertaken in close cooperation with voluntary agencies or operational partners, which implement special local programmes of assistance, treatment and rehabilitation. A further response to the needs of the disabled, medically-at-risk refugees and victims of torture or other forms of violence is UNHCR's promotion of special resettlement schemes or quotas. In this context refugees are offered long term solutions in third countries, together with their families. Treatment and rehabilitation are provided in such instances until these refugees become self sufficient. Even, UNHCR provides legal assistance to help individual refugees with administrative formalities in their country of residence. It is also provided to refugees who are involved in court cases which could adversely affect their refugee status. In planning and implementing programmes UNHCR constantly seeks the help of a host of other bodies, whose tasks are complementary to its own efforts. UNHCR draws on the expertise of other organisations of UN system experience in matters such as food production (FAO), health measures (WHO) education (UNESCO), child welfare (UNICEF) and vocational training (ILO). In areas where UNHCR is not represented, UNDP representatives frequently administer UNHCR - financed projects and act on UNHCR's

behalf in relation with governments. In order to perform these gigantic functions a heavy amount of aid is needed. However, UNHCR is financed by a very limited subsidy from the regular budget of the United Nations as well by the voluntary contributions from the Governments, non-governmental organisations and individuals. Besides it, the High Commissioner is authorised to make for funds needed to provide material assistance to refugees coming within his mandate and otherwise not taken into account under conditions set by executive committee of High Commissioner's Programme. However, according to latest information approximately 17 million refugees are in the world.

Following table provides about details of refugees in different parts of the world.

S.no	Regions	Refugees
1.	Asia and Oceania	1,063,000
2.	North America	1,019,000
3.	Latin America and the Carribbean	438,330
4.	Europe	3,092,482
5.	Africa	6,775,000
6.	South West Asia and Middle East	6,609,000
Total		17,000,000

(Source : UNHCR Publications) Pamphlet.

CHAPTER - II

ORIGINS AND GROWTH OF THE PROBLEM IN EAST PAKISTAN

II

CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN EAST PAKISTAN

The roots of the political developments in East Pakistan in 1971 could be traced to the circumstances associated with India's partition and the creation of a Muslim majority state of Pakistan before the British gave up the colonial reigns in the sub-continent in 1947.

The idea of having a separate state for the Muslims of the subcontinent was first put forward in 1930 by Sir Mohammad Iqbal, a distinguished poet and philosopher. The idea was endorsed and underlined in a resolution passed by the All India Muslim League on 23rd March 1940 at Lahore.¹

The resolution among other things envisaged that the areas in which the Muslims were numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute an independent state in which the constituent units would be autonomous and sovereign. The Muslims League was then in the hands of leaders who belonged to Muslim majority areas of North-Western, and the Eastern India had little say. The leaders of the Muslim League of Bengal did try raise the question of protecting the interests of people, but their voice turned

1. K.P. Misra, The Role of the United Nations in the Indo-Pakistani Conflict, 1971 (Delhi, 1973), p.13.

out to be too feeble in the hysterical enthusiasm generated for the creation of Pakistan in that period. The question of 'autonomy and sovereignty' was raised again and again by the Muslim Leaders of Bengal.²

Apart from the fact that the two parts of Pakistan were far apart from each other, in most respects the people of the two parts were different : the economies of the two parts different and the nature and level of their economic development were by no means similar. Culturally there was a considerable chasm between them, their heritage was vastly different, they spoke different languages, and they wrote different scripts. The climate of the two regions and even the colour of the skins of the people of the two regions were different. Of crucial significance is the fact that on account of these diversities the people of the two regions never showed a sense of common nationhood.³

However, the only common point between the two wings of Pakistan was religion - Islam. But in the absence of other cementing factors, religion alone couldnot be an effective instrument of integration.

Let us now consider how the Western wing established its dominance over the East Pakistan. The major

2. ibid., p.14.

3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom : An Autobiographical Narrative (Bombay, 1959), p.227.

instrument of this dominance was the armed forces. The headquarters of all the three services - army, navy and airforce were in Western wing. Recruitment to the three services as confined largely to the Western wing and almost all ordnance factories were located in that area. Then there was the civil service. Here again the people of the Eastern wing were deprived of their legitimate share.⁴

(a) Political Causes

The story of the political dominance of the Eastern wing by West Pakistan was distinctly marked by a constant tussle between the two wings. 'Never were Bengalis allowed to occupy the real corridors of power. Although in a majority, they never had representation in the country on the basis of population. On the contrary for many years Bengalis were virtually reduced to the status of a minority in the first two constituent Assemblies'.⁵

In the 1954 election, the Muslim League lost most of the seats and the United Front contesting on the basis of a 21-Point Programme and with the slogan "Bengal

4. A. Rahman , "East West Pakistan: A Problem in Political Economy of Regional Planning", (Harvard University , Occasional Paper no. 20, 1968).
5. Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Banqladesh: Contemporary Events and Documents (Mujib Nagar, 1971), pp.2-3.

for Bengalis" won the maximum seats. Out of the 309 seats in the East Pakistan Assembly, the Muslim League won ten seats⁶ only.

The popular verdict was disregarded and a state of emergency was declared. Four years later a military coup d'etat did away with the civil administration in 1958. General Mohammad Ayub Khan's regime which ruled Pakistan for the next eleven years (1958-69) was no different. Ayub Khan was unable to understand the political aspirations of the Bengali speaking population.⁷

Awami Muslim League was founded on 1949 in Dacca by Abdul Bashani who subsequently broke away to form another party, the Awami League. In 1952 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took over as General Secretary of the Awami League⁸ and later on he became President of the party.

In the light of its experience of West Pakistan dominance during the preceding two decades, the Awami League led by Mujibur Rahman expressed its political programme in 1968.

However, the political climate in the whole of

6. Misra, n.1, pp.14-15.

7. Subrata Roy Chawdhury, The Genesis of Bangladesh (Bombay, 1972), p.182.

8. George E. Delury, ed., World Encyclopedia of Political System, Vol.I, (New York, 1983), p.75.

Pakistan had deteriorated sharply. So much so that in March 1969, Ayub Khan inspite of his having conceded direct elections on the basis of adult franchise felt obliged to transfer power to the chief of the military Yahya Khan. Yahya Khan promised to hold a general election for a constituent Assembly and handover power to the elected representatives.⁹

In East Pakistan the Awami League took part in Dec. 1970 elections on the basis of its Six-Point Formula which in essence advocated autonomy within Pakistan. The results of the election clearly showed the overwhelming support to the Awami League.

Six Points were :

- 1) The constitution should provide for a federation of Pakistan in the true sense on the basis of the Lahore resolution and for a parliamentary form of Government based on the supremacy of a duly elected legislature on the basis of universal adult franchise.
 - 2) The Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects - defence and foreign affairs - with all residuary subjects vested in the federating states.
 - 3) There should be either two separate freely
9. Choudhury, n.7, pp. 182-183.

convertible currencies for the two wings or one currency with two separate Reserve Banks to prevent inter-wing flight of capital.

- 4) The power of taxation and revenue collection shall be vested in the federating units. The Federal Government will receive a share to meet its financial obligations.
- 5) Economic disparities between the two wings shall disappear through a series of economic fiscal and legal reforms.
- 6) A militia or para-military force must be created in East-Pakistan which at present has no
10
defence of its own.

In the constituent (National) Assembly which had a total of 313 seats the Awami League won as many as 167 seats and thus secured an absolute majority. In other words it captured all but two East Pakistan seats of the National Assembly. In the Provincial Assembly of East Bengal also, it
11
won 288 seats out of 300 seats.

" The electoral mandate of the people of Pakistan and the near-unanimous verdict of the people of the Eastern wing were not respected. The ruling elite of West Pakistan led by Yahya Khan and his advisors, once again decided to

10. India, Ministry of External Affairs , Bangladesh Documents, Vol. I, (New Delhi, 1971), p.130.

11. *ibid.*, p.13.

frustrate the democratic process in order to continue their political dominance. Declaring in March 1971 that the leaders of the Awami League were enemies of Pakistan, Yahya Khan outlawed the party, arrested many of its leaders and intensified military rule".¹²

In a broadcast on 26 March Yahya Khan justified the crackdown thus : " In East Pakistan a non-cooperation and disobedience movement was launched by the Awami League and matters took a very serious turn. Events were moving very fast and it became absolutely imperative that the situation was brought under control as soon as possible. What Mujib wanted was withdrawal of Martial law and transfer of power to the representative of the people. The political leaders were also very much perturbed over Mujib's idea of dividing the National Assembly into two parts right from the start. Such a move would be totally against the interest of Pakistan's integrity. His movement was an act of treason. He (Mujib) and his partymen have defied the lawful authority for over three weeks. They have insulted Pakistan's flag and defied the photograph of the Father of the Nation. They have tried to run a parallel government. They have created¹³ turmoil, terror and insecurity.

Yahya Khan made an allegation that Sheikh Mujibar Rahman and his party were enemies of Pakistan and they

12. The Dawn (Karachi), 27 March 1971.

13. Ibid.

wanted East Pakistan to break away completely from the country. Therefore the duty of Pakistan Armed Forces was to ensure the integrity, solidarity and security of Pakistan and accordingly they were ordered to perform their duty and fully restore the authority of the Government of Pakistan.

(b) Economic and Social Causes

In the economic sphere too an 'intolerable structure of injustice' was established. Wealth became unduly concentrated in a few hands. About a score of families possessed over 60 percent of the country's industrial assets, 80 percent of its banking assets, and 75 percent of its insurance assets.

The discrimination practised against the Eastern wing is brought into bolder relief when we look at the foreign exchange earnings of the two wings. During 1958-68 the Western wing earned just 41 percent of the total foreign exchange but used as much as 70 percent. As table 3.1 shows during the same period the Eastern wing earned 59 percent of the total and was allowed to use only 30 percent. More significant is the fact that whereas foreign exchange

14. Mehrunnisa Ali, "East Pakistan Crisis : International Relations", Pakistan Horizon (Karachi), Vol. 24, no.2, 1971, pp.107-110.

15. S.S. Sethi, The Decisive War : Emergence of a New Nation (New Delhi, 1972), pp. 5-6.

allotted to the Western wing was used largely to finance development projects, the foreign exchange allotted to the Eastern wing was wasted on the import of certain types of consumer goods.

Table 2.1

Foreign Trade and Exchange earnings during 1958 - 1968 ¹⁶

WEST PAKISTAN		EAST PAKISTAN	
EXPORT	IMPORT	EXPORT	IMPORT
(In Pounds)	(In Pounds)	(In Pounds)	(In Pounds)
82 million	2315 million	1153 million	1000 million
41 %	70 %	59 %	30 %

Trade between the two wings of Pakistan was also a basic element of classical imperialism. The export of the Western wing to the Eastern wing were far greater than the imports. Consequently substantial capital was siphoned off from the Eastern to the Western wing.

Apart from these, even some important members of the international community have through aid and trade helped the rulers of Pakistan to aggravate the economic

16. Bangladesh Documents, n.10, p.16.

disparity between the two wings and thus strengthen the exploitative structure. For example out of \$ 3.6 billion total American aid, \$ 2.7 billion were spent for Mangla Dam & Tarbela Dam in West Pakistan as against a meagre \$0.9 billion spared for control of flood in East Pakistan. These loans no doubt converted the barren lands of West Pakistan into fertile ones whereas very little was done to tackle effectively the flood problem of East Pakistan. The people of East Pakistan had been allowed to suffer from recurring cyclones and flood disasters since 1953.¹⁷ Similarly, the United Kingdom loan during the period 1947-1965 amounting to Sterling 64 million was spent mostly in West Pakistan. Likewise in the field of new industries the percentage of investments in West and East Pakistan was roughly 75% and 25% respectively.¹⁸

Moreover, East Pakistani industries were mainly owned and controlled by the West Pakistanis whose main interest was to transfer the profits to West Pakistan instead of helping East Pakistan's prosperity. In the same way, most of the large irrigation projects had been treated as federal projects and financed by central government and had been completed in West Pakistan. This was a deliberate

17. Ibid., p.17.

18. S.K. Garg, Spotlight : Freedom Fighters of Bangladesh (New Delhi, 1984), p.25.

attempt to keep the 75 million Bengalis at starvation
level.¹⁹ Thus, due to the economic exploitation that, what
began as a movement for economic autonomy for East Bengal
within the framework of a United Pakistan, developed into a
movement for an independent Bangladesh.

Apart from the economic dimension neglect of East
Pakistan's aspiration included the socio-cultural aspects.
The most important element of the latter was the language
issue. There were two reasons why Bengali speaking East
Pakistanis felt very strongly on the language issue. First,
its people proud of their cultural & literary heritage, could
not tolerate the contemptuous attitude of West Pakistan
towards it. Secondly, they feared that if their language was
not given the official status, the government jobs would
become the monopoly of Urdu speaking West Pakistanis and
thus their already neglected economic interests would
receive a further setback.²⁰ On the other hand, the West
Pakistani leaders wanted one common language which could
minimise these differences and knit the country into a
single, homogenous unit. However, there were two arguments
given in favour of the adoption of Urdu as the only state

19. Tariq Ali, Can Pakistan Survive (London, 1983), pp.
85-87.

20. K.P. Misra and others, Pakistan's Search for
Constitutional Consensus (New Delhi, 1967), p.10.

language. Firstly it had close association with Islam and when Muslims spoke of themselves as constituting a separate nation at the time of demanding a separate state, they had Urdu as their language in mind.²¹ On the other hand Bengali language was intimately connected with the cultural and literary heritage of the Hindus. As the Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan said in the Constituent Assembly - "Pakistan is a muslim state and it must have as its lingua franca the language of the muslim nation -- Pakistan has been created because of the demand of a hundred million Muslims in this sub-continent and the language of a hundred million muslim is Urdu"²²

There were suggestions in some quarters that the demand for making Bengali a state language was un-islamic and the fears that if accepted it would give rise to Bengali nationalism, which in turn would tend to cultivate stronger and closer ties with its cultural counterpart in India (West Bengal) at the cost of its ties with its political counterpart in West Pakistan. The second argument given in favour of Urdu was that it alone was capable of creating linguistic unity which was one of the important pre-requisites of national unity. However, far from convincing

21. *ibid.*,

22. Callard, Keith, Pakistan : A Political Study (London, 1957), p.182.

Bengalis, these arguments caused much resentment among them and consequently language became a point of acute controversy between two wings.²³

In the history of Pakistan the ruling elite did practically everything to suppress this language and to foist upon them a language, Urdu which had very little to do with them.²⁴

In the field of education the Pakistani government followed such a policy that strengthened the dominance of the Western over the Eastern wing. Although the school going population increased in East Pakistan, the number of schools and other educational facilities decreased; whereas, at the same time, the Pakistan government spent vast sums of money and increased the number of schools in West Pakistan by more than four times.²⁵ Thus through this policy education became an instrument of discrimination .

MILITARY CRACKDOWN AND MEDIA EXPOSURE

Determined to frustrate the transfer of power to the Awami League the military under Yahya's direction proceeded carefully with its battle plan. In fact, before leaving Dacca for Karachi on the evening of 25 March, Yahya

23. Misra and others, n.20, p.10.

24. Ali, n.19, pp.44-45.

25. Bangladesh Documents, n.10, p.19.

Khan secretly ordered Tikka Khan, reputedly the best combat general in the army to execute the plan.²⁶ The Press Trust of India (PTI) reported that West Pakistan troops landed by sea and air in East Pakistan bringing the total army strength in the province to 70,000²⁷. In a statement Mujibur Rahman declared that such "atrocities and killing of unarmed people would not go unchallenged". He gave a call for a general strike throughout Bangladesh on March 27 as a mark of protest against heavy firing upon the civilian population in Saidpur, Rangpur and Joydevpur.²⁸

It was in this surcharged atmosphere that on the midnight of 27 March 1971, independence of Bangladesh was declared on the Chittagong radio station. Following this, most political personalities went underground (except, of course, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who feared that he might be killed but was sure that Bangladesh would emerge independent on his grave. All Bengalis in the East Bengal Regiment (EBR), East Pakistan Rifle (EPR) the armed reserve police and the civil police had pledged loyalty to Sheikh Mujib.

The army retaliated by launching simultaneous

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26. Md. Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan, Emergence of Bangladesh and Role of Awami League (New Delhi, 1982), p.186.
27. The Pakistan Times (Lahore), 26 March 1971.
28. ibid.

attack on police headquarters, Dacca University campus particularly the staff quarters and the student dormitories. The more politicized students managed to flee but a large number of innocent students were killed. Soon Dacca city came under the control of the Pakistan army. Those who tried to escape were shot dead. Those who stayed were burnt alive. About 700 men, women and children were killed in just two hours on 26 March. ²⁹ It was a cold-blooded massacre and the wrath of it was such that the river channels were blocked with dead bodies and the sky was clouded with vultures. Elsewhere in the province and particularly in cities, similar mass killings were perpetrated by the West Pakistani troops. In almost all the district towns, the army, assisted by non-Bengalis, searched the homes of Awami League leaders and workers and killed those who were found. ³⁰

The human tragedy on colossal scale was widely reported in World Press. The New York Times, reported that the Pakistan Army was using artillery and heavy machine guns against unarmed East Pakistani civilians. ³¹ The London Times wrote in an editorial that the more news from the East Pakistan accumulated, the more harrowing it became.

29. Bhuiyan, n.26, p.188.

30. Kabir Mafizullah, Experiences of an Exile at Home : Life in Occupied Bangladesh (Dacca, 1972), p.90.

31. The New York Times, 28 March 1971 cited in Bangladesh Documents, vol.I p.380.

Senseless murder, hysterical cruelty and what must be a creeping fear ran like a current throughout the packed mass of human beings.³² Expressen from Stockholm wrote that hundreds of thousands of people were fleeing from their homes.

The New York Times wrote that the United States, having played a major role in training and equipping Pakistan's armed forces, had a special obligation now to withhold any military aid to Yahya Government. Further economic assistance should be made conditional to utilisation if major portion be used to help bind up East Pakistan grievous wounds.³³

Eye-witness reports from foreign residents evacuated from East Pakistan painted a grim picture of the carnage bordering on a genocide.

GROWTH OF REFUGEE PROBLEM AND INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

The scale and style of the military operations conducted in East Pakistan was so insufferable that it propelled a gigantic humanitarian crisis of international proportions. A daily flood of East Pakistanis crossed into neighbouring India seeking shelter and refuge.³⁴ The

12. The Times (London), 3 April 1971 cited in Bangladesh Documents vol., I., pp. 191-392.

13. New York Times, n.31, 31 March 1971.

14. Chawdhury, n.6, p.241.

monthly figures of refugee flow is shown in table 3.2.

The influx of refugees started as a trickle in early April but soon swelled into a cascade as the Pakistani army tightened its grip. Bongaon, an Indian border town 57 kilometers North of Calcutta, which had a population of 5,000 had received within two months more than 300,000 refugees who simply by their presence were threatening to

Table - 2.2
Monthly Flow of Refugees

S.NO (1)	MONTH (2)	AVERAGE DAILY (3) (Persons in thousand)	MONTHLY (4)
1	April 1971(10th to 30th)	57.00	1221.00
2	May 1971	102.00	3158.00
3	June 1971	68.00	2056.00
4	July 1971	26.00	797.00
5	August 1971	34.00	1055.00
6	September 1971	27.00	804.00
7	October 1971	14.00	425.00
8	November 1971	8.00	217.00
9	Backlog	----	166.00
		----- Total	----- 9,899.00

(Sources : Bangladesh documents, Vol-II,p.82.)

suffocate the town. The local administration was on the verge of collapse, food was scarce and prices had gone up, some roads and streets were almost choked with refugees who had put up, pitiable shelters of palm leaves, grass and cardboard. During the monsoon the road was the only vacant space on which it was possible to camp. Some of the refugees used the roadside big pipe holes to pass their nights. More or less the same situation obtained in almost all the towns of the bordering Indian states. It seemed that President Yahya Khan hoped to kill two birds with one stone by generating refugees. By getting rid of the Awami Leaguers and the Hindus whom Yahya termed 'Secessionists' and who voted massively for Sheikh Mujib, he was aiming to consolidate Pakistan as an Islamic state. At the same time Pakistan hoped to ruin the social and economic fabric of the Eastern part of India which was already in a bad shape by inflicting staggering numbers of refugees on it.³⁶

Subsequently Pakistan was to contest the figures of refugees in India. In the early months they were not maintained that they were no refugees at all but they were only Indian miscreants and East Bengali anti-social elements fleeing from the Pakistan Army's justified security

35. Far Eastern Economic Review, (Hong Kong), 19 June 1971 p.13.

36. Bhuiyan, n.26, p.209.

operations. Once the foreign press began to give detailed accounts of the refugee camps and visitors from abroad testified to their large scale presence, Pakistan changed its line. The new Pakistan propaganda line was that these refugees were invited by India for false propaganda and in any case their number was not as high as India claimed. Towards the end, Pakistan was prepared to admit that there were a million refugees on Indian soil.³⁷

However, since March 25, 1971 the total number of refugees who sought refuge in India were 9899305³⁸

Therefore, according to table - 3.2 the average daily influx of refugees in the month of April was 57.00 persons which followed by 102.00 persons in month of May and it was the highest average daily influx of refugees in India from East Pakistan. Accordingly, in May 3158.00 persons arrived in India as refugees.

37. Cited in International Herald Tribune, President Yahya Khan's interview to Arnaud de Borchgrave of The Bews Week, 1 November 1971 .

38. Bangladesh Documents, vol. II, p.81.

Table - 2.3
Distribution of Refugees in Various States in India

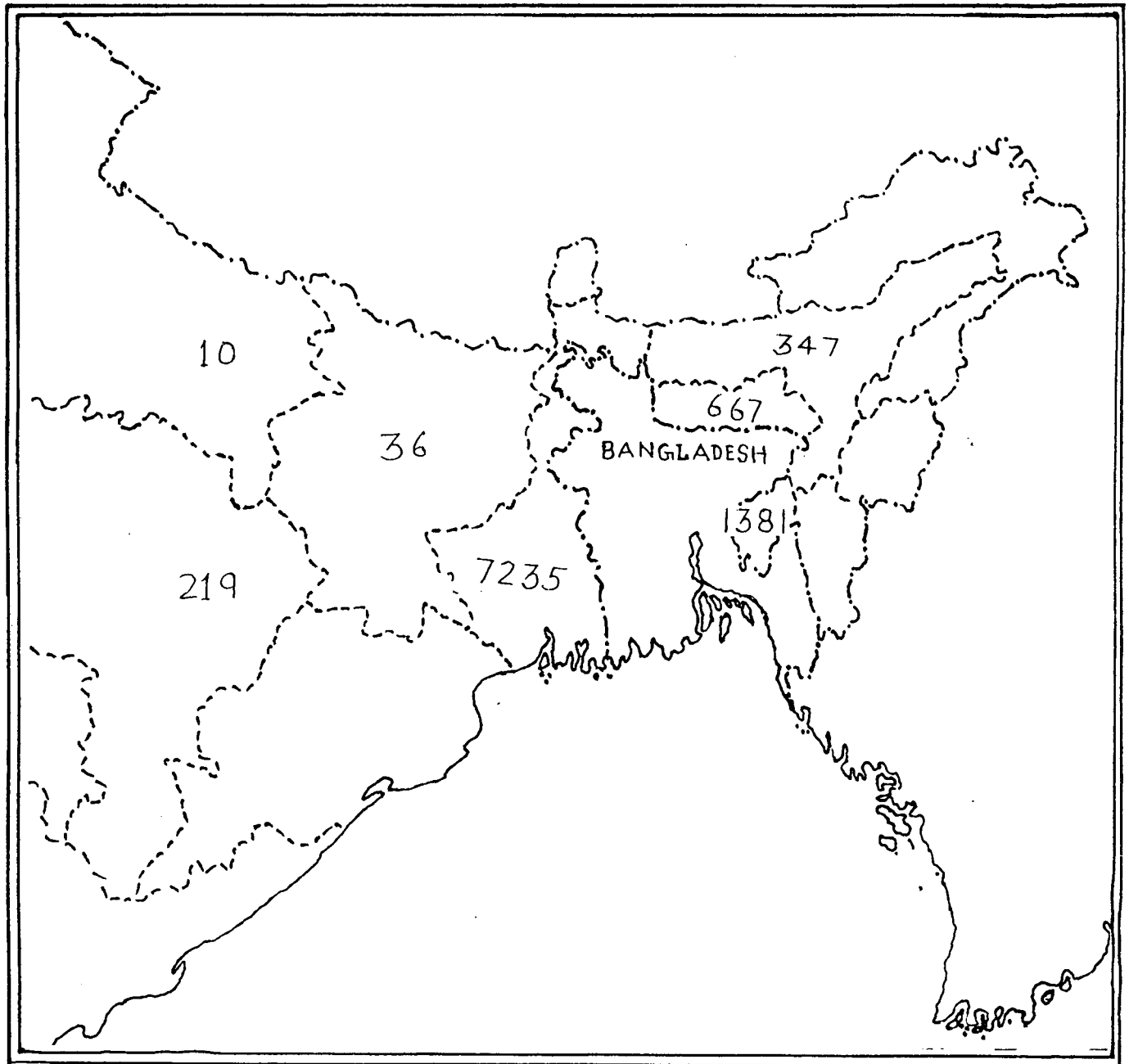
S.NO.	Name of State	Number of camps	Refugees population as on December 15, 1971		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	West Bengal	492	4849786	2386130	7235916
2.	Tripura	276	834098	547551	1381649
3.	Meghalaya	17	591520	76466	667986
4.	Assam	28	255642	91913	34755
5.	Bihar	08	36732	-----	36732
6.	M.P.	03	219298	-----	219298
7.	U.P.	01	10169	-----	10169
Total =		825	6797245	3102060	9899305

Sources : Bangladesh Documents, Vol-II, p.82

The extraordinary rise in the number of refugees called for arrangements like organisation of camps, supply of atleast minimal amounts of food and water. The camps were frequently located adjacent to existing Indian villages. Attempts had been made to set up camps on higher terrain to avoid condition during monsoon season but this was impossible. The diet was barely adequate. The physical appearance of most of the refugees showed the signs of hardship, low calorie intake and inadequate clothing. Almost everyone was suffering from different types of diseases.

DISTRIBUTION OF REFUGEES IN VARIOUS STATES IN INDIA

(Refugee population as on December 1971 in thousands)



Mobile units for mass inoculation programmes and the distribution of a few simple medications were active within some of the camps.

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According to the Pakistan Government

- (a) The people described as refugees were really Indians who had infiltrated into East Bengal and were pushed out by the Pakistan army.
- (b) The number of persons who crossed into India from East Pakistan had been inflated by adding them to the unemployed and the homeless of West Bengal.
- (c) Instead of treating the question of genuine refugees on humanitarian basis a callous campaign had been launched by India to exploit the issue for Political Purposes.

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On 24 May, President Yahya Khan, in a Press conference said that he was prepared to grant amnesty to these refugees who were misled by the 'anti-state elements' and 'miscreants' but he would not grant amnesty to those who rebelled or committed loot, arson or rape.

39. Banladesh Documents, vol. I, pp. 460-462 "Escape from Terror", A report of the Mission to India for Pakistan Refugees, Submitted on 28 July 1971, by its chairman Mr, Angier Biddle Duke to Mr. F.L. Kellogg, special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Refugee Affairs, Government of U.S.A.

40. The akistan Times (Lahore), May 22, 1971.

However, reception camps were set up by the Government of Pakistan on East Wing borders for facilitating the return of the East Pakistani refugees in India. The Pakistani military rulers also reported that about 2000 EBR and EPR men surrendered and a large number of displaced persons came back through the reception camps set up on the borders i.e. through recognized routes. But international observers were sceptical about the claims. Some of these displaced persons were interviewed by the Government and in their interviews they admitted of an Indian plan to disperse them.⁴¹ But the way they were caught up and put before the television gave on the impression that they were brought for the interview and were asked to make statements at gunpoint.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan had dismissed Pakistani allegation that India was obstructing the return of refugees. To remove fear of future repression, Pakistan must take necessary measures including working out a political settlement to the problem in East Pakistan. A West German parliamentarian who talked to refugees on their plans to return, once revealed that no one was willing to go back unless they were satisfied with the situation there.⁴² Most of the refugees were muslims

41. *ibid.*, 11 June 1971.

42. *The Times of India* (New Delhi), 5 July 1971 (Excerpt from the Statment made by Dr. Prinz zu Sain - Wingestein, West German, M.P.)

fleeing from a country they had been taught to regard as their own religious state. With refugees streaming across the border, it is India which was most affected by the disturbances in Pakistan. Her resources were already strained.⁴³ So humanitarian appeals were made for assistance in cash or kind. A Bangla newspaper expressed "tremendous admiration" for the Indian relief effort in spite of the resource crunch. But clearly this was not a situation that should concern India alone. While providing relief, India made it plain that it is socially and economically impossible for the refugees to stay in India indefinitely.

RELIEF EFFORTS BY INDIA

Several measures of assistance were taken immediately by the Indian authorities at local and State levels and also at the Central Government level under the Department of Rehabilitation supported by other operational⁴⁴ ministries and by the Indian Red Cross Societies (IRS).

The initial efforts were made in haste and were improvised. At checkpoints established at the main points of

43. The SUN (U.K.), 26 April 1971. cited in Bangladesh Documents, vol. I, p.495.

44. Holborn, Louise W., Refugees : A Problem of Our Time ; The Work of the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees , 1951 - 1972 (New Jersey, N.J., 1975), p.755.

entry , arrangements were made to register the refugees and some food and immediate medical attention were provided so that the refugees might continue their journey inland. Refugees were temporarily housed in schools, colleges, government buildings and other vacant compounds. Food was issued from reserve 'buffer stocks' intended to meet famine and scarcity conditions which often occurred in certain pockets of the country but this supply served to meet only the immediate demands.

However, the problem in June 1971 reached such dimensions that a Central Coordination Committee for Refugee Relief (CCC) was set up within the Rehabilitation Department of the Central Ministry of Labour and charged with the task of establishing camps and of coordinating the relief
45
Programmes.

In less than nine months 825 refugee camps were
46
set up. By the end of the emergency acomodations in camps had been provided for 6.8 million refugees. The remaining refugees (approximately 3 million) were registered by the organization and provided with rations and medical assistance from the camps but found shelter with friends or relatives.

45. *ibid.*, p.756.

46. Bangladesh Documents, vol. II, p.81.

A great number of Indian voluntary agencies played a valuable role in helping the refugees. The Indian Government allocated 600 million rupees (US 80 million) for aid to the refugees within the budget presented on 28⁴⁷ May. Three hundred million were earmarked for grants-in-aid to the states affected by the influx and the other half for the administration of federal camps. The Government of India insisted, however that the problem was not of its making but the result of developments which had taken place in another country. While India due to its geographical situation and owing to human solidarity was assisting refugees, it was also a responsibility of the international community to provide the urgently needed resources. Under the circumstances India requested aid from United Nations. On 6th May United Nation was assured to take over financial responsibilities for the provision of relief to East Pakistan refugees. Thus the stage was set for the humanitarian relief by the United Nations.

47. Government of India, Ministry of Finance Budget for 1971 - 72 Report vol.II, pp. 5 - 6.

CHAPTER - III

RELIEF ASSISTANCE BY THE UNITED NATIONS

III

In accordance with the request of the Indian Government on 23rd April 1971, the UN Secretary - General¹ initiated the United Nations humanitarian effort. Sadruddin Agha Khan, the then High Commissioner for Refugees, from the outset was deeply preoccupied with the situation. He realized that "his office might be asked to lend its assistance in mobilizing international help. But for him to act it was essential that the Government of India took the initiative and made a formal request. UNHCR is not automatically involved when there is a refugee movement somewhere in the World".² Normally it would inform itself of a situation when circumstances indicate that the refugee might come within UNHCR's mandate. If refugees are people moving from one part of their country to another they probably do not concern UNHCR, but if they cross a border they are likely to be. If problems of protection are involved and the host country is party to any of the international agreements concerning the status of refugees, the office is almost immediately in touch with the authorities. If the host country is not party to any agreement, the office offers first of all its services and

1. The General Assembly Official Record (GAOR), Session 26, addendum to the report of the UNHCR, p.4.
2. UNHCR Report, " A Story of anguish and action: The UN Focal Point for assistance to refugees from East Bengal in India," (New York, 1972), p.6.

seeks through diplomatic contacts to assist both governments and refugees in finding solutions.

In the protection sphere, therefore, it is more often than not the High Commissioner who takes the initiative. The situation is different where it concerns material assistance. It is the responsibility of governments, even of those who are parties to international agreements, to decide whether they wish to obtain UNHCR international material assistance. In several cases in the past, countries decided to take care of the displaced persons themselves, sometimes allowing voluntary agencies to operate on their territory, sometimes not. In these circumstances, UNHCR has to confine itself to its protection functions to the extent they are needed, but it cannot and does not force any country to accept material assistance.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNHCR AS FOCAL POINT

However, in response to the Indian Government's request for assistance from the whole United Nations system, the Secretary General consulted with the members of the Administrative Committee for Coordination (ACC) which is an executive body of specialised agencies of the United Nations. After consultation he decided the High Commissioner should act as a 'focal point' for the coordination of assistance from the United Nations to Refugees from East Pakistan in India.

The varied and colossal nature of immediate relief measures - be it food, shelter or medical care was such that it was far beyond the financial or technical means of High Commissioner for Refugees alone. Thus, without any deliberations either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council, rather, according to the request of the Secretary General, UNHCR was assigned the job of co-ordinator, of planner, of fund-raiser and of Liaison channel³ with governments and non-governmental organizations.

The UN Secretary-General made an appeal to world community on 19th May for assistance. He called "on behalf of the entire United Nations family, to governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations as well as private sources, to help meet the urgent needs of humanitarian assistance in this tragic situation."⁴ It was observed that a problem of such magnitude required a concerted and coordinated effort of all members of the United Nations system.

In providing this, the United Nations played a vital and major part. Apart from UNHCR the other agencies which were involved, were - the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the

3. GAOR, n.1, p.4.

4. GAOR, Session 27, Supplement 1, A-8701, Report of the Secretary General on the work of the organisation (16 June 1971 -- 15 June 1972) p.74.

World Food Programme(WFP) and agreed to coordinate fund-raising and assistance activities related to the relief action with the High Commissioner at the international level and entrust the High Commissioner with Liaison both with the Government of India and with the governments which contributed to the relief effort in cash and kind. At the request of the Indian Government the operations in India were carried out and coordinated by the Indian authorities.

By that time, the increasingly large numbers of refugees were already imposing great sacrifices on India. Immediately after assuming these additional functions, the High Commissioner sent to India a team of three senior staff members headed by the Deputy High Commissioner to investigate and assess the situation.⁵ In order to get huge help which was needed, it was pertinent to establish a detailed list of requirements and to organize the coordination of the international action on a firm basis.

An analysis of the situation and the views of the Indian and Pakistan Governments made it clear that the United Nations action was to concentrate on two matters, previously defined - urgent relief measures for refugees in India and promotion of voluntary repatriation. However, repatriation was possible only if the original cause that led to the refugee flow was eliminated.⁶

5. UNHCR, n.2, p.32.

6. Leon Gordenker, Refugee in International Politics, (London, 1987), p.127.

The findings of that mission were shared with governments through their permanent representatives to the United Nations and through representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or through the Residential Representatives of the United Nations Development Programme in the various capitals.

However, the need to help India in its efforts to provide humanitarian aid to the vast masses of refugees placed the United Nations system before a tremendous responsibility. It had quickly to harness the world's resources to bring supplies of all kinds to these areas of suffering in the shortest possible time. The challenging task of coordinating this work was given to the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.⁷

Thus, the overall coordination of the relief programme was to operate at UNHCR Headquarters and at the field level. A Focal Point unit was set up in UNHCR headquarters in Geneva and its task was to carry out the administrative functions of recording and transmitting contributions and collating information. It was meeting almost everyday. Besides, there was a Standing Interagency Consultation Unit (SICU) through which coordination with the other United Nations agencies was insured.

Each agency had its own specific responsibilities.

7. UNHCR Report, n.2, p.6.

World Food Programme advised on the availability of various food commodities and arranged for purchase and shipping. The United Nations Children's Fund was caring for children and women and acted as the purchasing agent for commodities such as shelter material, vehicles and baby food and arranged shipment. World Health Organisation, in addition to advising on health matters, purchased and shipped vaccine and medical equipment in cooperation with UNICEF and League of Red Cross Societies. LRCS was working in support of the work of the Indian Red Cross and ofcourse, many of the voluntary agencies who although acting on their own were regularly in touch with Focal Point so as to obtain the greatest degree of effectiveness in bringing the right kind of help to refugees.

The United Nations High Commissioner maintained Liaison with the governments in obtaining contributions in cash and kind. It apportioned contributions received on the basis of a statement of needs and related information provided by the Indian Government to UNHCR officials in New Delhi. By holding press conferences in Geneva, New York, London and Paris the High Commissioner enlisted the essential support of the mass media on the refugee question.

8. *ibid.*, p.3.

9. The High Commissioner after returning from India and Pakistan on 19 June, held Press conferences in New York on 23 June, in Geneva on 25 June, in London on 30 June and in Paris in 2 July, 1971.

FIELD OPERATIONS : Structures and Functions

Apart from the UNHCR's headquarters, a Focal Point mission was set up in New Delhi at the field level. Therefore within a brief time the mechanism of the assistance channel was laid with Central Coordinating Committee (CCC) in New Delhi as the coordinating source of information and action in India, directly linking the Ministry of Rehabilitation to the relief operations headquarters in Calcutta; with standing Interagency Consultation Unit (SICU) in Geneva as the Platform where information from India, from donors, and of the activities by UN agencies was exchanged ; and with the UNHCR as the fund-raising and decision taking body.

The High Commissioner described the threefold functioning of coordinating mechanism that had been set up at the Focal Point as being

- (a) to mobilize and secure international support and contributions;
- (b) to arrange for the procurement of supplies in a coordinated manner and to deliver the supply to India ;
- (c) to maintain close Liaison with Indian Government.

10. Excerpt from the statement of Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, UN High Commissioner for Refugees at the meeting of the Executive Committee of UNHCR held in Geneva, Oct. 4 1971. As cited in Bangladesh Documents, vol-2 pp.89-90.

Parallel with the establishment of the Focal Point operations a UN relief programme was initiated on behalf of the civilian population in East Pakistan. But Pakistan's permanent representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Agha Shahi protested that the position taken by the Secretary-General was a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter which Prohibits United Nations intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. The situation was in any case, he said returning to normal, despite the fact that India had given proof by deeds of its intention of undermining the national solidarity and territorial integrity of Pakistan.

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11. Pakistan Horizon, vol 24 no.2, p.117.

Despite the rebuff, the Secretary General continued his efforts and on 22 April wrote to President Yahya Khan offering humanitarian assistance on behalf of the United Nations system. The Pakistan Government endorsed the resumption of the United Nations relief operation for the civilian population of East Bengal.¹²

The United Nations East Pakistan operation was set up in Dacca as a programme separate from that of the Focal point in India. The Secretary-General made clear that the two operations were distinct, but were related to the extent that as conditions improved a greater possibility of arresting and reversing the flow of refugees would occur. On 15 July the Secretary General issued a comprehensive United Nations review of the relief needs of East Pakistan, indicating that \$ 28.2 million would be required to meet the initial needs.¹³

The refugee problem was linked to the political and military situation, and in executing the massive humanitarian relief programme and seeking a permanent solution through voluntary repatriation the High Commissioner had to steer a narrow course in the international arena. The High Commissioner was criticised

12. United Nations Press release SG/SM/1474 12 May 1971.

13. Thomas W. Oliver, The United Nations in Bangladesh (New Jersey, 1978), p.44.

by the segments of the world press. His office as the spearhead of the international community, was accused alternately of not acting quickly enough to bring relief to millions of destitute and homeless persons and of acting precipitously and thus interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

The High Commissioner in his efforts of relief operation followed up on the initiative of the Secretary-General, who acted without any supporting resolution by the deliberative organs of the United Nations to establish the Focal Point programme. The Secretary-General justified his independent actions on the manifestly humanitarian principles of the United Nations system. He stated that an initiative on his part was essential to fill the gap until more regular arrangements can be made and that the Secretary-General's obligations under the Charter must include any humanitarian action that he could take to save the lives of large numbers of human beings. His initiative was supported by Administrative Coordination Committee, including the Executive Heads of the United Nations agencies and programmes at its meeting in Bern on 26 April 1971.¹⁴ The High Commissioner forcefully reiterated the Secretary - General's concern that a strict neutrality was implicit in the humanitarian relief action to be implemented under the Focal Point operation.

14. GAOR, no.4, p.69.

The humanitarian concern was first voiced in the Social Committee of the Economic and Social Council (ESOSOC) by Ambassador Samer Sen, permanent representative of India to the United Nations on 12 May 1971.¹⁵ He stressed that the proportions and the suffering of these people had been so enormous that it could not but be a matter of international concern. Again he reiterated before the Economic and Social Council the urgent need of international action and placed detailed suggestions as to how the international community might deal with the matter.

However the step taken by the Secretary-General and the acute refugees problem in Indian Subcontinent was considered by the ESOSOC at its meeting on 16 July 1971.¹⁶ Moreover, the chairman of the Economic and Social Council expressed the unanimous feeling of the delegates which was of profound concern and sincere support for the Focal Point operations.

ROLE OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

At the initial stage of refugee influx, some of the international voluntary organizations took charge. The local coordination of their work was secured through regular meetings, especially in Calcutta. In the early days of the influx from East Pakistan, the voluntary agencies used their

15. India, Bangladesh Documents, Vol.2, p.102.

16. ECOSOC, (L1) October 1971, p.9.

very limited resources in doing whatever they could
17
until more help arrived.

In the case of the contributions of the various national and Red Cross Societies, League of Red Cross Societies carried out the coordination and assisted in this way the international committee on the Red Cross. Outside this channel, there were a host of voluntary agencies prepared and willing to help, some of them with chapters in many countries, such as Caritas, the World Council of Churches; the Christian Agency for Social Action (CASA), the Lutheran World Federation, Cooch Behar Refugee Service (CBRS), OXFAM Britain, CARE in the United States, Austcare in Australia, CORSO in New Zealand or Radda Barnen
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in Sweden, too many to mention them all.

Not all voluntary organisations were operational, some helped the relief programmes through contributions in cash and kind, either to Indian or to international organizations already working in India. The offers received from these voluntary agencies up to 24 February 1972 were;

17. "Crisis in South Asia ", A report by Senator Edward M. Kennedy to the sub committee to investigate problems connected with refugees and escapees of the committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, 1 November 1971, (Washington, 1971), pp. 41-42.

18. UNHCR Report, n.2, p.15.

through the United Nations Focal Point \$ 5,451,140 and directly from voluntary agencies \$19,979,623.¹⁹ Many of these organizations launched appeals through radio, press and television. They organized several powerful fund-raising appeals in many countries.

OPERATION OF RELIEF PROGRAMME

Apart from the constant need of the refugees, some sudden incident had made the problem acute. For example once cholera broke out among the refugee population and a massive vaccine had to be immediately mobilized and administered. Then the monsoon rain created problem and thousands of temporary shelters i.e. camps were required. To assess the continually shifting requirements of the refugees both qualitatively and quantitatively, three factors were observed by the Indian government; the size of refugee caseload, the expected duration of their stay in India and the norms to be applied in providing relief. The lists were prepared by the Indian Government regarding the requirements of the refugees. These lists were the basis for the appeals for international contributions launched by the Secretary-General and that followed up by the High Commissioner in his capacity as the United Nations Focal

19. Bangladesh Documents, n.16, p.86.

Point. The first list totalling \$175 million was presented in May 1971. This was based on a caseload of three million refugees only. The second list was submitted on 26 June, totalling \$400 million for six million refugees and the third was presented on 1 October which totalling \$558 million for eight million refugees.²⁰

However, the costs of the assistance programme fell into two categories.

- i) Recurrent costs i.e. food and medical assistance and
- ii) Non - recurrent costs i.e. shelter transportation, sanitation facilities and others.

Eventually the total direct cost of the relief programme amounted to about \$440 million, of which international contributions transferred to the Indian Government covered more than one half. The deficit was borne by India. Contributions in cash and kind, from foreign countries were made mainly by governments, but also by the United Nations agencies (from their own emergency resources) and also by the non-governmental voluntary organisations. Seventy three countries donated through the United Nations Focal Point a sum of \$192,935,136 and directly to the Government of India

20. UN Monthly Chronicle, vol. VIII, No.(8), (August-September 1971), pp.57-59.

totalling \$41,778,283. Among these countries Burma donated 500 tons of rice; Poland donated 100 litres of cholera vaccines and antibiotics; and blankets, medicine, baby food were donated by Turkey²¹. However, sixty four countries donated \$183.2 million in cash and kind through the United Nations system. The U.S. Senator Kennedy introduced the bill for Refugee relief on 23 September 1971, to authorize appropriations for the relief of Pakistani refugees in India. According to him, "the story of East Pakistan will surely be written as one of the greatest nightmares of modern times. The situation as, I saw it for myself defies description and each day the misery grows". However, the United States gave over \$82 million in cash and kind.²²

The other prominent donator countries were the United Kingdom which donated a sum of \$26 million and the Federal Republic of Germany while donated \$17.6 million. Besides these, in all each of eleven countries gave over \$1 million. Bilateral arrangements were also made by a number of countries and inter governmental organizations. For example the USSR provided 50,000 tons of rice and 1,000000 units of small pox

21. Bangladesh Documents, Vol.2, pp 82-84.

22. " Relief Problems in East Pakistan and India" Part II, Hearing before the sub committee to Investigative problems connected with Refugees and Escapees of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, 92nd Congress Ist session, september 30, 1971 (Washington, 1971), p.309.

vaccine; and Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada, Sweden, Norway the UK and U.S.A directly or through support given to voluntary agencies rushed cash, food, shelter and medicaments to the subcontinent.²³ The offers received from the United Nations Agencies was \$4,352,280 out of that amount the WHO gave \$3,097,280; UNHCR \$ 500,000; UNICEF \$600,000 and WHO \$155,000.²⁴

(a) Food

World Food Programme acted as a food advisor to Focal Point and handled almost all food secured through the United Nations system. The staff of this agency worked closely with the Indian Government from the middle of April 1971 with the Central Coordination Committee. They were frequently consulted on all matters concerning food supplies, logistics, the phasing of food shipments, the composition of the daily per capita ration, etc. The WFP from its reserves released several thousands tons of butter oil and milk powder at an estimated value of over one million dollars.²⁵

(b) Shelter

As far as shelter was concerned the Indian Government instructed that all accomodation for the refugees

23. Bangladesh Documents, Vol.2, pp.83-85.

24. ibid., p.86.

25. UNHCR Report: n.2, p.15.

was to be of a short-term nature and that costs of constructions should be kept to a minimum by the use of inexpensive locally available materials, because it was thought that the refugees would have to return to their country within six months. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) entrusted with selection and procurement of material placed orders for suitable plastic sheeting. However sudden heavy monsoon rains in West Bengal and in other states too, which started before the usual time added to the problem. Although the main emergency was met, the need for shelter continued to be priority problem because of the continuous flow of refugees. UNICEF made an immediate appropriation of \$300,000 for the supply of relief goods, including medicines and jeeps, and paid for an airlift of badly-needed relief goods.²⁶

(c) Health

The overcrowded refugees were suffering from severe health problems due to lack of safe drinking water and unsanitary conditions which resulted many diseases i.e. cholera, diptheria, smallpox, gastro-entiritis and skin diseases. The World Health Organisation provided immediate help by sending drugs, medical supplies and equipments etc. About 21 million doses of anti-cholera vaccine were provided through the United Nations system. The high incidence of severe protein-calorie malnutrition was

26. *ibid.*

observed among children by the UNICEF. As a result Nutritional Therapy Centres were established for children under five years who had signs of moderate and severe malnutrition.
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PROBLEM OF TRANSPORTATION

In order to perform these duties, the assisting agencies and authorities were facing the problem of transportation. The things which were carried included shelter materials, food grains, medicine, jeeps, blankets, cloth and utensils. Airlifts minimised because of high cost. However, the Indian Government carried supplies like anti-cholera drugs and milk powder from Europe and then from Bombay and Delhi to Calcutta by Indian Airlines. Even the railway transport was also problematic. The lines of North Eastern region were meter-gauged track. Railway transports from Bombay to the North-East involved shifting the cargo to meter gauge trains. Besides the main line from Calcutta to North Bengal and Assam crosses the Ganges River at Farraka where bridge was not completed and passengers and goods were Ferrying across by boats. During the monsoon floods, this ferry facilities had to be suspended for three

27. Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan's Statement in the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly
18 November, 1971 (Bangladesh Documents, Vol-2, pp.97-100).

months. However, due to these difficulties involved in air and rail transportation, the most dependable transport was by road. Therefore, the total cost for vehicles and transportation provided to the Indian Government through the United Nations system was valued at \$10,105,272 for which 1885 vehicles were provided.²⁸

EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT BANGLADESH

The High Commissioner made a second journey to India and Pakistan in the beginning of November. The two humanitarian programmes on the Asian subcontinent were considered on 18-22 November by the Third Committee of the General Assembly in connection with the reports of the High Commissioner and of the Assistant Secretary-General who was in charge of the United Nations East-Pakistan Refugee Operation (UNEPRO). After two days of debate, the third committee presented a draft resolution strongly supporting the efforts of the High Commissioner.

Due to deteriorating situation and possibility of armed clashes between India and Pakistan, nine countries including the United Kingdom and United States requested the Security Council for an immediate meeting. Accordingly on 4 December the Security Council met and a six-power draft resolution was introduced by the representative of Somalia (sponsored by Argentina, Burundi,

3. *ibid.*

Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone). It was adopted by a vote of 11 to none with 4 abstentions. Through this resolution the security council transferred the question to the General Assembly as provided for in General Assembly Resolution 377 A (V) of 3 November 1950.²⁹

The General Assembly, on 6th December reviewed the resolution drafted by the Third Committee and passed it unanimously as 2790 (XXVI). It was about the United Nations assistance to East Pakistan refugees through Focal Point and the United Nations humanitarian assistance to East Pakistan. It recognized that voluntary repatriation would be the only satisfactory solution to the refugee problem and endorsed the designation of the High Commissioner to be the Focal Point for coordination of assistance to East Pakistan refugees in India. It further endorsed the Secretary-General and the High-Commissioner to continue their efforts and appealed to the international community to intensify their assistance efforts.³⁰

However, the war between India and Pakistan broke out on 6 December 1971. The General Assembly considered the outbreak of hostilities at two meetings held on 7 December.

29. GAOR, n. 4, pp. 71-73.

30 *ibid.*

However, the General Assembly adopted a 34 power draft resolution introduced by Argentina by a vote of 104 to 11 with 10 absentations, as resolution 2793(XXVI)³¹ This resolution recognized the need to take measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own sides of the borders. It urged intensification of efforts to bring about the condition necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes and called for the full cooperation of all states in rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of the refugees. The Secretary-General was "informed by the Pakistan authority on 9th of December regarding the acceptance of cease-fire and withdrawal of troops. On the other hand the Prime Minister of India informed the Security Council on 16 December that the Pakistan armed forces had surrendered in East Pakistan and India had recognized the independent state of Bangladesh". Meanwhile, the security council of the United Nations met on December 21, 1971 and passed a six-power draft resolution(sponsored by Argentina, Burundi, Japan, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone) by 13 votes to none, with 2 absentations as resolution 307(1971)³². In this resolution while formulising ceasefire arrangement the Security Council called for international assistance in the

31 ibid.

32 ibid, pp-74-75.

relief of suffering and the rehabilitation of refugees and their return in safety and dignity to their homes, and for full cooperation with the Secretary-General to that effect.

COMMENCEMENT AND COMPLETION OF REPATRIATION

If forced migrants would voluntarily choose to return to their countries of origin the immediate difficulties caused them and their hosts would come to an end. The refugees would presumably be able to go back to their old homes, take up their lives in a society to which they were accustomed, avoid the pains of adjustment that all aliens encounter and incur the least possible expense for public authorities and other social groups. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee and other agencies that deal with refugees almost always specify repatriation as the best outcome of a refugee situation. Voluntary repatriation of some, and often sizeable fractions of refugee groups sometimes takes place immediately after the original cause has been eliminated.³³

The Secretary-General's decision in accordance with the mandate given to him by the General Assembly in resolution

2790(XXVI) and the Security Council in resolution

33. Gordenker, n.6, pp. 126-127.

307(1971), to continue to furnish humanitarian assistance to the area, enabled the organization to act as the catalyst and coordinator needed to mobilize and deliver assistance. However, the United Nations Relief operation in Dacca was established as the successor of the UNEPRO ³⁴.

Accordingly, after cease-fire between India and Pakistan, Mr. Paul-Marc Henry the head of the United Nations East Pakistan Refugee Operation, resumed the United Nations humanitarian relief operation under a new name, UNROD, and to coordinate UNHCR aid in the massive movement of refugees back to their homeland ³⁵.

The return home had started already during the fighting was going on. Refugee whose homes were in the bordering areas started the trekback without waiting for any organized transport. Some went on foot, others on bicycles or pulling rickshaws carrying aged parents and young children, with some reserve food and a few meagre belongings. They followed the tracks and roads leading to their districts in an impatient rush to their home-steads.

Soon after the surrender of Pakistani troops on December 16,1971 the Indian government in cooperation with the authorities in Dacca, re-established the five major

34. Documents S/10466,21 December 1971.

35. Oliver, n.13,pp-98-99.

railway lines that had linked India with East Bengal before the creation of Pakistan, each of these lines has since been used to move two trainloads of refugees to Bangladesh every day.³⁶ Those of the refugees who were not transported by the government were given journey allowances. For the majority however, transportation had to be provided. Special trains for those living in outlying central camps in North East were run 3500 trucks and 30 launches, steamers and barges were used in January for the evacuation of refugees from South Bengal and Assam.³⁷

The Government of India and Focal Point agreed on certain arrangements concerning the transfer of relief materials across the border in conjunction with the return flow of refugees, contributing to the humanitarian relief and rehabilitation efforts of the United Nations relief operation in the Dacca area. Thus 10 days to two weeks food rations were to be given to the refugees for their journey home. This distribution was expected to amount to 26,000 tons of rice and 9,000 tons of wheat when the repatriation process had been completed.³⁸ Moreover, the

36. Marcus Franda, Bangladesh : The First Decade (New Delhi, 1982), p.115.

37. ibid., pp. 116-117.

38. United Nations, GA(XXVII) SC,A/8662, S/10539, 15 February 1972, p.2.

Indian Red Cross, at the request of the Government of India, transferred more than 7000 metric tons of milk powder, high protein food mixes and sugar to the Red Cross authorities across the border. Since the beginning of the activities of focal point, 3.5 million blankets and \$10 million worth of shelter material had been provided to the refugees in India from the United Nations resources and of these a substantial part was taken by the returning refugees across the border. Similarly, 8700 sets of utensils were moved by truck from Calcutta across the border on 11 February and this movement continued at the rate of 10 truck-loads a day until 60400 sets have been delivered.³⁹

The Focal Point was continuing its representation in Dacca in order to ensure liaison with the United Nations relief operations in that area, more specifically with respect to the movement and integration of displaced persons returning from India.

On 20 January 1972 the Indian Government in an aide-memoire to the UNHCR, stressed that although international assistance had so far contributed in no small measure it did not reach one half of the total estimated expenditure for relief in India alone and stated that a further expenditure estimated at \$80 to \$100 million was required for the repatriation phase.⁴⁰ By the end of May

39 ibid.

40. UN, Monthly Chronicle January 1972, IX(1), p.89 and 170.

1972 contributions pledged to the Focal Point toward repatriation amounted to \$14 million, \$6.3 million of which was transferred to the Government of Bangladesh for aid in financing relief and rehabilitation of the returnees.⁴¹

On the departure from the camps in India, the refugees were given basic materials for few days and in certain cases partly in cash. The refugee were, at the same time, requested to surrender their ration cards, border slips and registration cards which were given in India. In return they received a 'refugee return card' on the ground of which they were admitted into Bangladesh as returning refugees and were entitled to further help there.⁴²

At last, on 25 March 1972 the organized return movement of the East Pakistan refugees was completed. An additional 60,000 refugees who were staying with relatives were expected to return on their own.⁴³

The task of the Focal Points had come to an end, except for the administrative winding up of the operations. The High Commissioner marked the end of his responsibilities as Focal Point by making a personal visit to the returnees, to the United Nations Relief Operation in Dacca (UNROD) and the Indian Government and the United Nations representatives in New Delhi and finally to the new leaders of Pakistan.

41. UNHCR Report, n.2, p.79.

42. *ibid*, p.80.

43. *ibid*.

CHAPTER IV

C O N C L U S I O N

This dissertation has endeavoured to examine the United Nations Relief Operations for East Pakistani refugees in India during 1971 and 1972. It was among the most ambitious and grand efforts ever undertaken by the World organization to help refugees. The fundamental purpose of the relief operation was to mobilize and harmonize the efforts of governments, the international voluntary organizations and the organizations and programmes of the United Nations system to assist East-Pakistani refugees in India. This objective was achieved.

The accomplishment was organically linked to the historical development of international humanitarian relief activities. As a successor to the heritage of the League in so far as especially economic and social cooperation was concerned, the United Nations from the very beginning recognised that the task of looking after for refugees was a matter of international concern and accordingly the community of states should assume collective responsibility for those fleeing persecution. This realisation resulted initially in the inception in 1946 of the International Refugee Organization by the General Assembly. The IRO was a specialized agency of the United Nations whose primary objective was to seek solutions to the problems of wartime refugees and displaced persons still in camps. The IRO was succeeded by, the office of the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) which was set up in January 1951, with its headquarters at Geneva. The office of UNHCR has evolved in institutional concentration of expertise and experience in the field of refugee relief.

The partition of India and establishment of an independent state of Pakistan in 1947, the socio-economic and political disparities between two geographically separated wings of Pakistan came to the fore. The dominance of West Pakistan over East Pakistan was, institutionalised in various sectors of public sphere. Although, East Pakistanis were in a majority but they never allowed due share in power. Similarly, the government declared Urdu as national language which was not acceptable for Bengali-speaking East Pakistanis. Economically too, the East Pakistanis were deprived by West Pakistani people. In the economic sphere also, an intolerable structure of injustice was established. It was a reminiscence of the traditional relationship between an imperial power and a colony. Under these circumstances the people of East Pakistan under the leadership Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who was President of Awami League, raised the demand for autonomy. However, unable to thwart overwhelming electoral support to the Awami League and unwilling to transfer power to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman as per the December 1971 election results, the Pakistan ruling establishment of President Yahya Khan resorted to strong arm

measures and ordered ruthless suppression of the East Pakistanis in march 1971. A large number of innocent people, particularly students were killed, women were raped. However, inspite of world media exposure of the army's brutality, the Yahya Khan's regime denied any mass sufferings. Also Pakistan alleged that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party-Awami League, were enemies of Pakistan and they wanted East Pakistan to break away completely from the country.

As a result of peristence atrocities and brutal genocice by West Pakistan army, the people of East Pakistan started crossing into the neighbouring India in order to seek shelter and refuge. The first wave of refugees from Bangladesh were the leading cadres of Awami League and the members of East Bengal Regiment (EBR) and East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) who were followed by the general people.

This huge influx of the refugees from one country to another had no parallel and had put great strain on the economic development of India. However, the Government of India as a special case allowed the entry of refugees from East Bengal to India on purely humanitarian considerations. However, since March 25, 1971 to December 15, 1971 the total number of refugees who sought refuge in India were 9,899,305. International media exposed the detiriorating situation in the Indian sub-continent as well as the worse conditions of refugees. Media also mobilized the international community on the need for humanitarian

assistance to these refugees.

Whatever measures of relief were needed and possible were taken by the Indian Government at various levels. In June 71, the problem reached such dimensions that a Central Coordination Committee for Refugee Relief (CCC) was established with a mandate to establish camps and of coordinating the relief programmes.

Simultaneously shouldering the burden of providing relief to ten million refugees meant a serious strain to India. Therefore, on 23 April 1971 by the Indian Government an appeal was addressed to the Secretary General of the Nations for international assistance. Efforts to relieve the sufferings of the refugees in that area began in May 1971 and continued through a period of war between India and Pakistan into the very difficult initial periods of the newly independent sovereign state of Bangladesh.

The position of the United Nations was delicate. There were the baffling, political aspects of the problems. Passions ran high and the Organization saw itself exposed to irate criticism on the part of a large section of the mass media. As for the relief action both the Secretary General and the High Commissioner who had been given

specific responsibilities as "Focal Point" for assistance by and through the United Nations system realized the

importance of maintaining a strict attitude of humanitarian neutrality. Only by doing this could they ensure that the multilateral channel would enjoy the widest possible support of the parties concerned and of the international community as a whole.

It is significant that both India and Pakistan, in spite of the crisis, recognized the validity of this approach. They extended their full cooperation, in their own jurisdiction, to those in the United Nations engaged in this life-saving undertaking, even if on certain aspects they held strongly differing opinions. These did not hamper the relief operation since those subjects on which no agreement could be reached related to matters other than material help.

The role of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was at the request of the Secretary-General who was assigned the task of planner and coordinator with Governments and Non-governmental agencies, the UNICEF, the WHO and the WFP were associated with the efforts of the Focal Point.

What is remarkable on part of the United Nations is the swiftness with which the Organization could respond and mobilise its expertise and meagre finances. There has been in the past a great deal of criticism regarding the way in which world body had sought to solve problems of peace and security in various parts of the world and even of some of

the activities of the United Nations System in the social and economic field. But in this human crisis of unprecedented proportions, the organization proved that it had in its structure and in the quality of its officers the unquestionable ability to mobilize resources bring these to the points where they needed coordination between host and donor Governments.

The response of many governments and voluntary agencies was generous and the effectiveness of the assistance provided was enhanced by a coordinating mechanism at United Nations headquarters and in India itself, which was able to call for the kind of contributions needed to channel them in the right direction and to work closely with the local authorities in the use of the assistance received. The Indian Red Cross supported by the League of Red Cross Societies, chartered many planes to fly medicines and offer relief supplies from Calcutta to northern part of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura.

During the ten months of the emergency and by the end of the operations the volume of relief channel through the the United Nations Focal Point was to the tune of US \$183 million both in cash and kind. Besides, bilateral governmental aid on its part represented some \$60 million, while direct non-governmental support has been estimated at \$ 46 million.

The assistance in material forms, meant provision

of several tonnes of butter oil and milk powder from reserves of the WFP and supply of 21 million doses of anti-cholera vaccine by the WHO. The UNICEF also provided medicines and means of transportation for example - jeeps and trucks through that, materials were transported and supplied for refugees. The other assistance materials including temporary shelter items, for example, food grains, blankets, clothes, medicines, utensils and plastic sheets were provided. At the moment of repatriation, necessary stocks of food and even, cash were made available for them so they could have started their livelihood.

As a matter of the long term international impact of the experience, the designation of the UNHCR as the Focal Point became the useful precedent for some of the recent UN refugee relief enterprises like in Cambodia (1979-93).

On the one hand cynics may point out that the United Nations failed to condemn the hideous action of the Pakistani army or to take any positive step to check it. On the other hand it may equally forcefully be argued that, a condemnation was inimical to the 'humanitarian mission' - the most fundamental responsibility of any civilised community towards fellow human beings in the hour of the need.

**RELIEF AID FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES UP TO
FEBRUARY 24, 1972**

1. OFFERS RECEIVED FROM FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

Serial number.	Name of the Foreign Government	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars.		Total.
		Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct to the Government of India.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Australia	3,935,072	1,220,000	5,155,072
2	Argentina	240,000	...	240,000
3	Austria	164,790	...	164,790
4	Barbados	2,500	...	2,500
5	Belgium	1,126,078	...	1,126,078
6	Burma	...	...	...
7	Botswana	7,000	...	7,000
8	Brazil	9,250	...	9,250
9	Canada	16,651,000 (cash and kind) 762,376 (in cash) 2,846,931 (in kind)	...	20,260,307
10	Ceylon	336,134	...	336,134
11	Chile	3,000	...	3,000
12	Czechoslovakia	...	66,667	66,667
13	Cyprus	11,999	...	11,999
14	Denmark	2,650,293	...	2,650,293
15	Dahomey	126	...	126
16	E. E. C.	...	8,600,000	8,600,000
17	Finland	477,783	...	477,783
18	Federal Republic of Germany	19,771,298	...	19,771,298
19	Fiji	5,000	...	5,000
20	France	2,908,115	...	2,908,115
21	German Democratic Republic	...	1,695,500	1,695,500
22	Guinea	40,000	...	40,000
23	Gambia	235	...	235
24	Ghana	25,010	...	25,010
25	Guyana	5,180	...	5,180

(Source: Bangladesh Documents, vol. 2, pp. 83-85).

Serial number.	Name of the Foreign Government.	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars.		Total.
		Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct to the Government of India.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
26	Holy See	5,000	...	5,000
27	Iceland	8,595	...	8,595
28	Iran	183,606	...	183,606
29	Iraq	...	83,333	83,333
30	Ireland	215,983	...	215,983
31	Italy	22,764	...	22,764
32	Jamaica	12,745	...	12,745
33	Japan	5,000,000	...	5,000,000
34	Kenya	26,834	...	26,834
35	Khmer Republic	1,000	...	1,000
36	Kuwait	60,000	...	60,000
37	Republic of Korea (South Korea)	5,000	...	5,000
38	Liechtenstein	7,433	...	7,433
39	Liberia	30,000	...	30,000
40	Libyan Arab Republic	200,000	...	200,000
41	Luxembourg	15,957	...	15,957
42	Mauritius	50,000	...	50,000
43	Monaco	5,434	...	5,434
44	Malaysia	13,072	...	13,072
45	Nepal	2,451	...	2,451
46	New Zealand	115,171	70,560	185,731
47	Netherland	5,754,247	...	5,754,247
48	Norway	1,990,760 980,000	...	2,970,760
49	Oman (Sultanate of)	25,000	...	25,000
50	Poland	...	*	...
51	Philippines	100,000	...	100,000

Serial number.	Name of the Foreign Government.	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars.		Total.
		Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct to the Government of India.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
52	Spain	42,857	...	42,857
53	Swaziland	1,200	...	1,200
54	Sweden	6,000,584	...	6,000,584
55	San Marino	1,603	...	1,603
56	Singapore	13,147	...	13,147
57	Senegal	7,194	...	7,194
58	Switzerland	2,467,062	180,000	2,647,062
59	Trinidad and Tobago	10,059	...	10,059
60	Turkey ... ..	...	...	...
61	Tanzania	8,404	...	8,404
62	Thailand	13,300	...	13,300
63	Togo	1,079	...	1,079
64	Tonga	283	...	283
65	U.A.R.	60,000	22,223	82,223
66	U.K.	28,262,132	9,920,000	38,182,132
67	U.S.A.	35,500,000 (Cash) 53,657,000 (Kind)	...	89,157,000
68	U.S.S.R. ... ..	...	20,000,000	20,000,000
69	Uganda	14,006	...	14,006
70	Uruguay	2,000	...	2,000
71	Yugoslavia	20,000	...	20,000
72	South Vietnam	15,000	20,000	35,000
73	Zambia	28,004	...	28,004
Total ...		192,935,136	41,778,283	234,713,419

2. OFFERS RECEIVED FROM U.N. AGENCIES

Offers received from U.N. Agencies \$ 4,352,280

Serial number.	Name of the International Organisation.	<i>Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars.</i>			Total.
		<i>Through U.N. Focal Point.</i>	<i>Direct to the Government of India.</i>	<i>Direct to the Voluntary Organisation.</i>	
		(3)	(4)	(5)	
(1)	(2)				(6)
1	WHP	3,097,280	...	...	3,097,280
2	UNHCR	500,000	...	...	500,000
3	UNICEF	600,000	...	...	600,000
4	WHO	155,000	...	...	155,000
		4,352,280	...	...	4,352,280

3. OFFERS RECEIVED FROM VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

(IN DOLLARS)

(i) Through U. N. Focal Point	5,451,140
(ii) Direct from Voluntary Organisations	19,979,623
Total	25,430,763

Serial number.	Name of the International Organisation/Foreign Government.	<i>Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars.</i>		Total.
		<i>Through U.N. Focal Point.</i>	<i>Direct through Voluntary Organisations.</i>	
		(3)	(4)	
(1)	(2)			(5)
1	Australia—			
	(a) AUSTCARE	47,603	}	285,733
	(b) Other Organisations	238,130		
2	(i) Belgian Committee for aid to refugees	46,286	}	111,361
	(ii) Other Organisations	65,075		
3	Voluntary Organisations (Canada)	64,653	...	64,653
4	CIMADE (France)	9,058	}	855,814
	Other Organisations	846,756		
5	Voluntary Organisations (Guyana)	5,000	...	5,000
6	(a) Deutsche Welthungerstiftung (F R G) and Other Organisations	1,505,487	...	1,505,487
	(b) Voluntary Organisations (F R G) ... ..	...	6,580,000	6,580,000
7	Voluntary Organisations (Iceland)	1,200	...	1,200
8	Citizens of Hong Kong ... ..	...	25,000	25,000

(Source: Bangladesh Documents, Vol. 2, pp. 86-88).

Serial number.	Name of the International Organisation/Foreign Government.	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars.		Total.
		Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct through Voluntary Organisa- tions.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
9	Japan—			
	(a) DOMEI	85,000	}	95,000
	(b) Other Voluntary Organisations ...	10,000		
10	Voluntary Organisations (Luxembourg) ...	1,005	...	1,005
11	Netherlands—			
	(a) LUNICEF	140,056	}	3,40,046
	(b) Relief Committees	2,629,054			3,170,936
12	New Zealand—			
	CORSO	52,788	}	134,126
	Other Organisations	45,938			95,400
13	Norway—			
	Norwegian Refugee Council ...	14,000	126,000	140,000
	Other Voluntary Organisations ...	139,997	...	139,997
14	Switzerland--			
	Private Agencies ... ..	...	777,000	777,000
15	Sweden—			
	(a) Red Cross Society and Luthern World Federation, Sweden. ...	...	70,000	70,000
	(b) Radda Barmar	116,279	...	116,279
16	U.K.—			
	Voluntary Organisations	12,830	...	12,830
17	U.S.A—			
	(a) World Student Christian Federation.	3,375	}	400,490
	(b) Other Organisations	397,115		
18	Gift Coupon, UNESCO	8,205	...	8,205
19	Sovereign Order of Malta	10,801	...	10,801
20	Air Companies	232,936	...	232,936
21	I C F U	1,463	...	1,463

Serial number.	Name of the International Organisation|Foreign Government.	Offers of assistance in terms of U.S. dollars.		Total.
		Through U.N. Focal Point.	Direct through Voluntary Organisa- tions.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
22	Private Donors—			
	(a) Switzerland	1,216	...	1,216
	(b) United States	16,408	...	16,408
	(c) Other Countries	2,014	...	2,014
	(d) Malayasia	1,308	...	1,308
	(e) Zaire	13,540	...	13,540
23	U.N. Staff Association	16,767	...	16,767
24	International Red Cross Society ... ..	...	70,000	70,000
25	National Societies to I R C S ... ..	...	6,615,233	6,615,233
26	Catholic Hierarchy ... ..	...	144,000	144,000
27	Protestant Church ... ..	...	7,200	7,200
28	Freedom from Hunger Campaign, Australia ... ..	...	483,000	483,000
29	Indian Community, Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone ... ..	...	30,166	30,166
30	Indian Community, Dublin (Ireland)* ... ..	...	5,688	5,688
31	Double counting ... ..	...(-) 1,330,213	...	...(-) 1,330,213
	Total	5,451,140	19,979,623	25,430,763
	Grand total—1, 2 and 3		\$ 264,496,462	
			<i>or</i>	
			Rs. 198.37 crores.	

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