

June 17, 1971

ALL AMERICAN AID TO PAKISTAN  
MUST CEASE

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER  
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 17, 1971

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the Government of Pakistan has created a situation of unparalleled tragedy in East Pakistan by its military actions undertaken on March 25, 1971, and, according to all eyewitness reports, continuing to this day. The flood of refugees forced to flee to India—now some 5.7 million—is irrefutable proof of these actions, as I saw when I inspected refugee camps early in June.

It should not be forgotten that the leaders and supporters of the Awami League won the election in December. They won 167 of the 169 seats contested in East Pakistan, an absolute majority in the full country in an election everyone concedes was fair.

The sheer number of refugees threatens the stability of India, poses a threat to peace on the subcontinent and, in my opinion, compels a formal change in U.S. policy. If we assist the Government of Pakistan in any way in its effort to thwart the will of the majority, Communist-inspired groups may well replace the moderate leaders who won the election.

I believe the United States must suspend all military, economic, and food

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assistance to the Government of Pakistan. According to all reports, the Army has flagrantly misused American aid in the past: for example, boats provided to alleviate the suffering caused by the flood and cyclone in November are now being used to transport troops on their raids throughout the countryside of East Pakistan. There is considerable doubt in my mind whether the populace in the East wing can recover sufficiently from its long-term distrust and recently created fear of the Army to accept aid administered solely by the military forces. According to testimony before my subcommittee, American and World Bank economic aid is all that keeps Pakistan from bankruptcy and it certainly allows the Army to finance its adventures in the East—now costing some \$2 million each day.

Mr. Speaker, this afternoon I had the distinct pleasure of hearing a speech at the National Press Club by the Foreign Minister of India, the Honorable Sardar Swaran Singh. He spoke eloquently and persuasively on the problems created for his government by the military adventures of the Government of Pakistan in East Pakistan and he stated many reasons which, in my judgment, argue for the adaptation of the House of my amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

My amendment, introduced in bill form on Tuesday, June 15, as H.R. 9160 would suspend all aid to the Government of Pakistan until international inspection teams have ascertained that Pakistan is cooperating in allowing the situation to return to reasonable stability in East Pakistan and that, as far as feasible, refugees are being allowed to return from India to reclaim their lands and properties.

In the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 11 on page 19513 I discussed the many ramifications to world peace this situation poses. I spoke of the incredible flow of refugees and I would now like to report to my colleagues the most recent figures. The total number as of June 12 was 5,765,000, comprising 3,067,000 males and 2,698,000 females. This includes 907,000 children under 8 years of age. During April, immediately after the brutal actions of the Army inside East Pakistan, 56,000 each day came into India. During May and until the 5th of June the figure rose to 100,000 each day. Finally, from the 6th to the 12th of June the figure was 124,000 each day.

Any policy which generates this number of refugees—a number which is increasing rather than diminishing—must be the concern of all mankind. Aside from the obvious human misery which has been so compellingly documented in many photographs and descriptions in our press, it is also irrefutable evidence that the situation inside East Pakistan has not returned to normal. I think that H.R. 9160 would strengthen the hand of this administration in its desire to see stability returned to the area, for it would insist that all aid be channeled through international agencies and that our tax dollars would no longer contribute to the agencies and the clear threat to peace.

The Government of Pakistan must be made to fully and honestly cooperate in a normalization process. H.R. 9160 would suspend our bilateral aid and would make a powerful statement to the nations of the world that the idealism and the sincere desire of America to be truly humanitarian has not vanished. I urge my colleagues to join me in cosponsoring my bill when I reintroduce it early next week.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Foreign Minister Singh's speech of today and the text of my bill at this point in the RECORD.

SPEECH OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF INDIA, SARDAR SWARAN SINGH

Mr. President, I value and appreciate the invitation to address the National Press Club. There is a special reason for this: I have come here to seek, together with your leaders, a just, peaceful and enduring solution of a problem which has been reported upon so well and in such detail by your Press. So I am happy to have this opportunity to speak to this distinguished gathering of the representatives of the American press who play such a vital role in shaping public opinion.

The tragedy of East Bengal looms large on the horizon of India today; it looms large on the horizons of Asia. It poses a grave threat to peace and progress in our region.

The facts of the situation in East Bengal are well-known to you. But I wish to draw your attention to the dangerous potential of this problem for us and for our region. We should also consider the consequences that the world may have to face tomorrow, if today, due to a sense of indifference or helplessness, or out of some misplaced feeling of delicacy towards the perpetrators of the tragedy, we permit the situation to drift further.

The concern and anxiety which this situation in East Bengal cause to us in India are not ours alone. They are yours too. The character and the magnitude of the happenings in East Bengal are such that they are bound to have repercussions beyond the frontiers of Pakistan and be a source of concern to the international community.

Besides, our two countries have a common commitment to democratic principles and values. These same values and principles are being brutally suppressed in East Bengal.

The suppression of democratic principles by the army in East Bengal, I would remind you, cannot be defended on the ground that it is an attempt to deal with a secessionist movement. The elections took place in Pakistan in December last year for an assembly to frame a constitution for that country. The Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, swept the polls in East Bengal on a programme demanding greater control over State affairs within the Union of Pakistan. The Awami League's six-point manifesto for the framing of the constitution received overwhelming support of the people of East Bengal. The six-points were not a manifesto for secession or independence. The demand for independence of Bangla Desh came, it should be remembered, in the wake of the bloodbath which began on 25 March. The case is, therefore, clearly of a minority, equipped with gifts of money and arms from abroad, trying to undo, through the use of brute force, the verdict of popular vote.

One of the results of this reign of terror unleashed by the army is that 6 million people have fled their homes in East Bengal and have sought refuge in India. There is no end yet in sight to do this mass exodus. Each day some 100,000 East Bengalis are driven by the Pakistan Army across the border of East Bengal into our country. The dimensions of this exodus will, perhaps, better be understood if I say that we are receiving one refugee every second.

We offer these refugees such succor and

relief as we can afford. In our States bordering on East Bengal the schools of our children have had to be closed down to provide shelter for the refugees. Our health services are stretched thin and there are shortages of transport and tentage, food and medicine and other resources needed to cope with this grim tragedy. In the Indian State of Tripura today, there is one refugee from East Bengal to every two local inhabitants. West Bengal, already heavily populated, is groaning under the weight of this endless influx.

Clearly the humanitarian task of providing food, shelter and medicines must have high priority. The cost of relief will run into hundreds of millions of dollars. We had made a token provision of \$0 million dollars in our budget for the current year, but even this token provision represents 30% of the additional tax burden which our people will have to bear this year.

While we are doing the best we can within our resources, the financial burden of looking after the refugees is clearly beyond our resources. We have welcomed such assistance as has been forthcoming from foreign governments, from voluntary organizations and agencies, and from private citizens. Even though these contributions may not be very large, our Government and people appreciate the sentiments behind them.

Nevertheless, the task is a very large one, and we have our own pressing problems of poverty and unemployment to attend to. We, therefore, hope that the United States, a prosperous country of generous humanitarian instincts and, indeed, other countries of the world may, before long, address themselves more adequately to the problems and needs of relief.

But necessary as relief is, it is a palliative and not a solution to the problem which lies at the root of the situation. It is immediately necessary to stop further influx of refugees from Pakistan and that will come about only if the military action in East Bengal is ended forthwith. The international community must persuade and pressurize the government of Pakistan to that end.

Equally, conditions must be created for the return to East Bengal of those who were forced out of their homes and had to take shelter in India. The Government of Pakistan must be made to accept its proper responsibility for the rehabilitation of these refugees in their homes. In the meantime, their properties in East Bengal should be preserved and protected under international supervision pending their return.

The return and resettlement of refugees in their homes will obviously take a while and relief measures will be necessary and camps will have to be set up for the purpose. It seems to us that temporary relief camps should be set up in East Bengal itself and the refugees now in India should be transferred to these camps.

The Pakistan Government claims to have set up camps or reception centers in East Bengal; but refugees are not returning there because they, apparently, do not trust the Pakistan Government's declarations of amnesty. It is, therefore, necessary to restore their confidence that they will be well treated on return, that they will enjoy safety of person and property and that bona fide measures will be taken to rehabilitate them and protect their rights and interests. As a measure in that direction an area in Pakistan may have to be set aside for these temporary camps, to be administered by the refugees themselves under international supervision.

The basic problem is a political one; and it calls for a political solution. Without such a solution, the atmosphere of confidence and security, which is necessary for the return of refugees, will not be generated. There are

two essential prerequisites: first, the necessary political solution must be found urgently, and secondly, the solution to be effective and enduring must be in accord with the wishes of the people of East Bengal and their elected leaders. Any effort to set up a regime in East Bengal which is not truly representative will only prolong the agony, and harden attitudes and pose hazards to peace of the whole region.

We feel great concern for the personal safety and well-being of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He is a leader of very high stature and rare human qualities, who commands the affections of the entire people of East Bengal. We hope that the international community will spare no effort to persuade the rulers of Pakistan to release Sheikh Mujib and to join with him in search of a political solution acceptable to the people of East Bengal. He symbolizes the aspirations and hopes of 75 million people which were expressed as late as last December. These will not be extinguished by his incarceration.

We would urge the international community as a whole, and countries friendly to Pakistan in particular, to bring their influence to bear on the Pakistan Government for a political solution on these lines. Our views with regard to the grant of military aid to Pakistan are well-known. A situation has now arisen in which even the grant of economic aid to that country, in present circumstances, is bound to be used for the suppression of the majority of Pakistan's people. It is, therefore, not out of any ill-will for the people of Pakistan but in the desire that the agony of strife in Pakistan should end as quickly as possible that we urge that all countries should suspend all military and economic assistance to Pakistan till a political solution acceptable to the people of East Bengal is found.

I hope that the people of this country will understand and appreciate our grave anxiety over the situation in East Bengal. We in India have been at the receiving end of the results of the reign of terror and killings that has gone on in East Bengal since 25 March. The point has now reached where the actions of Pakistan's military government threaten to disrupt the economic, social and political fabric of our society and our State. These actions threaten to engulf our region in a conflict the end of which it is not easy to predict.

We have acted with patience, forbearance and restraint. But we cannot sit idly by if the edifice of our political stability and economic well-being is threatened.

In the 23 years since our independence, we have struggled to give economic and social meaning to our political democracy. We have not succeeded in eliminating poverty and hunger and disease from our land, but the lives of our people are a little better than they were 2 1/2 decades ago. We have doubled our food production; we have vastly expanded the availability of education, medical care and the opportunities of work to our people. Our exports touched a high of 7% last year and our growth rate has moved up to 5% per annum. The United States has helped us in our endeavours, and I am sure you share our pride in these achievements.

After our general elections in February which gave our Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and our party, the Indian National Congress, a massive verdict of popular support for our programmes, we were getting ready for a powerful assault on our economic and social problems. And then came this crisis of Pakistan's making which threatens to wipe out our gains and destroy the prospect of peace and progress for our children.

To any responsible government this would be an intolerable situation. Hence our anxiety that a political settlement should be forged in East Bengal which is acceptable to the Bengali people and their elected repre-

sentatives so that peace may return to that troubled land and the refugees who have come to our country should go back to their homes.

We face a grave situation; but we continue to have faith and hope that concerted and determined action of the world community will help find a satisfactory solution and lift the threat to India's stability and peace of the region. It was in that spirit that I undertook this tour which has brought me to Washington. I have found here understanding of our apprehensions and sympathy with our objectives.

Thank you Mr. President.

H.R. 9160

A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to suspend all assistance to the Government of Pakistan.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 620 of chapter 2 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, relating to prohibitions against furnishing assistance, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(v)(1) All military, economic, or other assistance to the Government of Pakistan, all sales of military equipment, and all sales of agricultural commodities (whether for cash, credit, or by other means), under this or any other Act, shall be suspended on the date of enactment of this subsection.

"(2) The President shall take measures as may be necessary to assure that no military equipment provided by the United States to any other country shall be transferred to the Government of Pakistan. If the President determines that any such transfer has been made after the date of enactment of this subsection, he shall suspend all assistance under this or any other Act to the country making the transfer and shall suspend all sales of military equipment under the Foreign Military Sales Act to such country.

"(3) The provisions of this subsection shall cease to apply when the President reports to the Congress that international inspection teams have ascertained that the Government of Pakistan is cooperating fully in allowing the situation in East Pakistan to return to reasonable stability and that refugees from East Pakistan in India have been allowed, to the extent feasible, to return to their homes and to reclaim their lands and properties."

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