APPENDIX I

Ten Principles of Peaceful Co-existence

(1) Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

(2) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;

(3) Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small;

(4) Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country;

(5) Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations;

(6)(a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the Big Powers.

(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries;

(7) Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country;

(8) Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations;

(9) Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation;

(10) Respect for justice and international obligations.

APPENDIX 2

Representation in Civil, Military and other Services
(Average)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Civil Service</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Service</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Head of Missions(numbers)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army:Officers of General Rank (Numbers)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy Technical</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy non-technical</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Force Pilots</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Forces (Numbers)</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Airlines (Numbers)</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.I.A.Directors</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.I.A.Area Managers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway Board Directors (Numbers)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## APPENDIX 3

### Percentage of Allocation of Funds for Development Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Exchange for various Developments :</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Aid (excluding U.S.AID) :</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.Aid :</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation :</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation :</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Development Bank :</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Building :</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>77%</strong></td>
<td><strong>23%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX 4

FOREIGN AID TO PAKISTAN

Chinese loan to Pakistan, U.S. $ 60 million in 1965 mostly spent in West Pakistan including a Heavy Machinery Complex costing U.S. $ 9 million, but only U.S. $ 125,000 was spent for East Pakistan's Water & Power Development. But the loan is to be repaid by exporting jute and jute products.

World Bank credits in 1954 $ 14 million and in 1965 $ 15 million for Sui Gas project in West Pakistan. Same source supplied $ 17 million in 1964 for Karachi Port Development and $ 30 million to Pakistan Investment and Credit Corporation to finance mostly projects in West Pakistan. International Development Association (U.N. Agency) gave a credit of $ 8.5 million to West Pakistan and $ 4.5 million to East Pakistan in 1964 for educational projects.

Russian Aid of £ 11 million to £ 18 million was given to West Pakistan in 1965 for oil prospecting.

U.K. loan during the period 1947-1965 amounting to £ 64 million has been spent mostly in West Pakistan.

U.S. Aid of $ 3.6 billion - $ 2.7 billion spent for Mangla Dam & Tarbela Dam in West Pakistan and only $ 0.9 billion 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 most fertile Land in the world. The people of East Pakistan had been allowed to suffer from recurring cyclones and flood disasters since 1953.

### APPENDIX 5

**Educational Disparities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>29,633</td>
<td>28,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>2,020,000</td>
<td>4,310,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>3,481</td>
<td>4,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>107,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General College</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>138,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General University</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX 6

The Awami League's Six Points

EXTRACT FROM AWAMI LEAGUE MANIFESTO

Pakistan shall be a Federation granting full autonomy on the basis of the six-point formula to each of the federating units:

Point No. 1:

The character of the government shall be federal and parliamentary, in which the election to the federal legislature and to the legislatures of the federating units shall be direct and on the basis of universal adult franchise. The representation in the federal legislature shall be on the basis of population.

Point No. 2:

The federal government shall be responsible only for defence and foreign affairs and subject to the conditions provided in (3) below, currency.

Point No. 3:

There shall be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing for each region, or in the alternative a single currency, subject to the establishment of a federal reserve system in which there will be regional federal reserve banks which shall devise measures to prevent the transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to another.

Point No. 4:

Fiscal policy shall be the responsibility of the federating units. The federal government shall be provided with requisite revenue resources for meeting the requirements of defence and foreign affairs, which revenue resources would be automatically appropriable by the federal government in the manner provided and on the basis of the ratio to be determined by the procedure.
laid down in the constitution. Such constitutional provisions would ensure that federal government's revenue requirements are met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over the fiscal policy by the governments of the federating units.

Point No.5:

Constitutional provision shall be made to enable separate accounts to be maintained of the foreign exchange earnings of each of the federating units, under the control of the respective governments of the federating units. The foreign exchange requirement of the federal government shall be met by the governments of the federating units on the basis of a ratio to be determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the constitution. The regional governments shall have power under the constitution to negotiate foreign trade and laid within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which shall be the responsibility of the federal government.

Point No.6:

The government of the federating units shall be empowered to maintain a militia or para-military force in order to contribute effectively towards national security.

APPENDIX 7

Revised Draft Resolution moved by Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Tunisia, Uruguay, Yemen, Zaire and Zambia

The General Assembly,

Noting the reports of the Secretary-General of 3 and 4 December 1971 and the letter from the President of the Security Council transmitting the text of Council resolution 303(1971) of 6 December 1971.

Gravely concerned that hostilities have broken out between India and Pakistan which constitute an immediate threat to international peace and security.

Recognizing the need to deal appropriately at a subsequent stage, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, with the issues which have given rise to the hostilities,

Convinced that an early political solution would be necessary for the restoration of conditions of normalcy in the area of conflict and for the return of the refugees to their homes,

Mindful of the provisions of the Charter, in particular of Article 2, paragraph 4,

Recalling the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, particularly paragraph 4, 5 and 6,

Recognizing further the need to take immediate measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan and effect a withdrawal of their armed forces to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders,
Mindful of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the General Assembly's responsibilities under the relevant provisions of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 377 A(V) of 3 November 1950,

1. Calls upon the Government of India and Pakistan to take forthwith all measures for an immediate ceasefire and withdrawal of their armed forces on the territory of the other to their own side of the India-Pakistan borders;

2. Urges that efforts be intensified in order to bring about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homes;

3. Calls for the full co-operation of all States with the Secretary-General for rendering assistance to and relieving the distress of those refugees;

4. Urges that every effort be made to safeguard the lives and well-being of the civilian population in the area of conflict;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly and the Security Council promptly and currently informed on the implementation of the present resolution;

6. Decides to follow the question closely and to meet again should the situation so demand;

7. Calls upon the Security Council to take appropriate action in the light of the present resolution.

Source: UN Doc. A/L. 647/Rev. 1, moved on 7 December 1971. The Resolution was adopted by the Assembly the same day - 2793 (XXVI).
APPENDIX 8


In Favour: United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rumania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand.

(Contd.)
land, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda.

Against: Bhutan, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Afghanistan, Chile, Denmark, France, Malawi, Nepal, Oman, Senegal, Singapore.
APPENDIX 9

Resolution on the Peaceful settlement of Disputes among Nonaligned Countries: (Submitted at the Havana Summit 1979 by Bangladesh, Iraq and Yugoslavia)

Extract:

The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries assembled at the Sixth Conference in Havana

...Express concern over the fact that recently a number of disputes and armed conflicts between non-aligned countries have occurred some of which have reached serious proportions, which has a negative impact upon the solidarity and action unity of the entire Movement and which increases the danger of direct or indirect interference from outside, threatens independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and nonalignment of the parties in dispute.

...Express profound conviction that all non-aligned countries can offer assistance to the parties in dispute through bilateral means, various forms of good offices and other means for peaceful settlement of disputes as well as within the framework of their regional organisations, such as the Organization of African Unity and, if necessary, with assistance of the United Nations. They stress the readiness of their Government to engage themselves individually or collectively to the end.

Consider that the Non-Aligned Movement can assist the parties in dispute in this respect they recommend a possibility to establish, should this be requested by the parties in dispute, an informal ad hoc group for extending good offices to the parties in dispute and for encouraging peaceful settlement by way of negotiations, mediation, good offices and other measures provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. The composition of such groups would be determined depending upon the concrete situation, nature of conflicts and views of the parties in dispute. The parties in dispute could themselves propose such groups or else, depending upon their preference, approach any non-aligned country or a group of non-aligned countries to render good offices for this purpose.
... Invite the parties in dispute or conflict to examine with due attention, any bonafide proposal for extending good offices or mediation which would be offered by a third non-aligned country or a group of non-aligned countries which are not parties in dispute. The procedure of offering good offices that is mediation will be performed in a manner and within the framework acceptable to all parties in dispute or conflict.


Extract:

In the recent past there has been an alarming increase in bilateral disputes within the Non-Aligned Movement. Armed conflicts have arisen between Non-Aligned Countries on many occasions. This has resulted in the undermining of the unity of the Movement which is its basic strength. It has also brought in the dangerous aspect of outside intervention and the injection of Great Power rivalries into local disputes. The policy of the Non-Aligned countries hitherto has been that disputes should be settled peacefully and that regional organizations where they exist should address themselves to the solution of these bilateral disputes. There are of course, areas which do not have regional organizations. In any event, regional organizations have not been successful in solving the bilateral disputes between Non-Aligned countries.

The Non-Aligned Movement as it is at present constituted does not have any machinery for the
solution of bilateral disputes. ... There is therefore an urgent need within the Non-Aligned Movement to establish a credible and effective machinery which will contribute towards the solution of bilateral disputes or at least reduce the danger of armed conflicts. Such machinery would help safeguard the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement especially peaceful coexistence and the peaceful settlement of disputes set out in the Programme for Peace and International Co-operation issue by the Second Non-Aligned Summit of 1964.

... As analysis of the bilateral disputes within the Non-Aligned Movement reveals that the majority of them arise from disputed boundary questions. The majority of Non-Aligned countries are nations which emerged from colonial rule after the Second World War. The boundaries of these nation states were drawn by colonial rulers and have been the subject of dispute between various countries.

It is therefore imperative that the disputes must be solved at the political level within the framework of Non-Aligned unity and on the basis of the principles of the Non-Aligned ... In view of this, a political body becomes necessary to consider boundary disputes in all their dimensions and it is in this context that a commission for the settlement of border disputes has been proposed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka.

... In order to make the proposed Commission effective, its composition should be at the highest level. The membership of the proposed Commission could comprise about 5 persons, who should preferably be the Foreign Ministers from countries of the five regions selected by consenses at Non-Aligned Summit Conferences.

... The Commission will only consider disputes where all parties of the disputes have stated in writing their willingness to refer the dispute to the Commission. There should be an opportunity for the Commission to visit the areas in dispute and to conduct interviews and hearings without any hindrance. The Commission shall report its findings to the Co-ordinating Bureau and shall also submit periodic reports of its activities to Non-Aligned Conferences.

See for the full resolution Sri Lanka, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Sri Lanka Proposal for the establishment of a Commission for the Settlement of Border Disputes in this the Non-Aligned Movement (Colombo, 1981). Havana Summit, though,
did not approve it but "commended it to members for serious and careful attention as a possible contribution to the peaceful settlement of disputes among members" Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries 1961-82, India, Ministry of External Affairs (New Delhi, 1983), p. 430.