

संसदीय कार्य, खेल तथा निर्माण और
प्रावास मंत्री (श्री बूटा सिंह) : मेरी एक
सबमिशन है—इसको सिर्फ मूव करने की
आज्ञा दे दीजिये ।

सभापति महोदय : इसकी क्या जरूरत
है ?

16.08 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

16.08½ hrs.

DISCUSSION ON SITUATION ARISING
OUT OF INCIDENTS OVER
FENCING ON INDIAN SIDE
OF INDIA—BANGLADESH
BORDER

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We now
take up discussion under Rule 193. The
time allotted to it is two hours. I would
very much like and request the Hon.
Members not to go beyond two hours.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur) :
You also do not go out within two
hours.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will
not go, but what I say is that at least
those who are present and those who
speak should remain present when the
Hon. Minister speaks. I would request
all the Hon. Members to be very brief.
The points which they can make in half
an hour can also be made within ten
minutes if the Hon. Members are brief.
Therefore I would request the Hon.
Member to be responsible and specific.
This is a very specific and important sub-
ject. Therefore, let us complete it within
two hours.

Now, Shri R.N. Rakesh. I hope Shri
Rakesh will set an example.

श्री प्रार० एन० राकेश (चैल) :
उपाध्यक्ष जी, 1971 में बंगला देश रूपी**

जन्म लिया था, वह बच्चा जमीन पर खड़ा
भी नहीं हो पाया था कि** वहीं
हालत बंगला देश की भी है ।

वही हालत बंगलादेश की हुई । आज बंगला
देश किस की गोद में खेल रहा है, गंभीरता-
पूर्वक विचार करना पड़ेगा । बंगलादेश एक
तरफ चीन की गोद में बैठा है.....

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV
(Azamgarh) : Sir, I must draw your
attention that the Foreign Minister should
have also been here. It does not relate
only to the Home Ministry, it relates to
the Foreign Ministry also. The Foreign
Minister should also have been here.
(Interruptions). I am telling, this is not
good. These are the practices which are
just adopted, which weaken the parlia-
mentary practice. What is the harm in
it ? The Foreign Ministry has two
Ministers. At least somebody should
have been here on this issue. It is very
much concerned with the Foreign
Ministry.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : It is
not the question of fencing only, but the
relationship with Bangladesh also is invol-
ved in this.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY
(Puri) : It is a small matter. So, how
can a Minister be present here ?

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : Sir,
the Foreign Minister should also be here.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The
Government understands it. Now, Mr.
Rakesh may continue.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA
(Ponnani) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I
have a small objection and that is, we are

discussing about a State which is a sovereign State, and we have friendly relations with them. Now, the hon. Member is referring to that State, Bangladesh, as ** This is rather a derogatory term. We should, of course, agitate our point, that is a different thing, but should not cast aspersions. Therefore, he should be very cautious. You may expunge it from the record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad) : You may expunge it, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have already mentioned about it on a different occasion.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please sit down. Everybody need not say it. When we discuss the international matters, we must exercise restraint. I had made that request once. That is my humble opinion.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA : Otherwise, are you going to expunge it from the record ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will go through the record.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA : Please do it immediately.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is not possible, Mr. Banatwalla. I will go through the record. Please sit down.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, you are going through the record. He has clearly stated, ** That is very bad.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That is the procedure. Please leave it to me.

श्री आर० एन० राकेश : मेरे कहने का मतलब वह नहीं था, जो यह कह रहे हैं।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH) : The hon. Member should not have said that. I also join with others in this regard.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will go through it, I have understood.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY Please expunge it, Sir.

श्री आर० एन० राकेश : और दूसरी तरफ अमेरिका भी बंगलादेश को अपनी गोद में लेने की कोशिश कर रहा है और हमारे संबंध उस पड़ोसी देश से बिगड़ते चले जा रहे हैं। ये क्यों बिगड़ रहे हैं, इस की गहराई की ओर जाने की जरूरत है।

सबसे पहले मैं पानी के विवाद की ओर सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित कराना चाहता हूँ। 29 अप्रैल, 1977 को दोनों देशों के बीच में एक समझौता हुआ, जिसके अनुसार अकाल के दिनों में भारत को 20,800 क्यूसेक और बंगलादेश को 34,700 क्यूसेक पानी मिलेगा; गंगा नदी 97 प्रतिशत भारत में बहती है। इसके अनुसार भारत को ज्यादा पानी मिलना चाहिए था फिर भी पड़ोसी देश से हमारे संबंध अच्छे हों, हमने इस शर्त को स्वीकार कर लिया लेकिन अक्टूबर 1982 को भारत की प्रधान मंत्री और बंगलादेश के सैनिक शासक जनरल इश्शाद के बीच में गंगा नदी के बारे में जो समझौता हुआ, उस समझौते के तहत ब्रह्मपुत्र और गंगा के बीच में एक वाटर लिंक चैनल कायम होना था लेकिन 7 मई 1983 को जनरल इश्शाद ने इस समझौते को नाकामयाब यह कहकर कर दिया कि उन्होंने इस समझौते की आलोचना की थी। आज मुख्य समस्या यह है कि भारत चाहता है कि गंगा और ब्रह्मपुत्र के बीच में

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[श्री आर० एन० राकेश]

लिक नहर कायम हो। बंगलादेश दूसरी तरफ चाहता है कि भारत गंगा नदी पर जो भी बूज बनाए उसकी राय लेकर बनाए। इस मामले में बंगला देश नेपाल को भी शामिल करना चाहता है। बंगला देश चाहता है कि बंगला देश और नेपाल के बीच एक सड़क मार्ग हो, साथ ही साथ बंगलादेश और नेपाल के बीच वाटर चैनल भी कायम हो। बंगला देश ने यह भी शर्त रखी है कि वह भारत से जो समझौता 1982 अक्टूबर में हुआ था, उसमें ब्रह्मपुत्र और गंगा के वाटर चैनल की शर्त को तब मानने के लिए तैयार है जब भारत नेपाल तक सड़क के लिए रास्ता दे देता है। दूसरी तरफ वह पानी के बाबत मांग करता है कि बंगलादेश और नेपाल के बीच वाटर चैनल जोड़ा जाए। उस चैनल में नेपाल को भी हिस्सेदार बनाया जाए।

फरखा जल समझौता 31 मई को समाप्त हो रहा है। सरकार ने वादा किया था कि इस समझौते को स्थायी रूप दे दिया जाएगा लेकिन अभी तक इस संबंध में कोई प्रयास नहीं हुआ है। बंगाल की खाड़ी में सुन्दर वन के निकट न्यू मोर्य द्वीप को लेकर बंगलादेश 1983 में कब्जा करने की कोशिश कर चुका है और आज भी उसका क्लेम बरकरार है। यह भी संबंधों को सुधारने में एक रुकावट है।

1975 में जो समझौता हुआ था जिसमें भारत-बंगलादेश सीमा पर कांटेदार तार और खंभे लगाने का फैसला हुआ था ताकि घुसपैठ को रोका जा सके, तस्करी को रोका जा सके और सीमाओं का डीमार्केशन हो जाए सभी विदेशी आर्म्स एंड एम्पूनिशन जो सप्लाई होते हैं, उपवादियों को जो मिल

रहे हैं, उनको रोका जा सके। इस समझौते के बावजूद गत 19-20 अप्रैल को बंगलादेश रायफिल में भारतीय क्षेत्र में काम कर रहे मजदूरों पर गोली चलाई, उनको घायल किया। फायरिंग 24-25 अप्रैल को भी बरकरार रही है।

सीमाओं का डीमार्केशन न होने के कारण घुसपैठ की समस्या एक विकट समस्या भारत के लिए बन गई है। इसका उदहारण मैं देना चाहता हूँ। 1971 की जनगणना के अनुसार भारत की जनसंख्या वृद्धि की दर 21.64 प्रतिशत थी जबकि आसाम की जनसंख्या वृद्धि की दर 34.97 प्रतिशत थी। 1971 की ही एक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार सारे भारत की जनसंख्या वृद्धि की दर 24.80 प्रतिशत है और आसाम की जनसंख्या वृद्धि की दर 34.94 प्रतिशत है। घुसपैठ की इस समस्या से आसाम ही नहीं बल्कि पश्चिम बंगाल भी प्रभावित हुआ है। एक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार पश्चिम बंगाल की हरिदासपुर चौकी में जो प्रवेश हो रहा है, उसमें एक बटा चार प्रतिशत लोग वापिस नहीं जाते हैं जिससे इस जिले की जनसंख्या में 27 प्रतिशत की बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। इसी प्रकार हिरपुर की आबादी साठ हजार से बढ़कर एक लाख दस हजार हो गई। बंगलादेश, जलपाईगुडी और और उसके पास के दो गांवों पर भी अपना दावा कर रहा है। लेकिन, सरकार की ओर से इस संबंध में कोई प्रभावशाली कार्यवाही नहीं की जा सकी है। 48 घंटे पहले बंगलादेश के सैनिक प्रशासक श्री इरशाद ने घोषित किया है कि वह भारत और बंगलादेश की सीमा पर 24 चौकियां कायम करेगा और इन पर जबर्दस्त पहरा लगाया जायेगा। इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि श्री इरशाद की कुर्सी की भूख समाप्त नहीं हुई है। उन्होंने चुनाव की घोषणा कर दी है लेकिन वह चुनाव नहीं

कराना चाहते। इसकी वजह यह है कि बंगलादेश के लोग अपनी भूल समस्याओं को भूल जाएं जिनको हल करने में वहां की सरकार नाकामयाब है। इसलिए, वह चाहते हैं कि सीमा पर इस तरह की हरकतों की जाएं। एक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार, बंगलादेश ने चीन से मी पनडुब्बियां ली हैं जिसमें एक तो बंगलादेश के पास पहुंच चुकी है और आठ अभी रास्ते में हैं। यह पनडुब्बियां बहुत ही शक्तिशाली है। वे, लड़ाई के लिए पूरी तरह से तैयार हैं। कल के अखबारों में जो समाचार आया है, उसके अनुसार पाकिस्तान के एक भूतपूर्व मंत्री ने लन्दन में यह रहस्योद्घाटन किया है कि गत वर्ष वाशिंगटन में एक बैठक हुई जिसमें पाकिस्तान, चीन, अमेरिका और बंगलादेश के सैनिक अधिकारियों ने भाग लिया। उसमें यह तय किया कि चारों देश भारत पर चारों ओर से सैनिक दबाव डालें। उत्तर से चीन, पश्चिम से पाकिस्तान, दक्षिण हिन्दमहासागर से अमेरिका तथा पूर्व से बंगलादेश। अमेरिका के आग्रह पर चीन ने बंगलादेश को युद्धपोत, पनडुब्बियां, लड़ाकू विमान और टैंक देने की बात की है और बदले में अमेरिका ने चीन को नए हथियार देने का भी आश्वासन दिया है। इस जानकारी के अनुसार अब तक 36 विमान, 6 युद्धपोत और संख्या में टैंक बंगलानेश में पहुंच चुके हैं। यह भी अनुमान लगाया जा रहा है कि लगभग दो हजार चीनी सैनिक बंगलादेश में पहुंचकर के सैनिक ट्रेनिंग लोगों को दे रहे हैं। यह भी उल्लेखनीय है कि बंगलादेश में त्रिपुरा युवा जनजाति संघ के लोग सैनिक ट्रेनिंग ले रहे हैं। और उनके माध्यम से बंगलादेश से हथियार आसाम और नार्थ ईस्टर्न एरिया में भेजे जा रहे हैं। वहां की आदिमजातियां "चकमा"

के नाम से जानी जाती हैं, उनके द्वारा खाने-पीने के सामान की तस्करी भारत से ब्रंगला देश को की जा रही है। जहां तक त्रिपुरा जनजातीय लोगों का प्रश्न है, ये वही लोग हैं, जिनके साथ हाल ही के चुनावों में कांग्रेस आई ने चुनाव समझौता किया था। उस समय हमारे वैद्य जी नार्थ ईस्टर्न सैक्टर में कमान्डर इंचीफ हुआ करते थे। उन्होंने इन उग्रवादियों को क्लीन-चित दी थी। साथ ही आसाम के तत्कालीन राज्यपाल श्री प्रकाश मेहरोत्रा ने इन उग्रवादियों को कांग्रेस आई के निकट लाकर चुनाव समझौता कराने में काफी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका भ्रदा की है। जिस की कीमत उनको अब मिल चुकी है।

अब यहां सवाल उठता है कि जब हमने अपने दूसरे पड़ोसी देशों बर्मा, थाईलैंड, इंडो-नेशिया और श्री लंका के साथ समुद्री क्षेत्र का सीमांकन किया है तो, फिर बंगला देश के साथ समुद्री सीमांकन क्यों नहीं किया। इसके साथ-साथ यह सवाल भी उठता है कि हमारी सरकार की ऐसी कौन सी नीति है जिसके कारण हमारे पड़ोसी देशों के साथ हमारे संबंध लगातार बिगड़ते चले जा रहे हैं और सुधर नहीं रहे हैं। क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि भारत की वैदेशिक नीति इस दिशा में घातक सिद्ध हुई है, जिसके कारण ऐसा हो रहा है। हिन्द महासागर शांति का क्षेत्र होना चाहिए। हमारी सरकार को चाहिए कि वह पड़ोसी देशों के साथ और अन्य महाशक्तियों के साथ बातचीत करके, जिन्होंने इस क्षेत्र को अशांति का क्षेत्र बना रखा है, उनको बाहर करने की दिशा में पहल करें। हमें उन शक्तियों का विरोध करना चाहिए जो इसको शांति का क्षेत्र बनाए रखने के रास्ते में रोड़े अटका रही हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार

[श्री आर० एन० राकेश]

की नीति इतनी गोलपोल है कि हमें अपने पड़ोसी देशों का सहयोग नहीं मिल पा रहा है। अभी मेरी जानकारी के अनुसार, भारत सरकार की ओर से एक प्रस्ताव प्राप्त हुआ है, जिसमें हिन्द महासागर क्षेत्र को शांति का क्षेत्र बनाए रखने की बात कही गई है। अब जब कि वह प्रस्ताव भारत सरकार को प्राप्त हो चुका है, पता नहीं भारत सरकार उसपर अपनी प्रतिक्रिया क्यों नहीं व्यक्त करती। कोई स्पष्ट रवैया सामने नहीं आ रहा है। भूटान के साथ लगने वाली हमारी सीमाएं भी आज सुरक्षित नहीं हैं। अभी हाल ही में भूटान ने चीन के साथ सीमाओं के संबंध में विस्तार से वार्ता की है और शीघ्र ही एक चीनी प्रतिनिधि मंडल भूटान आने वाला है। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी भी बार-बार कहती रहती हैं कि हमें अपने पड़ोसी देशों से खतरा है। पड़ोसी देश भारत पर आक्रमण करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन जब-जब हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी कहती हैं कि पड़ोसी देश भारत के ऊपर आक्रमण कर रहे हैं, पड़ोसी देश हमसे कट जाते हैं और घबरा कर हमारी तरफ देखने की बजाए चाइना की तरफ देखने लग जाते हैं... (व्यवधान)..

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : The Prime Minister has never said like that.

SHRI R. N. RAKESH : The Prime Minister has always and always said like that. But you have overlooked that.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : The Prime Minister has never and never said like that.

SHRI R. N. RAKESH : She is always saying like that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You please say a few words about fencing. That is

the subject-matter of discussion under rule 193.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : The Deputy Speaker should always sit on the fence.

श्री आर० एन० राकेश : पड़ोसी देश हमारी ओर देखने की बजाय मजबूर होकर चीन और हमारे दुश्मनों की ओर देखने लगते हैं। मतलब यह हुआ कि भारत की प्रधान मंत्री भले ही भारतीयों को भयभीत करने के लिए कर रही हों, लेकिन उसका असर पड़ोसी देशों पर बुरा पड़ रहा है। क्या प्रधान मंत्री और मौजूदा सरकार ने इस पर विचार किया है? नहीं। अगर किया होता तो ऐसी स्थिति नहीं आती।

पहले ही कह दिया गया था कि सदन में विदेश मंत्री को होना चाहिये था, लेकिन वह नहीं है इसलिए मैं गृह मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या पड़ोसी देशों के आन्तरिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप करने से उन पर प्रतिकूल प्रभाव पड़ता है? साथ ही हमने इन संबंधों को सुधारने के लिए कोई महत्वपूर्ण कदम नहीं उठाये हैं। हमारा बंगलादेश से व्यापारिक संबंध हो सकता था क्योंकि कोयला उसे चाहिए था, लेकिन हमने ऐसा नहीं किया और आज उसको कोयला यूरोप और आस्ट्रेलिया से मंगाना पड़ रहा है। जब तक वह पूर्वी पाकिस्तान था जूट का व्यापार भारत के साथ होता था। लेकिन बंगला देश बनने के बाद हमने उसे व्यापारिक संबंध को कायम नहीं रखा जिस की वजह से बंगला देश को 10,000 किलोमीटर दूर स्थित अमरीका से जूट को व्यापारिक संबंध उसको कायम करना पड़ा। इसी तरह से पेपर के बारे में भी हमारा व्यापारिक संबंध हो सकता था, लेकिन उस

में भी हम फेल रहे हैं। नैचुरल गैस बांगला देश में पर्याप्त मात्रा में पैदा होती है और बांगला देश से इस बारे में व्यापारिक संबंध कायम कर सकते थे। लेकिन हमने वैसा नहीं किया।

इसी तरह काठमंडु को छोड़कर किसी भी पड़ोसी देश की राजधानी से हमारी एयर फ्लाइट का संबंध नहीं है, टेलीफोनिक सम्बन्ध नहीं है। इस्लामाबाद से जरूर हैं, लेकिन एस० टी० डी० नहीं है। आज बांगला देश और भारत के बीच में कैसे सम्बन्ध है यह इसी से साबित होता है कि बांगला देश का कोई व्यक्ति अगर भारत में आता है तो उसकी प्रोपर्टी जो वह बांगला देश में छोड़ कर आता है, ऐसी भी प्रोपर्टी डिक्लेयर करके नीलाम कर दी जाती है। लेकिन बांगला देश के लोग जब पाकिस्तान या नेपाल जाते हैं तब उनके साथ ऐसा व्यवहार नहीं होता है। इसका मतलब यह है कि हमारे सम्बन्ध बांगला देश से बहुत खराब हो गये हैं। इस पर हमें सोचना चाहिये।

जहां तक फीसिंग का सवाल है लगभग 3,000 किलोमीटर लम्बा वह एरिया है। बांगलादेश, त्रिपुरा, मणिपुर, असम और पश्चिम का एरिया है, जहां पर कंटीले तार लगने चाहिये। अगर कंटीले तार और खम्बे नहीं लगाये जाते हैं तो बराबर घुसपैठ बरकरार रहेगी। बांगला देश का सैनिक शासन चाहता है कि बराबर घुसपैठ होती रहे, तस्करी होती रहे। कांग्रेस (आई) के लोगों ने चुनाव जीतने की दृष्टि से देश की कीमत को बेचकर उग्रवादियों और युवा अनजानता से समझौता करके चुनाव लड़ा है। उन लोगों के द्वारा विदेशी हथियार असम और नार्थ ईस्टर्न सीक्टर में बराबर

आते रहे हैं और उससे जो विस्फोटक स्थिति बनी है, वह बराबर बनती रहेगी।

पिछले साल 22-12-84 को तत्कालीन गृह-राज्य मंत्री श्री लस्कर ने एक सवाल के उत्तर में कहा था कि भारी मात्रा में असम, मणिपुर, त्रिपुरा में हथियार पकड़े गये हैं और उन हथियारों पर विदेशों—बांगलादेश, चाइना और पाकिस्तान की मुहर लगी हैं। इससे यह साबित होता है कि सीमा पर अगर कंटीले तार नहीं लगाये जाते हैं, खंबे नहीं लगाये जाते हैं, सीमा का डिमाकेशन नहीं होता है तो हमारे सम्बन्ध बराबर बिगड़ते चले जाएंगे।

बांगला देश ने कांटेदार तार और खम्बे लगाने में जो आपत्ति पैदा की है, वह 1975 के समझौते का विरोध करती है और उस समझौते के विपरीत है। दोनों देशों द्वारा यह तय हो चुका था किन्तु उन्हीं मुद्दों को फिर से उखाड़ने का आज सवाल पैदा किया गया है। सच तो यह है कि भारत और बांगला देश की समस्याएं सुलझने के बजाय उलझती जा रही हैं।

मेरा निवेदन है कि बांगला देश की सरकार द्वारा अनावश्यक हस्तक्षेप जो किया गया है, जो बाधा पैदा की हैं, उनको हटाया जाये और तार व खम्बे लगाने का काम तत्काल पूरा किया जाये। यह न सिर्फ भारत के ही हित में है, बल्कि बांगला देश के भी हित में होगा।

समुद्री क्षेत्रों में सीमांकन जिस तरह अन्य देशों के साथ हुआ है, उसी तरह बांगला देश के साथ भी तत्काल किया जाये। दोनों देशों के बीच में पानी का समझौता भी सही ढंग से होना चाहिए। बांगला देश से जो

[श्री आर०एन० राकेश]

हमारे व्यापारिक संबंध आज तक नहीं बन पाये हैं, उन्हें तत्काल कायम किया जाये। ऐसा न करके हमने जानबूझकर बंगला देश को मजबूर कर दिया है। उसे धकेल दिया है कि वह दुश्मनों और विरोधियों की गोद में खेले।

बंगला देश सबसे ज्यादा गरीबी की रेखा का देश है। अगर उसके साथ हम अपने व्यापारिक संबंध जोड़ेंगे तो उसकी गरीबी को दूर करने में भी हमें कामयाबी मिलेगी।

बंगाल देश अपने मजदूरों को असम, बंगाल और त्रिपुरा में फेंक रहा है, इसके लिये हमें अपनी सीमाओं की चौकसी रखनी चाहिये। वहां के लोग जो घुसपैठ कर रहे हैं, उनको रोकना चाहिये और व्यापारिक सम्बन्धों के द्वारा उनकी दशा को सुधारने के लिए आवश्यक कदम उठाये जायें।

भारत की प्रधान मंत्री बार-बार कहनी हैं कि पड़ोसी देश हमपर आक्रमण कर रहे हैं। इससे पड़ोसी देशों के साथ हमारे संबंध तो बिगड़ ही रहे हैं, साथ ही साथ हमारे दुश्मनों को इस उपमहाद्वीप के मामलों में हस्तक्षेप करने का मौका भी मिल जाता है। इन बातों को रोका जाए।

प्रधान मंत्री भारत के भूतपूर्व रक्षा मंत्री, बाबू जगजीवन राम, के उस बयान से सबक लें, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि अगर कोई देश हमपर आक्रमण करेगा, तो हम आक्रमणकारी की भूमि पर लड़ेंगे। प्रधान मंत्री को आक्रमण की बात कह कर देशवासियों को डराने की नीति नहीं अपनानी चाहिए। इससे हम अपने देश को छोटा कर रहे हैं,

पड़ोसी देशों के साथ सम्बन्धों को बिगाड़ रहे हैं और देश के दुश्मनों को प्रोत्साहन दे रहे हैं।

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA (Samastipur) : We have received a very disquieting news from Punjab that the rail communication has been thoroughly disrupted by the extremists. I demand a statement from the Home Minister on this matter.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat) : Sir, may I make a submission to you? At the end of the debate the Minister will reply, But it would be helpful for the debate if he at this stage, if you so agree—he has made a statement in the other House on this very subject—he can repeat the same statement here if you like. It will give some basis on which we can debate. Otherwise, we have got nothing to go on. We are reading so many types of contradictory reports in the Press.

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA (Guna) : You can collect it from Rajya Sabha.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Why should this House be deprived of it? Why should we go about collecting from the Rajya Sabha? I am not a collector of Rajya Sabha.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. C. SETHI) : If they want, I can read it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : This is a very pertinent thing. When I demanded that there should be a debate, I also demanded that the Government should come out with a statement on the basis of which we can continue the debate fruitfully. But, unfortunately, in its wisdom the Government has not issued any statement. So I support Mr. Indrajit Gupta's contention that Mr. Sethi should make a statement on the basis of which we can continue this debate.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) : He can reply at the end, but let him read out the statement at this stage.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : The statement should not be a substitute for his reply. But definitely it will help the debate.

SHRI P. C. SETHI : I will read it just now.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. C. SETHI) : Sir, Infiltration of persons has been taking place from erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) into India right from the time of the partition of India in 1947. In the context of acute problem in Assam and reports of infiltration in West Bengal and other States bordering Bangladesh, a set of measures was formulated by the Government of India. This included construction of a physical barrier in the form of a barbed wire fencing along the Indo-Bangladesh border ; construction of a network of roads along the border ; intensifying patrolling by the BSF on the border ; establishment of more BSF outposts etc. The fence is to be erected over a stretch of 3200 KMs of border of all the States. It was decided to undertake detailed survey and start the construction of fence initially along 100 KMs of the border in each of the districts of Dhubri in Assam and West Dinazpur in West Bengal.

Instructions were issued on 24th March, 1984 to the CPWD unit at Gauhati to take up construction immediately of one KM of fence on experimental basis at the tri-junction of Assam, Bangladesh and West Bengal at Ram Rai Kuti village in Dhubri district of Assam. The CPWD started the survey work on 27th March, 1984 near the boundary pillar 1001, on Indian territory. As soon as survey work commenced, Bangladesh, Rifles personnel came to find out what was going on. Small groups of BDR personnel kept visiting the site. On 2nd April, about a platoon strength of BDR personnel took position about 100 yards from Pillar 1001

and about 100 persons in civil clothes came to the pillar and shouted slogans. Some of them pulled down the bamboo poles fixed by the PWD on Indian Territory to mark the alignment for the fence. The CPWD erected 2 test pillars for fencing on 5th April, 1984. According to reports received by Government the strength of the Bangladesh Rifles post at Behalguri was raised to 1 coy. that day. A battalion of Bangladesh forces with heavier weapons also took position about 300-400 yards inside their territory from where wire fencing is being erected. On April 6, a group of about 30 Bangladesh nationals escorted by about a dozen Bangladesh Rifles personnel came near the pillar 1001 and shouted slogans against erection of the fence. They dispersed after some time and B.D. Rifles men took up positions near the pillar. In order to defuse the tension, flag meetings of the officers of the BSF and the BDR were held on 7th and 8th April, 1984 at Sonahat. At these meetings Bangladesh Rifles Sector Commanders protested against fixing of pillars on the international border.

Things remained quiet during the next few days, except for demonstrations by Bangladesh nationals from time to time. On 19th April 1984, about 200 Bangladesh Rifles personnel and about 150 civilians came close to the border where our CPWD men were working and tried to obstruct the work by physically sitting on their side of the border. The local BSF commander met the 2nd-in-Command of 6th Bangladesh Rifles and asked him not to resort to such activities. In spite of the above provocation by personnel of the Bangladesh Rifles and Bangladesh nationals, the CPWD continued their work up to 1630 hours and dug 14 pits for erecting pillars for fencing purpose.

On 20th April 1984, at about 0400 hours (early in the morning) some BDR personnel started digging near the zero line in Bangladesh area and subsequently tried to fill up pits dug by our CPWD on the Indian Territory. The BSF troops on duty resisted their attempt. At about 1100 hours, 600-700 Bangladesh civilians

[Shri P.C. Sethi].

equipped with spades and baskets concentrated at border pillar No. 1001 to prevent the work being done by our CPWD. The BSF troops warned them not to cross the border or disturb the fencing work. At 1830 hours, about 200 armed BDR personnel along with 30 Bangladesh civilians came close to the site and tried to uproot the pillars erected by the CPWD. When warned by BSF personnel on duty not to resort to such activities, BDR personnel opened unprovoked fire on BSF troops at Jhaukuti and Ram Rai Kuti. The firing continued for about 10 minutes. The BSF personnel deployed in Ram Rai Kuti area returned fire in self-defence. One constable of the BDR was believed to have been killed and another person injured.

The BDR troops have been seen digging trenches opposite 3 BSF border out posts south of Ram Rai Kuti. On 22nd April 1984, Sector Commander of the BDR, Rangpur, accompanied by the Commandant and other officers of 6th BDR came near the border pillar No. 1001 and told the BSF post Commander, Ram Rai Kuti, that he had got instructions from the higher authorities that in case the border fencing is continued by India on the border line, it will be stopped by opening fire if necessary. Necessary protection to the survey party and the CPWD workers is being provided by the local BSF Battalions.

The survey party started their work on 24th morning. The work had gone on for barely 45 minutes when an officer of BDR came to Pillar No. 1007/S 4 and ordered their men to fire. The BSF took protective action and exchange of fire continued for some time. In the firing one of our Sub-Inspectors received a bullet injury but unfortunately one of the workers has been killed. The Sub-inspector has been removed to hospital where he is progressing satisfactorily.

The Government of Bangladesh submitted two notes to our High Commission on 2.4.1984. While reiterating their

earlier objection, it was incorrectly claimed that the fence was being erected on ground zero. The reasons which had led to our taking decision to erect the border fence were explained to the Bangladesh Government at Dhaka and to their High Commissioner in Delhi. It was also pointed out that building a fence on our side of the border had become unavoidable because of continuous influx of illegal immigrants and Bangladesh Government should respect our sovereign decision. It should not be made into an issue in our bilateral relations. On receiving information that units of Bangladesh Army had been deployed in support of Bangladesh Rifles, the Bangladesh High Commissioner was again called on 12th April 1984 and conveyed our serious objection and concern.

After the incident on 20th April, the Bangladesh High Commissioner was called in the Ministry of External Affairs and our strong objection and concern were conveyed to him and he was informed that the incident had greatly disturbed us. It was pointed out that the incident of unprovoked firing by the BDR had taken place despite the strong request by the Foreign Secretary on 7th April that the Government should defuse the situation. The same day Bangladesh Foreign Office handed over a protest note to our High Commissioner in Dhaka.

Barbed wire fencing is being erected within the Indian territory. It is aimed at checking illegal and unauthorised crossing as well as smuggling of goods, with provision however, for lawful traffic at check-posts. It is not contrary to the '1975 border guidelines' with Bangladesh. We do not seek and do not want any sort of conflict with this neighbouring country of ours and would hope that equally Bangladesh would respect our sovereignty and right to raise fence on our side of the border.

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA
(Guna): Mr. Deputy speaker, Sir, the subject is precise, the points are obvious and, I think, on the principal points there is broad agreement from all sides

of the House on action the Government has taken, and what action the Government should take. Therefore, Sir, with respect and in deference to your wishes and keeping within the fence you have erected round the subject, I will not stray into irrelevant and untouched areas and be brief and precise.

Sir, a little over a decade ago because of the persecution and discrimination practised by the then government of combined Pakistan—by those who held the reins of power in west Pakistan—millions of terror stricken refugees crossed from what was then East Pakistan into India causing socio-economic problems of gigantic proportions.

In their hour of suffering, India in keeping with her age-old humanitarian traditions, gave these millions of deprived refugees food and shelter and helped them tide over their personal and national crisis. As such times we never have been found wanting and our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, rose to the need of the hour. In fact, in March 1971 I did happen to spend one night in Tihar jail agitating for the quick and immediate recognition of Bangladesh. The human response of any human government in an hour of human tragedy is obvious.

Our government has always adhered to those high principles to alleviate the sufferings of those who are innocent and needy and who have undergone untold deprivations in their own little worlds. But equally it is the responsibility of the other government concerned to ensure that in normal times such an exodus is completely prevented. And if Bangladesh cannot create conditions conducive to the economic emancipation of her own countrymen; if Bangladesh has not been able to create hope and faith in her own countrymen towards their future well-being, and, if, because of the prevailing conditions in despair Bangla Deshis are crossing over in hundreds and thousands into West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, the Bangladesh Government will have to understand that India will have to take adequate steps to safeguard her security,

to safeguard her national interest and to safeguard the interests of her own citizens living on her side of the border. We have always shown patience and consideration in all our dealings with Bangladesh. But the New Moore issues Farakka, and now border-fencing—all these seem to be a part of a pattern—almost an avowed policy of the Bangladesh Government—to create issues from time to time to divert the attention of her citizens from Bangladesh's economic and political problems. Can this show of misplaced and misguided belligerence be an attempt to risk a finesse against the queens and begums of Bangladesh? If it is so, Bangladesh must also understand the consequences that will ensue if the gamble fails.

16.54 hrs.

[SHRI R. S. SPARROW *in the Chair*]

Unfortunately, instead of more sober thinking predominating in Dacca the media in Dacca has continued to whip up sentiments and emotions and resort to jingoistic terminology. The influential Dacca weekly, HOLIDAY has said :—

“Why is India violating the border guidelines between the two countries which prohibit putting up defensive structures of any nature within 150 yards on either side of the border? Does India have any other designs in mind?”

The Bangladesh daily ‘AZAD’ warned editorially and I quote :—

“The people of Bangladesh have reached the limits of their patience and will no longer tolerate any non-sense. They will fight with their bare hands to defend the honour and integrity of their country. And this fight will be the last and final one against India’s impertinence.”

“How melodramatic !

[Shri Madhavrao Scindia]

The Daily then went on to say somewhat mysteriously : —

“Your evil design has reached its final stage. You will now suffer the consequences of your misdeeds. You have already seen the people of Bangladesh in their struggle for liberation and you will see them again now. The rights of succession of Bangladesh on the side of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa have not yet expired.”

The tenor and the phraseology is thoroughly mind boggling. There is some suspicion that this mass hysteria is Government inspired. We are a nation wedded to policy of peace, friendship and understanding. And if these attempts are inspired by the Bangladesh Government, then these can only be deplored and condemned in the strongest possible terms.

All along, our Government has made efforts to impress upon Dacca the reality of Bangladesh's influx into our country and its impact demographically, and on the internal situation. All these things should be totally manifest to Bangladesh. The havoc that unchecked illegal immigration from Bangladesh into Assam has wrought in Assam is obvious to the whole world. And it cannot be wished away merely because the Bangladesh Government want to shut its eyes to it.

17 hrs.

The situation in West Bengal and Bihar also is very acute and our Government has given Dhaka conclusive evidence of illegal flow of immigrants backed by facts and figures. Yet, it is unfortunate, that in spite of toning down the diatribe there is almost a predominated campaign and Dhaka has chosen to move from harsh words to harsh deeds, from provocative attitudes to provocative actions. The Hon. Home Minister has very comprehensively described all the incidents that took place, Eversince 5th April,

when the first concrete pillar was placed at the tri junction of Assam, Bangladesh and West Bengal near international boundary pillar 1001, the Bangladesh Rifles have begun reinforcing and strengthening their forces. I would also like to know from the hon. Minister, whether it is true, that all along their part of border, along a 300 meter belt, the population on the Bangladesh side has been evacuated and their houses taken over by the Bangla Desh Armed Forces in preparation for some future action. There are also other signs of a large scale build up. At Ram Rai Kuti village in Goalpara district 3000 Bangladeshis infiltrated into India and pushed back our heavily outnumbered workers. Then they began digging trenches on their side of the border with the motive that when the rains come and the rains fill up the trenches, the pillars will themselves collapse. The hon. Minister has just said that they physically tried to pillars too.

The latest incident on the 24th April is not a minor incident. A sub-inspector of the Border Security Force has been injured and a worker killed; a humble worker, an Indian citizen has been killed. No one can treat this now as a minor incident. The situation has become intolerable. Our patience has been tried to its limits. My friend, Shri Rakesh has dwelt briefly on the possible motives that Bangladesh might have. Bangladesh is a least developed country with enormous pressure on land. Its population of 100 million is expected to go up in the decades to 150 million, and there may be a design to allow the population to spill over the border from time to time so as ease the pressure. But the trickle has now become a torrent. The other possible motive, as my hon. friend Shri Rakesh said, can be of diversionary tactics from its political and economic situation. Finally, the most dangerous motive may be that by these border incidents, it may create a situation which may become interesting for a Super Power to dabble in, and using the interest evinced by that Super Power, keeping in mind the cut-backs on IDA and various other world funding institutions, Bangladesh may extract more finance from such a Super

Power to tide over its economic problems in the short run.

Washington has already given Pakistan high-tech. Weaponry and we have been forced to divert our precious resources from the supreme task of development to the task of re-armament in our own national interest. We know that Washington has her eyes on Trincomalee to cause us discomfort in the South, and there are disquieting reports that the Singapore based Consortium which has been given the tank farm contract by the Sri Lankan Government is American inspired and American financed. This may suit that particular super-power, to give us now a little anxiety in the East and complete the encirclement of an arc of "uncertain intentions". We are wedded to a policy of peace and good neighbourliness. And many times, because of our predominant size, we choose to act with extra restraint, lest we be misconstrued, Mr. Rakesh stated that our relations with our neighbours seemed to have become more delicate, seemed to have deteriorated in the last four or five years. There is a complex sometimes that people suffer from, when they think about large countries. It is our effort always to ensure our neighbouring countries of our peaceful intentions of our good will, of our desire that they have a share in whatever way they feel proper, in the development of our technology, our science, so that we can help them also. But there is this complex. And it is natural that when a predominant country becomes stronger, that complex manifests itself a little more, is felt a little more, without any justification whatsoever and Mr. Rakesh, in the last four or five years, a world statesman has again taken over the reigns of our country and our Government, and because of that our country has grown in strength and our Government has a voice in World Councils. It may be because of the strength of our country, contrasted against its weakness from 1977-79, that there is this fear complex, quite unjustifiable, which may lead to a slight delicacy in our relationships which we are trying to overcome. But Sir, let our restraint not be taken as a sign of weakness. The 1975 Guidelines

which were accepted by both the countries have clearly laid down that neither of the two countries would erect any defence structure within 150 yards of their borders and that they would both check all unauthorised crossing and smuggling activities and prevent them. Sir, can the barbed wire fence, and by stretch of imagination, be considered a defence structure? On the other hand, this barbed wire fence will go a long way in achieving the second guideline which is the prevention of unauthorised crossings smuggling, population migration, and other things like dacoities, cattle lifting, etc. We must go ahead with our perfectly legitimate target and complete the 100 km Assam-Bangla Desh stretch of the border before the end of the year. General Ershad would be treading on very dangerous ground.

I would like to verify from the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs whether it is a fact that he has put the Bangladesh Army on the alert. Certain sources say that they have already come within six kilometres of the border at the tri-junction at satrasal, where the first incident on 20th April took place between the Bangladesh Rifles, and the BSF, and that Maj Gen Nuruddin, the Chief of General Staff, Bangladesh Army has reportedly been given the demand for greater coordination between the Bangladesh Rifles and the Bangladesh Army.

India is well known in international councils for her sagacity and for her patience. But the ultimate touchstone of our actions, of our reactions, the ultimate measuring stick, must be the repercussions on our national interests, both from the economic and from the security point of view.

In the present action, we are on very strong more and legal grounds. We must continue to try and impress upon the Government of Bangladesh the peacefulness of our intentions, our peaceful motives and then proceed with the fence. And ultimately, let the Bangladesh Government have a clear understanding of the consequences that may ensue, if they

[Shri Madhavrao Scindia]

persist in going ahead with their unfortunate belligerence towards an action undertaken by us, on our own sovereign territory.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) : It is indeed a sad commentary on our relationship with our friendly neighbour Bangladesh that we have had to take a decision to erect fences on our borders. It is not a very happy thing that neighbouring countries should come to this. It is only very rarely that these things happen. We had never expected that this will have to be done on the borders with Bangladesh.

With Bangladesh, we have a very special kind of relationship, a kind of emotional relationship with the people of Bangladesh, because they were the people who fought for their independence, for their own country; and they got it. And in that fight, we had our contribution also, because of a special situation. So, our relationship with that country is a very special kind of relationship.

I was a little surprised to hear the speech of Mr. Scindia. He criticised one newspaper, "The Daily" that they used very belligerent language, and very provocative language. But I think he also should have been a little restrained. He almost used the same language, and said, I think that we had come to a point where our patience had been exhausted; and, therefore, we must Act. And all that.

I think this kind of language does not help. It is the major responsibility of India, because India is a big country. We must also think of our special relationship. There are powers and outside forces which do not relish India becoming politically and economically a stronger country. They do not relish it. They would like such things to take place. So, it is right that we should see that with all our neighbouring countries, our relationship is friendly and good; and that we do not fall into any

kind of provocation and we do not provide any kind of opportunity to other forces, which want to interfere in our matters.

A statement has been made by the Home Minister. Things have happened during the last one month. It is very unfortunate that Bangladesh Rifles, their Border Rifles were the first to take the provocative action. I think this has to be taken serious note of, namely, that they were the first, really speaking to do it. They should not have done this, particularly at a time when India has erecting these fences on its territory. It was not that we were erecting, these fences on the disputed territory. I think the government of India was conscious enough to choose only those areas which were our territory.

There are no two opinions that there had been influx of people from Bangladesh because of various reasons and continuous influx for many years; illegal immigrants have been crossing the border and creating problems for us politically as well as economically. We have to face lots of problems on our border State. We know that Bengal Government has been bringing to the notice of the Government of India that they should take steps to prevent this kind of illegal influx. The agitation in Assam has its origin because of that problem. The same thing is also happening in Tripura. Until and unless our relations are very friendly and very good, are we in a position to erect this wire along the 3000 km. area will it be possible I don't think that it is going to happen. If we erect it, it will be going to have another problem; whether we are going to defend our border or whether we are going to defend the wire also; whether we could have done it in a better way by raising more BSF battalions on the border and making them more active, having some other method. I think this has been the problem which our Government of India has been considering for quite some time.

The Hindu and the Home Minister's statement made it clear. Only yesterday,

an unfortunate thing again had happened where Bangladesh had lodged a protest saying that there was unprovoked firing on Indian border by the Indian security force; and there was a violation on the border. They said that two Indian aircrafts also yesterday violated their country's air space. Gen. Ershad made a very provocative speech. He called an urgent Cabinet meeting saying that incidents are taking place these are serious sign.' Then 700 people belonging to the Jamaite Islami demonstrated against the India Information Centre; and they raised very objectionable slogans. Certain political parties in Bangladesh, small political parties, using very provocative language said that Indian Governments actions are expansionist actions and we are adopting an aggressive attitude. There are certain political parties which are trying to use these things for their political reasons. We have to be careful because we have our own experience in our country.

Political parties have got their own freedom; they do raise certain slogans; they do organise certain demonstrations. We have been misunderstood by Chinese rulers many times. I would like to remind you that Chinese rulers could never appreciate that in a democratic country like India there can be demonstrations against their leaders; there could be certain slogans. They said, "Oh a tomato was thrown on the photo of Mao Tse Tung and, therefore, our President was insulted; and the Government of India remained a silent spectator." They could not understand that in a democratic country, even again our own leaders, demonstrations are held, effigies are burnt, slogans are raised and so many objectionable things are done.

Unfortunately, in our neighbourhood, today, there are undemocratic governments functioning. They perhaps do not have a better understanding and appreciation of the urges and aspirations of the people, their own people. Therefore, they have to face problems; they have to face political confrontation with their own people. Maj. Gen. Ershad raised certain problems. He said, "I am trying

to improve relationship with India. Our problems are on Farakka and division of Ganga water and other things. We are slowly and gradually sorting out our problems. I am trying my best." 'If you erect any fence in the border, my country's international image will be tarnished, as if there is a big influx from country. Therefore, keep this under consideration.' I would like to know whether our Foreign Ministry took this issue up formally with the Bangladesh Government, and said, "Look here, we have decided to do that in our country's interest to check these illegal immigration which we have failed to check." We have to know whether they brought this to the notice of the Bangladesh Government or not, before erection of the fence.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY (Narasaraopet) : Mr. Yadav, the first question is obvious. Anybody will do it. Without that nothing will happen.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : Let the Home Minister say so.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : That is obvious.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : Let the Home Minister say it, because they have not said it. Let him make it very clear. Secondly, I will request one thing, because certain unfortunate incidents have taken place, one person on our side was killed and one of their constables was killed. That is, casualties have taken place on both sides. It would have deteriorated further, and therefore it should not be totally left to our Police officials on the border that they should take the whole thing in their hands, but at a political level, as the ministerial level, if possible, this question should be taken up by the External Affairs Ministry. Gen. Ershad must be told that because they have failed to curb illegal immigration, therefore, we are doing it on our own territory and they should see that no provocative

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

actions take place. If he goes on raising his forces, or sends his army or sends his Bangladesh Rifles in greater numbers, I think that will further provocation and we cannot take it lightly, we cannot simply sleep over all these matters. Particularly, our border security has become a very important issue today. In view of the foreign forces.—I am particularly referring to the United States of America—seeking every opportunity to create problems for India and unfortunately the Bangladesh Government has not learnt the lesson that laying greater reliance on any foreign power like the United States of America is not good. The United States of America has proved by its deeds and actions and policies that all over the world they are not the friends of any developing country. This lesson must be learnt by the Bangladesh Government and the Pakistani regime also. Unfortunately if they decide to depend on the United States of America instead of improving their relationship with a country like India which has a friendly policy, and of mutual understanding and helping with each other, it will not help them.

It was really a very heartening feature, during the last few months, that the SARC countries have met first at the Foreign Secretaries' level, and then at the Foreign Ministers' level, and then there will be a meeting at the Head of the States level, or a summit meeting should take place.

When these nations develop, India will have a major role to play in the fields of commerce, cultural field and also possibly for joint development and mutual socio-economic cooperation. At this time this thing has happened which I feel that it is the responsibility of both the Governments.

Both the Governments should really face the realities and I will conclude my observations by saying that the Government of India being a bigger country and a country with greater responsibility should be more careful. If certain force in Bangladesh

want that we should be the victims of provocation we should take the precaution not to be led by certain political parties which are raising their faces or by certain instigators. But we should impress upon the Bangladesh leadership that they should also see reason and see that these questions are solved amicably.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: Mr. Chairman Sir, the issue we are discussing is very important. And at the very outset, I would like to state as to what has happened. It is most unfortunate that one of our workers has been killed and one of the BSF jawans has been injured. It is also very unfortunate that one from the other side has also been killed. This thing should not have happened. And also the reports say that in many areas the situation is fast becoming explosive. Unfortunately, today in the Statesman I find that Mr. Ershad, the Chief Martial Law Administrator has said :

“Speaking at a function at a city college General Ershad called upon the people to forge “greater national unity” by sinking political and other petty differences for “safeguarding national independence and sovereignty”.

We should have resorted to some sort of restraint. His speeches should be more balanced. Unfortunately, I find today that our Information office in Dacca was attached. And also there is much sabre rattling centring around the barbed wire fencing by India.

My mind goes back to 1972 Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Cooperation, Friendship and Peace signed on 19th March, 1972. The Treaty starts with these words :

“Inspired by common ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism;

Having struggled together for the realisation of these ideals and cemen-

ted ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangladesh;

Determined to maintain fraternal and good neighbourly relations and transform their border into a border of eternal peace and friendship."

This is how the Treaty begins; "border of eternal peace and friendship". It was an example of good neighbourliness. The high contracting parties agreed that the border should be a border of eternal peace and friendship. Also I request you to mark the words; "cemented ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangladesh". It came through blood and sacrifices of both the people of Bangladesh and India. We had to bear the burden of 10 million people who came here as refugees. India fed them. After that, when the Pakistani troops withdrew, they returned. I sincerely want that the spirit of 1972 should continue. A sincerely want that we should have good neighbourly attitude, because Bangladesh is our next door neighbour. I do not want to say anything about their poverty. Our country is equally poor. May be, compared to them, we are advanced, but we have also poverty. That is not the question. In the Agreement we said that we will be working together to fight poverty, we will be working together for economic co-operation, for trade and commerce. But unfortunately, what we find today is that on the question of the erection of the barbed wire fence, certain words are being used, which should not have been used, by the Head of the State of Bangladesh.

Let us try to understand the problem. Even when it was East Pakistan, we had these problems, our border problems, our water problems. These problems were there. In the Border Agreement of May 1974 it was agreed to define the border more accurately at certain points so that the demarcation of the land boundaries between the two countries

would be completed. So, it was recognised that we have certain border problems in certain areas and it was decided that the demarcation would be undertaken. Unfortunately, this demarcation work was not undertaken, and that is the root cause of the crisis.

What do we find today? If this demarcation is undertaken there is problem in West Bengal because, according to the joint survey, three villages of West Bengal will go to Bangladesh though, for all practical purposes, as the records show, they belong to India. These are sensitive subjects. According to newspaper reports:

"A Bangladesh Government spokesman said on April 3 that Chandra, who was also semmend so the Foreign Ministry on April 2, was told that Bangladesh considered the move a 'blatant disregard or the universally accepted international norm that no structure can be erected unilaterally on the zero line or any border. The Indian construction engineers and workers were escorted by border security force and police, he said."

All these stretches are not disputed areas. I do not think there is any international law which can prohibit us from constructing barbed wire fencing in these stretches which are not disputed. How does it affect the sovereignty of Bangladesh? How is that Gen. Ershad is giving a call to the whole nation to be prepared for a war? This is a matter which must be settled through discussion and negotiation. If it fails at the lower level, it should be settled at a higher level. People who wield power should exercise it in such a way that on very simple issues this war psychosis is not created. It will not be good either for Bangladesh or for India.

At the same time, we should not shut our eyes to facts. Dakhra has said that there is no illegal emigration. But we think that there has been illegal immigration into our country, crossing of the bor-

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

ders, including some smugglers. So, we have a right to protect and defend our borders, just as Bangladesh has got the right to defend its own borders. We do not say "You do not have your right". If they feel like that, they can do it; but, let them not challenge us or expect us to agree to whatever they say. Well, before you do this, let us discuss what is your problem. We shall tell you our problem, you tell us your problem. That is the spirit of give and take. That is the spirit of good-neighbourliness. I expect the Bangladesh Government will show it. But there are problems.

Sir, in Tripura, the Chief Minister of Tripura has demanded that the whole border should be sealed and that there should be erection of barbed wire fencing. Why? He has said this because the extremists who are killing persons in Tripura and are retreating to Bangladesh areas. They are using the Bangladesh areas as their sanctuary and creating problems for us. I think Bangladesh should realise it. Either they stop it or they must accept our claim and accept our right to erect barbed wire fencing. We must stop these activities of the extremists. We cannot allow the extremists having sophisticated arms to operate in India and when we take action, they retreat to Bangladesh areas with Bangladesh areas either encouraging or remaining indifferent.

I would also like to draw the attention of the House to another very grave measure that the Bangladesh Government is taking. The Chakmas for all practical purposes are the citizens of Bangladesh. They have right to remain in Bangladesh. But the Chakmas are being systematically exterminated and wiped out. Sir, what happened in the case of the Red Indians? They were killed. It is happening now in the case of the Chakmas. And unfortunately they are trying to transport them or drive them out. They are also taking their own people to inhabit those areas where the Chakmas live. That is what they are trying to do. We cannot remain

unconcerned to it, because the Chakmas are crossing the border and coming over here and are creating problems in Tripura also. We just cannot say you get out, but we cannot just say you come. It is their problem. They are exporting their problem of destabilisation to us. You settle your problems, we have nothing to say. But it concerns us because they are crossing the border for their own security. You are exterminating them. Sir, I think the Bangladesh Government is answerable to that. The must not do it. That is why the Union Government should take a particular note of it and of what the Tripura Government is saying. I would like to know from our Home Minister whether he has got these reports from the Tripura Government? If so, what is the reaction of the Government thereto? And also, Sir, how has this become the meeting ground of the MNF, the Mizo National Front and other people who are fighting with arms against us?

Then there is another problem of immigrants. I don't know that is the number of the immigrants and all that. But it is there. That is why this question of barbed wire fencing has come because of Assam agitation. I do not agree with what Assam agitationists are saying. That all these people who are there are foreigners and all that. But it is true that there has been some infiltration and no political party has denied it. But what we have said is that let 1971 be the cut-off year for various reasons for which I have not enough time to come to. We are all agreed that anyone crossing the border after 1971 should be detected and also sent back. That is why this measure should be taken. Sir, you know there are other problems also. As you have said at the present moment this is our main problem. I want that the Indian Government becoming very firm about protecting our own border and also stopping illegal immigrants should have a flexible policy, because we want to have good-neighbourly relations not only with Bangladesh, but with all our neighbours upto the point that is possible. Our gesture should be friendly. That is why we should tell them that this type of jingoism

is bad for them and bad for us. And they should not indulge in it and we should also not do it. I am happy that Shri Chandrajit Yadav has mentioned about this. Decision should be taken at the highest political level so that these irritants can be removed.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would again request our home Minister—it would have been better had the Foreign Minister been present here because these are the issues which are to be taken up with the Government of Bangladesh. Also we should try to project our border. We have constructed some watch towers, they have also constructed some. But we should be more vigilant; I am sure that this is not going to solve the problem: We have 4000 kilometers of borders. Then also we have to define maritime border. These are the problems that have to be settled. But there should be more vigilance on the part of the BSF so that we protect our border; at the same time we should try to conduct negotiations with Bangladesh so that we can settle all these issues amicably.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR BHUYAN (Gauhati) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, much has already been stated on this question of border firing. This is a very grave issue for the country.

Sir, as already mentioned, you are aware that because of this continuous influx of people across the border particularly into the Assam region as well as other neighbouring States of our country, the serious question of infiltrators has come up and on this very question the agitation in Assam has started since 1979. As a result of this agitation, in order to stop this menace of infiltrators into the Assam border specially, as well as into the border of other neighbouring States of our country, the Government has decided to erect border fences and for this purpose an order has been passed for erecting barbed wire fencing. Now, when the attempt has been made to erect barbed wire fencing in particular places, these incidents of border firing have taken place with the consequent loss to our country, to our citizens as well as to the neighbouring countries.

In this context I would like to draw the attention of our Home Minister that just now he has mentioned that the order has been passed for erecting test pillars and that order has been passed for test barbed wire fencing only for a kilometre length, although the border is for 3,200 kilometres, as he has stated. Sir, does this statement reveal a clear-cut determination on the part of our Government to erect border fencing on this long-long border between India and Bangladesh? This is a question and on this question, you know that many people of Assam are still launching their agitation and till now they are continuing the agitation in some form or the other. So, I do not think that our Government has taken sufficient measures to erect the border fencing on all possible borders, particularly covering the Assam border. Although a test case has been made in Dhubri District of Assam, you know the result. It has already been reported in the newspapers. Long back when this question of border fencing had been raised, assurance was given by the Government of India to the agitationists, to the people of Assam, Bangla Desh raised their objection I do not know what steps were taken since then to convince that country that although we are going in for erecting the border fencing, we are not interfering with their internal affairs nor interfering with their integrity. I do not know whether such an attempt has been made to convince them on this aspect of this particular issue. I shall be glad, as has already been mentioned by Shri Satyasadhan Chakraborty from the Opposition benches, if this measure is taken now at the highest political level to convince our neighbouring country—that we are not going to interfere with their internal affairs, while we are going to protect the interest of our own country and we are going to stop all sorts of smuggling, etc.

It is also reported, as has already been mentioned, that Banga Desh is also going to build some watch towers. Building of the watch towers, etc is their own matter. But the thing is that this cannot be an issue of creating some border troubles and

[Shri Bhubaneswar Bhuyan]

thereby attracting some foreign agents into our land, into our sub-continent. Therefore, attempt and initiative should be taken at a high political level of diffuse tension.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : At the earliest.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR BHUYAN : In this context I would like to refer that some time ago a very senior opposition leader had mentioned about the firing at the border. I do not know why he has not mentioned about stoning of the Indian Library at Dacca, I, therefore, request that our Government should lodge not only Protest but also make our points very clear to them. The Government of India must express and clarify that border fencing is to protect the interest of the people of this country. This should be done without any further loss of time. With this, I conclude.

श्री जगजाल सिंह (हरिद्वार) : सभापति महोदय, देश की सीमाओं की सुरक्षा हो रही है और 37 साल के बाद देश की सीमाओं को सुरक्षित करने का इस सरकार ने प्रयास किया है। मैं सरकार को तो नहीं, लेकिन इस सदन के दोनों सदनों को जरूर धन्यवाद देना चाहूंगा कि असम के आन्दोलन के बाद बार-बार चर्चा के बीच में हमारे सांसदों और नेताओं ने इस बात पर जोर दिया था कि इस 3200 किलोमीटर की सीमा की सुरक्षा व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये और सांसदों की बात अन्ततोगत्वा इस सरकार को माननी पड़ी।

सभापति जी, मैं सदर का ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहूंगा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनरल इरशाद ने 15 अगस्त, 1983 को चटगांव में जबकि बाड़ लगाने का काम भी शुरू नहीं हुआ था, बार-बार बंगलादेश

के अन्दर इस बात का विरोध किया था और देश की जनता का आवाहन किया था कि वह संगठित हो कर इस खतरे का मुकाबला करने के लिए तैयार रहे। गृह मंत्री जी यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं, मैं उनसे यह जानना चाहूंगा कि बार-बार जनरल इरशाद की तरफ से जब ऐसे बयान आते रहे हैं, तो उन बयानों के विरोध में हमारी सरकार ने वहां की फौजी सरकार से प्रोटेस्ट के तौर पर कभी पूछताछ की कि बाड़ लगाने में आप को क्या एतराज है। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार की तरफ से ऐसे बयानों के बारे में किसी तरीके की पूछताछ नहीं की गई और अगर की गई है, तो मंत्री जी जवाब दें लेकिन अफसोस इस बात का है और मैं इस पर ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता कि सन् 1947 से लेकर अब तक करीब-करीब पाने दो करोड़ हिन्दू और मुसलमान हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर आए हैं और इस देश में बस गये हैं। यह आज भी ज्यों का त्यों चालू है और मंत्री जी बैठे हुए हैं, मैं इस तरफ इशारा करना चाहता हूँ कि पहले इन सीमाओं पर बाड़ नहीं लगी थी और जब से लगाने का कार्यक्रम शुरू किया है बंगलादेश के लोग और ज्यादा गति से हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर घुसने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और लगातार घुसते जा रहे हैं। जो दो महीनों की बला-बारों की रिपोर्ट हैं उनके अनुसार 80 हजार आदमी हिन्दुस्तान की सीमाओं में बंगलादेश से आकर घुसे और सरकार को यह बात मालूम है। मैं इस तरफ इशारा करना चाहता हूँ कि बंगलादेश के अन्दर जो बिहारी मुसलमान हैं, उनको बंगलादेश के फौजी प्रबंधक पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान का एजेंट समझते हैं और जो वहां पर हिन्दु हैं, उनको काफिर समझते हैं। इसलिए बाड़ लगाने की प्रक्रिया जब से शुरू हुई है, तब

से हिन्दु और बिहारी मुसलमान बड़ी तादाद में बंगलादेश से भागने की तैयारी कर रहे हैं। लगातार भाग रहे हैं और आपकी सीमाओं को पार कर रहे हैं। इसलिए आपको इस में बड़ी सतर्कता बरतनी चाहिए और आप अपनी फौज और बी० एस० एफ० की वहाँ पर ठीक से व्यवस्था कराएँ वरना जनरल इरशाद एक-एक हिन्दू को और एक एक बिहारी मुसलमान को, जिनको वह पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान का एजेन्ट समझता है, वहाँ से भागने पर मजबूर कर देगा। अगर वे भागना नहीं चाहते हैं, तो भी जबर्दस्ती, उनको भगाने की कोशिश की जा सकती है और की जा रही है। इसलिए मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस मामले में सतर्क रहे। जब सरकार ने कंटीले तार लगाने का काम शुरू किया था, तो वहाँ पर सुरक्षा के लिए उसे बी० एस० एफ०, मिलिट्री और पुलिस की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए थी लेकिन ऐसा प्रबंध आपने नहीं किया है। आपको बंगलादेश के प्रशासक जनरल इरशाद से पूछना चाहिये था कि किस सीमा पर, किस जगह पर और किस मोड़ पर उनको तार लगाने पर एतराज है जबकि उनके एतराज लगातार आ रहे थे और आप को उनसे बातचीत करनी चाहिए थी। मैं अपनी सरकार की कोई आलोचना नहीं करना चाहता। हमारी सरकार और हमारा देश हमेशा शान्ति, सहयोग और सह अस्तित्व में विश्वास करता है और हम नहीं चाहते कि हम बंगलादेश या किसी और पड़ोसी मुल्क के साथ अपनी ताकत की अजमाइश करें। हम शान्ति में विश्वास रखते हैं लेकिन जनरल इरशाद ने कहा है कि बंगला देश के बहादुर लोगों की हिम्मत को हिन्दुस्तान को देखना चाहिए कि उन्होंने पाकि-

स्तान से बंगलादेश बनवाया है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि संकट के वक्त हिन्दुस्तान की फौजों और हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के साहस और दोस्ती को जनरल इरशाद ने देखा है लेकिन अगर सीमा पर तार लगाने के मामले में हमारे साथ कोई छेड़खानी की गई, तो वे दुश्मनी का हाथ भी देखने के लिए तैयार रहें। हम इस चीज को कभी बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे कि हमें अपनी सीमा पर तार लगाने से रोका जाए। वे अपनी सार्वभौमिकता के लिए, अपनी सोवरेटी के लोगों को भड़काते हैं गलत तरीके से और हम अपनी सोवरेटी के लिए अपनी सीमा में तार लगाएँगे और अगर हमें तार लगाने से रोका गया, तो हम इसे बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे। मैं सरकार से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस मामले में सरकार सतर्क रहे।

एक बात और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। अभी तक सरकार ने नदियों से जो हमारा बार्डर बंगलादेश के साथ लगा हुआ है, उस पर कंटीले तार लगाने का कोई प्रबंध नहीं किया है। कई जगहों पर हमारी सीमाएँ नदियों के जरिये मिली हुई हैं और लोग दूसरी तरफ से न आकर नदियों के बोर्डर से आना शुरू कर देंगे। इसलिए नदियों के किनारों पर, जहाँ पर हमारी सीमा बंगला देश से मिलती है, भी कोई कंटीले तार लगाने का आपका विचार है। क्या भारत सरकार नदियों से मिली हुई सीमा पर भी इसी तरीके से कंटीले तार लगाने की व्यवस्था करेगी? एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि आसाम के मुख्यमंत्री ने फीडर रोड बनाने का सुझाव दिया था। जब तक वहाँ पर कंटीले तारों के साथ-साथ फीडर रोड नहीं होंगे तब तक जरूरत पड़ने पर हमारी सेना कैसे पहुंच सकेगी। इसलिए

[श्री जगपाल सिंह]

मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि जिस तत्परता से वहां पर कंटीले तार लगाये जाएं, उसी तत्परता से फीडर रोड्स का निर्माण भी होना चाहिए।

शरणार्थियों की समस्या एक मानवीय समस्या है। हमने कभी बंगलादेश से आए हुए शरणार्थियों के बारे में यह नहीं कहा कि उनको हम बंगाल की खाड़ी में भेज देंगे या उनको मार देंगे, जैसा वे चकमाज के बारे में कहते हैं। हमने उनको आसाम से हटाकर देश के दूसरे प्रदेशों में बसाया है। 1971 के बाद और उससे पहले श्री मुजीब से जो भी समझौते हुए, उनका हमारी सरकार ने हमेशा पालन किया है और करती रहेगी। इसलिए मुझे आशा है कि इस सारी समस्या को मानवीय दृष्टिकोण से देखा जाएगा। सारी संधियों को ध्यान में रखते हुए बंगलादेश सरकार द्वारा इस तरह का व्यवहार नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। मुझे उम्मीद है कि इस डिबेट के बाद बंगलादेश सरकार हमारे देश के साथ जूझने का काम नहीं करेगी। धन्यवाद।

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset I want to make it clear as to whether the issue involved is a bilateral issue or anything that is being done by Bangladesh is an interference in our internal affairs or an interference in the sovereignty of our great country.

A shrewd attempt is being made to internationalise the issue as in the case of Farakka issue, Nepal is being dragged into it being that reservoirs should be built in Nepal. You imagine from which point we started. When the partition was made, the Ganga was a river of India. Nobody said that Bangladesh or East Pakistan would have any share of the

Ganga waters. As a matter of fact, Khulna which has a majority of Hindu population was given to East Pakistan and Murshidabad which has a majority of Muslim population was given to India, with a view that the Ganga waters would be used by India and that East Pakistan has nothing to do with that.

Subsequently, as a magnanimous gesture of our nation, the Government of India from the beginning till now have responded and accepted the magnanimous gesture throughout all these years. Now, it is not only the Farakka issue but an attempt is being made to internationalise this issue also. Once the issue is internationalised, I ask, what will be its implications? My submission is, as Mr. Satyasadhan Chakraborty said, it is our right to raise barbed wire fencing in our territory. Does it require the consent of the Bangladesh Government? No.

18 hrs.

It is not the case of the Bangladesh Government that India is trespassing into their territory, or that we are posting our fencing in their territory but that India is fencing in its territory. What is the objection of the Government of Bangladesh for India fencing its own territory? Why should Bangladesh object? It is because the international reputation of Bangladesh would be spoiled. Every country in the world would come to know and form an opinion that Bangladesh is a poor country. Bangladesh Government does not want such an idea to be formed by the other nations of the world. This is the reason for their oft-repeated saying that "There are other reasons and we have to examine them"

The military rulers are now confronted with a big movement and revolt by the people, called the popular upsurge, as in Pakistan. Forces believing in secularism and democracy are arrayed against the military rulers. This is national upsurge. The Leader of the Student Federation, a Muslim boy, challenged the military

[Shri Brajamohan Mobanty]

rulers' saying that religion is a matter of the heart, not of the Government. He straightaway challenged. The people of East Bengal and Bangladesh are very much concerned and their contribution to the freedom struggle is unique. Everybody connected with the freedom movement knows the contribution of the people. They may be Muslims or Hindus. But, first a foremost, they are nationalists. We know their struggle for freedom during the various stages of history in the various nations all over the world.

Now, an attempt is being made by the Governments of Bangladesh and Pakistan to divert the attention of their people towards some other affairs and for that purpose, these controversies have been raised. Some such issues which have been raised merely for the purpose of diverting the attention of the people are the More Island, the three villages of Jalpaiguri and some areas of Tripura. Those Governments are now trying to raise many more such issues with a view to create ill-will against India in the minds of those people and to make their own people forget the real issues at home of the existence of the military Government. This is the crux of the whole matter.

14 Soviet diplomats have been expelled from their country, for the reason that they are involved in espionage activities. Similarly, we should purge our country of anti-national elements.

An attempt is being made, particularly after the non-alignment movement, to weaken and destabilise India. That is the reason why all these issues are springing up all around India. This house may see the scene of superpower diplomacy. You can see that particularly they want that India should be weakened and should not have good relations with Islamabad. You will find that your country is surrounded by disputes and these innumerable disputes are being engineered and created by one superpower or the other which does not want

non-alignment to grow, the peace movement in the world to grow, India to be a stable country and to lead the peace movement of the world.

I am sure that in spite of all these obstacles, India will surely lead the movement against all sorts of colonialism whether it be economic or political and that India will lead the nations of the world in this respect. It is the basis of the freedom movement.

We must judge the affairs in the background. I have advised the hon. Minister of Home affairs that we should have that magnanimity which is being continuously followed by successive Governments of this country towards other nations in their hour of tribulations.

Look at the people of Bangladesh and at their agony, their sufferings and how they are being tortured. We can have nothing but magnanimity of heart and harmony towards them. This should always be our policy.

We should be very very careful to see that the issue remains bilateral. It should not be internationalised. An attempt will be made for that. We should be very careful on this matter.

In Bangladesh, 14% of the population are Hindus. In India, the population of Muslims is only 12%. It is not a question of having a majority or minority of Muslim population. Our enemy is fundamentalism. Our friend is the secularism. Therefore, all countries which believe in fundamentalism are our enemies. All nations which believe in secularisms are our friends. Today in Bangladesh garlanding of martyrs is forbidden because that is 'un-Islamic'; that is the position of this military government. We must be careful. The people of Bangladesh are now fighting to establish secularism and democracy in that country. The military ruler is afraid because the former President was murdered and the daughter of the former President was also killed. He is now afraid and he is in a tottering position. That is why he wants an issue

[Shri Brajamohan Mohanty]

to divert the attention of the people—so that he can continue in power. We must be very careful. I would advise the Home minister not to show any weakness. We should have magnanimity plus firmness. That is how we have to handle it and we should not allow them to internationalise this issue.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA (Bombay South): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this House is called upon to discuss a piquant and irritating situation that is taking place, that has arisen, across our border with Bangladesh. If you view it from the historical background, in this country there is nothing but a fund of goodwill for Bangladesh and we cherish their friendship immensely. I would say that we are emotionally attached to them as there is a historical background; there are even geo-political factors. Because of these, there is nothing in the heart of India against Bangladesh, the government of Bangladesh and the people of Bangladesh. But unfortunately a series of events have taken place which have unfortunately and very strangely culminated in the present skirmishes that are taking place. I don't know, but it appears that, in these series of events that took place, there is much more that we can understand if we go through some of them. I will not go into details. In the beginning, the Farakka issue was raised, sharing of the Ganga waters. The modalities on sharing of these were decided with the full cooperation of India. Then the Chakma, Mizoram infiltration, problem was raised. Then the Law of the Sea; the New Moore Island incident occurred. Every time some irritating factor was raised very systemically by those who were sitting on the pedestal, not by the people of Bangladesh but by those military rulers who have come there one after another; they have raised this bogey one after another. On 10th March 1983 when Gen Ershad was in Delhi, he made a statement. Our reporters asked him, talking about Indo-Bangladesh friendship, "Why are these irritating factors there? Why don't you take action? Why don't you see that this

friendship is cemented further?". Then he said,—it was on 10-3-1983 and it was reported in all the major newspaper— "No major issues with India". These were the headlines in the papers. He said, 'No major issues with India'. But after some time the incidence of trans-border crimes increased, dacoits started taking place, kidnapping, cattle-lifting, illegal crossing, all these started again, and these go on very systematically. One can read into these. If we read all these events, if we go through them and analyse them, we will find that there is some method in madness. The method in madness is that, whenever there is some trouble, domestic trouble, then the military rulers want to distract the attention of their people. Because they are pestered by domestic difficulties, these military rulers, one after another, have been raising this bogey against India—on the pretext of one or the other issue.

10 10 hrs.

[SHRI N.K. SHEJWALKAR *in the chair*]

Some friends have spoken including the hon Member, Maharaja Scindia and the hon Member Mr. Jaipal Singh Kashyap and they have spoken in stern language.....

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur): You being a very progressive member, why do you address any member as a Maharaja?

SHRI RATANSINH: All right, I will correct it—Mr. Madhavrao Scindia.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Bharatpur): He represents a princely State.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: I do not recognise the princes.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA: I am glad that in the BJP there are some progressive elements also. I have fought against the Rajas and Maharajas during my student days. I do not know about you.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : There are more Maharajas and Rajas in Bombay.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have also some 'Raj' word in your own name.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : What about Rajyog ?

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Don't try to divert my attention, I will not succumb to this temptation. Kindly bring the hon. Member to order.

I was stating that there is a method in madness of these military rulers. Because of their domestic difficulties they are raising these issues and thereby divert the attention of the people. When this infiltration continuously started, we have been right from the beginning adopting a policy of restraint every time. When we have drawn their attention and whenever posters, offensive posters of violence and threats, etc. come from the other side, I must commend, I must say and congratulate that so far our country has maintained the policy of restraint. We have never used any aggressive language or harsh words and we have always stressed the importance and our intense desire to have friendly relations with Bangladesh. In spite of that, when this infiltration continues, it has created a serious problem for our country. In Assam the situation is created in such a way that people of Assam were so much agitated that we have faced a very complicated situation. Assam, Bihar, West Bengal and Tripura—all these places were highly disturbed. If you see the growth of population in other States in comparison with Assam, Assam has had a growth of 40%. More than 50% of this is due to infiltration from other States. Unfortunately it was due to our slackness and our government moved very slowly and it has aggravated the situation. The detection tribunals that we have established were completely ineffective. The facts are there. Therefore, in future there should be guidelines for the government and the government would not show any slackness any further.

Now we have decided that as these detection Tribunals are ineffective, we shall have combing of the area and a statement was issued that it was the desire and the Government would carry on combing of the area and that we shall throw out the infiltrators and all those people who have come from across the border. But that was not done very promptly. I wonder whether it is done even to-day. It is the duty of the administration to put it before the Tribunal. Now there is one clause and the whole trouble arises out of that—that a private citizen is required to lodge the complaint before the detection tribunal and the administration on its own and *suo motu* does not take action.

Now, Sir, who will be the private citizens who will incur the wrath of all those infiltrators and then go to the Administration and put the entire machinery into action? This was a very incongruous and absurd clause that was added to it. I would like that as far as our Administration is concerned, they must themselves see that they take *suo motu* action with regard to finding out the infiltrators and taking action against them.

Sir, a suggestion was made about giving identity cards to the people, to those citizens, in the border areas so that, in future, further complications do not arise. Especially, it is necessary in Assam, Bihar and West Bengal. The Election Commission has also suggested that identity cards would be distributed for the voters. These are just some of the suggestions so that, in future, we can act very promptly on all these things.

I am not going to say anything more, I would merely request and I would plead with our Government to impress upon the leaders of Bangladesh, the authorities in Bangladesh, and tell them that as far as these border skirmishes and the violent postures that they have adopted are concerned, India's policy is that we are a matured nation and, with maturity and restraint, we shall work.

[Shri Ratansinh Rajda]

But, if these provocations continue, then also we have no evil designs against Bangladesh but, at the same time the Government is called upon to utilise its utmost tact coupled with firmness and our action as far as constructing and erecting the barbed wire fencing on our border is concerned, every Indian will stand by the Government, if the Government speeds up the work as far as completing the erection of barbed wire fencing throughout the 3200 k.m border in Bangladesh is concerned. This infiltration by the infiltrators has created a grave situation. We cannot allow the outsiders to come into our country and create economic, political and other problems as also to indulge in subversive activities etc. in our country.

From this view point, Government must speed up the work. The slogan of the Government must be more speed, still more speed, coupled with tact and firmness. If this policy is adopted by the Government, I think that wiser counsel shall prevail with the military rulers in Bangladesh. Having stated this, arising out of this, I would like to draw the attention of our hon. Home Minister to one thing. In this very House, we have often discussed the problem of infiltrators from across the border. We have a large border and coastal area where infiltration has been going on from different parts. Our Government has shown slackness throughout. Sometime back I have already written about it. People have written to me from Kutch that people in large numbers from across the borders have infiltrated into Kutch and they are carrying on subversive activities; they are terrorising the local population and they are indulging in all sorts of smuggling and other activities. The limbs of law on our side are not active at all. On the contrary, they are found to be hand-in-glove with these people because the smugglers and other people are the people with resources and that is why it is urgently necessary to understand the seriousness of this problem. I would say that infiltration itself should be discussed

in this House as a matter of national importance because throughout we have shown this slackness and, if this slackness continues on the part of the Government, there are ominous portents and our nationhood and our very national security would be endangered. From this point of view I would like our Government to rise up to the occasion and shed their slackness and to take firm action coupled with firm determination also.

I have done, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are few more hon. Members from the Opposition side. I shall call them one by one.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Bombay North West) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the incidents which have been reported both in the Press and by the hon. Home Minister this afternoon are serious enough to provoke drawing up the necessary conclusions and formulating our reaction and our policy in regard to these incidents.

The first thing is to draw our appropriate conclusions. I do not know whether they have been drawn by the government. They do not seem to have been drawn by the hon. Members who spoke from the ruling party. Since the time is too short I will only seriatim describe what I believe the main lessons we must draw.

The first is that the border contrary to the assurances given to the people of this country continues to be unguarded; infiltration continues and the serious matter for introspection is if after we have decided to be vigilant: if after our work force is on the border and after our security forces are stationed there still this kind of insecurity prevails, what must have been happening at the time when all these precautions had not been taken.

This provokes another thought that atleast today show some gratitude for

those who drew your attention to this danger whom you called agitators ; whom you accused of being anti-national and whom you accused of acts of violence. At least recognise today in retrospect that they draw your attention and the nation's attention to a great menace and they indeed were patriots.

The second conclusion which forces itself upon anybody who seriously thinks about the problem is that even today there is no adequate vigilance or intelligence. Why is it that you did not anticipate all that has happened between 5th of April and today ? Were you informed in time that there is going to be resistance to the erection of these pillars and to the carrying out of this defence work ? Suddenly you have been caught unware on the 5th and you have been caught so unware that inspite of the warnings given to you on the 5th and 6th you could not muster up your forces and summon enough vigilance to be able to protect the workers employed there and your own security forces. Incidents have on the latter dates in April and the disgraceful part of it is that on 20th when the incidents took place for two days you were forced to stop the construction work on your side What does it show ? It shows that we were totally unprepared ; we continue to be unprepared inspite of the warnings and we were unable to protect the safety, the life of the poor workers whom we have employed ourselves on our projects inspite the presence of our so-called security forces.

The third conclusion and this must cause discomfiture to my friends in the Congress (I) and I am citing Prof. Ranga as my witness, I can tell you that only the other day a responsible member of the Congress (I) seriously claimed that after we put the stewardship of our foreign affairs in the charge of our present Foreign Minister and after Shrimati Indira Gandhi has become the Chairperson of the non-aligned movement, India has become a super power. This was a serious claim which was made and I make no statements unless I have respectable witnesses.

Sir, this must induce some feeling of humility in us that a small weak power on our border is able to humiliate us is able to provoke us, is able to shoot across our border, and cause casualties amongst our ranks, not only amongst our Security forces but our labour force which is employed.

The serious question of introspection is this. We must not live in a world of illusions. We are beginning to live in the same world of illusions in which we lived in 1962 when that world of illusion was shattered but then there were great men in those days who acknowledged that they were living in a world of illusion. We have no such great men today. The sooner we disabuse our minds of this great illusion the better it will be for the country.

That a small little incident of this kind compelled us to stop our work for 2 days provokes the 4th conclusion. You have embarked upon a project of covering up a border of 3200 KM out of which I believe 1500 KM will constitute the Assam Bangladesh Border. The report which has appeared in the Times of India—I wish Government as taken us into confidence—is that the Government has a very ambitious programme. The ambitious programme is that by the end of the year 1984 we are going to guard by the erection of this fence only 100 KM out of this 1500 KM or, out of the total 3000 and odd IM It means that this Government intends to complete the work of safeguarding our borders after 32 years. Sir, they are playing a joke upon the nation. According to me this is a big joke with the nation. They never had any serious intention of safeguarding our border for the last 30 years. They are now playing a fraud on this nation by telling the nation that we are out to complete the work and that we have seriously decided to safeguard our borders. This fraud must stop. This throwing dust on the eyes of the people of this country must stop

The last but one conclusion is this : Again it is a fact which has not been

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

noticed. There seems to be corruption in the execution of this very small work. The Times of India reports that one pillar which was enacted was pulled down. By whom? Not by a tank Not by an armoured car. But by a Bangladeshi teacher across the border, I don't know what kind of magic this teacher had in succeeding in pulling down one of the erected pillars from across the border. This teacher from Bangladesh is able to pull down your structure, which means, these are not even being constructed out of genuine concrete or cement or any material which will held these pillars erect. This kind of corruption is going on there. If this pillar could be pulled up by a teacher, this whole fence in one night can be laid to rest and levelled up by one tank which you will not observe because you have no vigilance there.

And then the last disturbing conclusion is this. I am told not in clear explicit terms but at least in veiled camouflaged terms. One gentleman, my friend, Mr. Mohanty insinuated so. This is the disturbing conclusion. The border area is predominantly inhabited by people whose support and loyalty you do not command. Otherwise this is not possible. It is the population alone—loyal population on the border—which can safeguard our installations. No amount of security force is going to do it. If a teacher across the border could go and demolish your structure what were our people doing on this side of the border? I am told this is situated right in front of 2 villages. Draw your own conclusions. They are very uncomfortable conclusions. They are humiliating conclusions. Draw your conclusions. If you go to sleep you are not going to solve this problem at all. That takes me to a much more serious problem.

Yesterday, the leader of my party, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpai asked a question in this House, to tell us the names of the districts in West Bengal and Bihar where from 1971 to 1981, (a) the population, has increased from 40 per cent

to 99 per cent, and (b) the population has increased hundred per cent and above. The answer which was given was that the number of districts, where the population had increased hundred per cent and above was 8 districts in West Bengal and 4 districts in Bihar, with a total number of 51 villages; and the number of districts where the population had increased from 40 to 99 per cent, was 8 in West Bengal and 6 in Bihar and the total number of villages involved was 181.

A big country like India may take this in its stride, but what appals me is this. I do not wish to use any strong word, because the answer was given by a lady and even at my age, my sense of chivalry has not gone away, and I would transfer the burden of this answer to the very strong shoulders of Shri Sethi and leave the lady out.

SHRI M RAM GOPAL REDDY : What the hon. Member is talking is not proper. Whom is he referring to? Is he referring to the Prime Minister?

SHRI NARAYAN CHOUBEY (Midnapore) : The only lady he respects is the Prime Minister... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : He does not know my love and affection for the Prime Minister.

This is the answer given. In answer to the question for reasons for increase in population, the reply given is: one, fertility. I agree with that. Then, the second reason is mortality. It speaks volume for the ministerial common sense, that mortality is the cause of increase in population. The three reasons given are: fertility, mortality and migration. I can assume that this was a mistake. But the answer goes further, and it says that it is difficult to attribute the growth of population to any single factor. Have they completely lost their commonsense? Have they completely lost method of drawing conclusions? Have they no commonsense of drawing even a corollary when

a theorem is presented to them? Fertility throughout the country on an average is about 2 per cent annually. I can concede, 10 per cent, 20 per cent, 25 per cent or even 30 per cent. But here there is 100 per cent increase in population. So the remaining 70 per cent is at least because of migration. If mortality has brought no decrease, 70 per cent must be the increase. What is the Home Ministry's level of intelligence, that they are not even aware that 70 per cent of growth of population is due to migration? In that case, how is this country safe in the hands of these gentlemen? I would like to know that. The nation is entitled to ask and question their commonsense.

To me, it appears that the only advice one could give them is the advice which was given during the Second World War when Chamberlain had to be asked to go. He was not asked by the opposition, but he was asked by his own party, that the only sacrifice that he could make for the nation was that he must lay down the seal of his office. And somebody, from their own party, has to ask this Government to lay down the seal of its office.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Bharatpur): On the subject which is under discussion, I thought of sharing my views, especially because we have some emotional touch with our neighbouring countries, specially with Bangladesh.

I recollect December 1971 when war was on. After Bangladesh was declared, some of the soldiers were called to Dacca. There were those young girls, families and other people who met us. They were all there with tears in their eyes. We used to ask those people: "How many brothers and sisters are you?" They did not have any answer to that question, except affection and love for the Indian people.

This was the situation in Dec. 1971. I go further to show how much attachment Bangladesh people had for the Indian people. Now because the war is over,

and I am away from the Air Force, I can disclose one of the bombing missions. I was coming back from Kurmitola, after a bombing mission. The Pakistani transmitter transmitted a wrong order. We were supposed to bomb at a particular height. They transmitted: "Go down to height such-and-such" It was one sharp order. They said: "Close throttle; descend bomb". There was another transmitter which was controlled by Mukti Vahini. It immediately came on the line and said: "It is a wrong transmission. Don't listen." It is not that I have listened to the order given by the Pakistani transmitter: but imagine their attachment to us. This one-second transmission did make me think.

So, these were the feelings between our two countries. The POWs—those people who were caught when their aircraft was shot, or some of the POWs who were caught by the Pakistani forces—were kept in a small barrack near the run-way. The idea behind keeping these pilots next to the run-way was that in case Indian planes came, or they bombarded these runways, they will automatically be killed. So, the officer who was on duty with these POWs met us after the war, and after they were released. He was a Pakistani Officer, a Pakistani national. His wife was from Bangladesh. At that time, it was East Pakistan. When she used to bring them food—there was a camp—she used to bring extra food or some extra magazines and sometimes fruits to these Indian officers. Somehow she used to manage to bring these things to us.

Since we departed from there with these feelings, I think none of the soldiers could believe, even it was difficult to believe that it was a different country. It was a feeling that we were one—India and Bangladesh were one. It was the feeling among the people.

When we discuss this subject to-day, when we read that firing is taking place between our two countries, is unbelievable, especially for those who have taken part in the liberation of Bangladesh. It is

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beyond imagination. I still feel that the news is wrong. I cannot cherish the notion that firing has taken place.

But what are the causes? When this wiring work was taken up, I remember there was a lot of news coming from Bangladesh, and from within India itself. In every newspaper, I used to read that there was a lot of smuggling taking place across this border. There was a news item that 5 lakh bales of jute were caught. This was the news in one of the Bangladesh newspapers which I read at Calcutta. Also, there were reports that 476 smugglers were arrested last year; and out of these 476, 336 were Bangladesh people. A lot of people were coming into our territory.

18.40 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

As you have heard during the last debate and at other times, Assam is one of the States in our country which always had the problem of Bangladesh people crossing over to them.

It is not towards Assam, other north-east States like Mizoram, Tripura and then West Bengal, a lot of influx has gone into a few states. If I am wrong the Home Minister will clarify this that till March 1984, 2321 people crossed from Bangladesh to India. Last year, the same number did it—2086 people crossed from that country to our country. Maluna Mia, who was 50 year old, was picked up by the nationals from Bangladesh on 10th April, 1984, and was taken Chattarpur BDR Camp. Then meetings took place between BSF and the Bangladesh Rifles and an assurance was given that he will be released from detention. With all these complications and problems coming up, it was decided that we will have a fencing along the border.

My esteemed friend, Mr. Jethmalani was talking about defence wiring. Wiring is not done for defence purpose. I think

he is mistaken about the codes. I do not know what is the word given for the wooden structure—this side prosecuting witnesses and that side defence witnesses, it is mixed up with those words. For defence purpose, wiring is not a solution. You cannot afford to have a wiring all over the border of the country. So, this is purely to stop smuggling, to stop influx of the Bangladesh people coming to India. That was the main intention. It was decided purely to solve our own problem and we have a problem in those northern States. A decision was taken. As regards Bangladesh situation, as on today, which I read from the newspapers, political situation is not static, there is no political leadership, there is no political party which has some support from the people. The military people have tested power, you do not expect them to go back to the barracks, they have said it on the Chair of power that you do not expect us to go back to barracks and do the same job which they had done 13 years ago; it was very difficult. They have tasted power for 13 years after 1971. So, it is becoming a problem for them to get released of them. The political situation is bad. So, they are trying to divert the attention of the people through different acts. 13 political parties including Jmaite-Islami, on 13th April, 1984, went in a procession to the Indian High Commission Office and demanded that the peace agreement entered into between Bangladesh Government and the Government of India should be violated. It has come in the newspaper; it is a confirmed news. None of the government officials from Bangladesh denied that; no responsible person came out saying that this is an agreement which we had done on peace lines, and we should not go against it. Not only that, on 20th December, 1983, there is a news in (*The Hindu* and *Times*) where they have quoted that one of the important newspapers of Bangladesh, which is called *Bangladesh Today* has issued a news on 16th November, 1983, saying that Jammu & Kashmir and Sikkim are different nations and not part of India. With these intentions, there is no denial of the news also in that country. Things have become suspicious. There is a bad

intention behind this move; and with all these things coming unfortunately, I would call them unfortunately, Gen. Ershad on 6th November 1983 gave another statement "that if India goes on doing fencing on the border the relations between our two countries will be spoiled." He has said that. The Head of the State who is running the Government, he has made the statement. So I must ask the Government that they must take this notice seriously.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : That was in November 1983.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: On 6th November 1983 he had issued that statement that in case we do not stop this it may lead to a difficult situation.

I want to ask the Home Minister about one or two things. Is it a fact that *pucca* bunkers are being built around the borders. Of course, some were there in 1971; they are already there. Is it a fact that more work is going on, on their border, and that some new ones are being built? Of course, some were destroyed by our forces.

Secondly, is it a fact that the villagers from Bangladesh side are being evicted and handed over to their defence forces for being trained? There is some information that in Selhat some of the forces have already moved near the canal. There are two or three very big villages where the forces have already occupied positions last week and civilians have been told to go out from there.

Also,—Professor Chakraborty should not get annoyed on this—there is a news item, that the West Bengal Government is encouraging some of the infiltrators to get into West Bengal and they are being encouraged in West Bengal. There is a statement given by Mr. Justice Khanna and Gen. Arora. I do not know whether this news has reached them or not.

SHRI CHITA BASU : I say that it is not correct.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : On the contrary, the West Bengal Government has reintroduced the permit system. It is the West Bengal Government which has drawn the attention of the Central Government that one lakh people come over, with passports, every year.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Minister will reply.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : I want to make it clear that the West Bengal Government, on the contrary, is trying to stop it and the Bangladesh Government have introduced the permit system which was prevalent when it was East Pakistan.

SHRI CHITA BASU : They have asked the Government of India to reintroduce the resident permit system which was there when Bangladesh was not Bangladesh but East Pakistan. It has been abandoned when Bangladesh was brought into being. The Central Government has not agreed so far with the proposal of the West Bengal Government to restrain the infiltrators.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : I was present at the Calcutta meeting. No such statement was made by Mr. Khanna or anybody.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Anyway, that is the information which I have received and I have given in it to the House. It can be checked.

The last point which I was to mention, my friend Shri Jethmalani mentioned about the loyalties of the border people. It is a wrong opinion, and I think he has reached a wrong conclusion. However, I think, as far as loyalties are concerned, unfortunately he stays in Bombay, and Bombay is away from all the borders, and my friend may not know them. Those who participate in the war are total loyal. There is no question of their loyalty to be doubted.

[Shri Rajesh Pilot]

Then he gave some advice. I can only recall something else. I advised one of my senior officers of something. I said, 'If I were you I would do this'. Then, he just told me, "Sometimes you talk more than your height."

I close my speech with a request that the Government must do the work they are doing very quickly and we must continue the work which we have taken up in the interest of the people of this country and the interests of the Bangladesh people also.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura): Many of earlier speakers have rightly mentioned about our soft feelings towards Bangladesh. Sir, if they felt so soft, you can well imagine, speaking the same language being a Bengali myself, how much more soft we will be towards the people of Bangladesh. Our whole nation always want to be very friendly with Bangladesh and to live in peace with them.

Here, naturally, this situation is very serious. Everybody has said about it. I do not want to dwell upon it. But the fact is that every now and then Bangladesh's military ruler is coming out with statements saying that sovereignty of that country is being violated by erection of the fence. It goes without saying that he is intending to create a hostile feeling towards our country among the Bangladeshi people. I would like particularly to draw the attention towards that aspect of the problem and would request the Minister to think on that. The fact remains that there has been influx in our country. That cannot be denied by anybody though Mr. Ershad is denying it. But the facts do speak of themselves and of which enough reference has been made here. It is also true that this is a big problem for us. At the same time, the persons who generally come away on this side are poor people. They are both Hindus and Muslims among them. And there is a genuine problem for them because of the very much backward state

of affairs in Bangladesh. That being the case, it is very easy to provoke them. Keeping that in mind I feel that all the points that have been raised by the military ruler of that country to provoke the people of that country, must be answered in a very persuasive and friendly manner, so that this provocation can be really and effectively checked through our eternal bond of friendship between the two peoples. With that idea in mind I am raising certain points for consideration of the Minister.

Propaganda has been made against our intending fence that this will be electrified so that the bordering people, their children, their cattle, etc. will die. This is one problem. Then there is, of course, this propaganda that we are violating the earlier agreement about the defence installations. Then there is the propaganda that we are building this fence on the zero line. I would like to know about this zero line because I am not very clear about it and in the statement of the Minister also, he has mentioned about the zero line but has not explained about it. I read in the Times of India of 24th that the first row of pillars are being sunk 22 cms apart from the international line. Obviously 22 cms is a very small space. Naturally, this propaganda about our building the fence on that side or our violating the sovereignty can easily be countered.

I would like the Minister to make it clear as to what exactly is meant by the zero line. Is there a zero line with some free space on both sides? Further, this business of 22 cm should be explained, not only for our benefit but also for the benefit of the people of Bangladesh. The propaganda about electrification should also be effectively countered.

Coming to influx, there may be some people who would be thinking that there is not much influx. It is up to the Bangladesh Government to check that influx. If they are not doing it, then it becomes our responsibility to check it by a fence or by other means. It is not as if we wanted the fence earlier. I would

not also blame the Government for not building the fence earlier.

But the question still remains how we shall check or prevent this infiltration, because it cannot be done by a fence alone. We have to make the Bangladesh Government understand that it is their duty for their own benefit as well as for our benefit that this influx is stopped. Neither the erection of a fence, nor sabre-rattling will solve the problem. It is very necessary that this question is explained to everybody, because the erection of a fence is not a simple thing. You will remember that when the Berlin Wall was built, what great international propaganda was unleashed at that time against GDR that they are doing something very wrong. So, we should be prepared for such propaganda. We have to give answers to all the questions which have been wrongly posed by Bangladesh. We shall have to give very persuasive answers to them. That will help us a long way in defeating the provocative things which they are doing

Doubtless, Gen. Ershad is doing it with the election in mind and also to curry favour from the USA in getting arms. In that effort he wants to involve the entire people of Bangladesh into a hostile attitude towards India so that the military regime can continue and the democratic movement can be curtailed.

What are we doing to counter this propaganda. During the liberation struggle of Bangladesh, we made very powerful propaganda through the radio and the television. At that time we made an appeal to the people of Bangladesh. That aspect must be considered. We must know what is being done with regard to that. Absolutely effective measures are needed in this direction. I am not sure whether it is being done.

19 hrs.

I am a little bit intrigued by a news item published in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, the widely circulated Bengali daily, which also goes to Bangladesh. It published one news item on the 24th April, which Shri Jethmalani would be

interested to hear. It is dated 23rd April from Gauhati. It says: Yesterday, Shri Jaswant Singh, Secretary of BJP, complained that peace in Bangladesh border has been disturbed due to the adventurism of the Government of India, because they have not discussed it adequately with the Bangladesh Government; they have taken this adventurist course. They have not adequately discussed with the Bangladesh Government and have taken this adventurist step. *Anand Bazar Patrika* is nowhere a communist paper. They are your friends and the friends of the Congress (I) as well. So, I was intrigued after listening to your speech and seeing this as to what is the matter; what is your stand? You know, Sir, inside our country there are some forces. I am also sorry to say that the same thing was said about Shri Sulaiman Sait who is not there. He has also made the same complaint. It seems both the extremes meet on the complaint. It is rather intriguing. So, if inside our country such campaign is on, naturally what will happen on the other side of the border. So, my point is that it is not a happy thing that we have to go in for building our fence; nor can that alone be a solution. So, an ultimate solution really could be to be at peace with Bangladesh on honourable terms and it will be mutually beneficial. For that we have to make all attempts. For that on our part falling into any provocation would be very very wrong. Thousands times we shall have to repeat our efforts, though each one of us knows and that it is true that we have no aggressive intentions against Bangladesh. This is not for defence. This is just for the inevitable problem that is arising and we are very particular about that. So, Sir, I would like the Minister for Home Affairs to tell us what is being done in regard to this and what is being done about this 22 centimetre thing. I would also like to know if this is really the stand taken by the BJP and the Muslim League and how this is to be looked into. In my opinion, this is not correct to state like that, even if they do not agree. With the powerful propaganda drive we will have to make the Bangladesh people understand, I say the people, not Ershad Sahib. I mean the people of Bangladesh

[Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee]

to whom we must appeal and we can appeal successfully given all caution and tact.

SHRI A.K. ROY (Dhanbad) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it appears that the whole House is united on the question of constructing fencing around our boundary and that to barbed wire fencing. Sir, if it is true today I would like to speak for a few minutes only to record my view that I am opposed to this. I am opposed to the very concept of putting barbed wire fencing to prevent alleged infiltration.

Sir, barbed wire politics is against the Indian culture. And fencing and friendship, the two things, cannot go together. We should not deceive ourselves. That is the first thing I say. We may be successful, we may be unsuccessful; we may fail, we may succeed, but at least one tradition of the Indian culture we should not forget; that we should not be dishonest in our political and old thinking. This barbed wire fencing is not coming because lot of people are infiltrating in our country. It may be that some time past some people infiltrated and that too for different historic reasons, but today this is not there. Today we are constructing this fencing because we are succumbing to the blackmail of the most racist communalist organisation of Assam. To appease them and to appease these people we are unable to contain the discontent, unable to contain the most unreasonable demands of some racialists and fascist organisations and that is why we are constructing this fencing. Sir, this is absolutely a dishonest posture and I say that the Government should think hundred times before proceeding with that. I would like to know where will you go on constructing the barbed wire fencing. Does our identity need protection of barbed wire? Is it not an insult to Assam? Is it not an insult to India? The GDR constructed barbed wire, But was it a good thing? It was a necessary evil, it was a compulsion, and too GDR was weak in the face of the Western world. Have you ever heard that any

bigger nation is constructing barbed wire fencing against smaller nations? Today we are constructing barbed wire fencing here. Tomorrow there will be Naga people may be operating from Burma. I would like to ask: Should we have a barbed wire fencing on Burma border? We hear that Punjab extremists are helped by Pakistan. Are we going to have electric barbed wire fencing? Today Lanka people are coming. Our fishermen are being attacked. So, should we construct some barbed wire fencing in the high sea? Where should we go for it? The patriotism of the people and the will of the people is the highest defence for any country and is the highest guarantee against any infiltration.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Roy, do you recognise the borders of each country in the world?

SHRI A.K. ROY : Yes, Is there any barbed wire fencing in any border of the world? (*Interruptions*). Sir, the UN is the highest forum and movements are important for the nations. There are as many as 130 or 140 countries who are members of the U.N. Is there any barbed wire fencing around any border?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : How many countries are suffering from influx of infiltrators?

SHRI A. K. ROY : Every country. You know, the refugee problem is an international problem. You do not know it. You may be a good 'Pilot', but kindly study (*Interruptions*). I will explain this, he does not know. The refugee problem is a big international problem today, but nobody thought of or nobody dreamt of putting barbed wire fencing. Can you tell me how many tonnes of steel you require for it? Sir, five lakh tonnes of steel would be required, and I was told that the SAIL is the happiest organisation because it has got one lakh tonnes of rods and steel unsold. They say that they will sell it. What is it? Is it making fun

of the country? Rs. 550 crores would be spent for it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADHUSUDAN VIRALE (Akola) : Sir, I am on a point of order.

AN HON. MEMBER : No, you don't raise it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MADHUSUDAN VIRALE : I will withdraw it.

SHRI A. K. ROY : He has no point of order. Tomorrow, what will happen? Mr. Jethmalani would say that there will be a threat of war as you are having it. That will be another problem. So, I say that instead of that, let us face boldly the communal threat. Today who is the happiest person for this fencing of barbed wire? The happiest person is Ershad of Bangladesh because it has given a new lease of life to him. This Government is helping him. Today the happiest person is Mr. Jethmalani, who has got the courage to advise the Government that those people are patriots who say that there was a lot of infiltration. Tomorrow Tamilians will be coming from Lanka. Should we put a fencing there? Would you like it? What is the point? The point is...

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA : There is a barbed wire between Mexico and the United States. I do not think the hon. friend knows that.

SHRI A. K. ROY : I do not know that there is a barbed wire fencing between Mexico and the United States. I will enquire into it.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH) : When he has still to enquire, why say all these things?

SHRI A. K. ROY : We should not lose our sanity when we are faced with problems.

Yesterday, the Home Minister while answering a question said that there was infiltration in six districts of Bihar. The corollary was that there were Bangla Desh students. They are seeing Bangla Desh people everywhere and even in Bombay.

Which are the districts? Those are— West Champaran, East Champaran, Seetamarhi, Madubani, Saharsa, Purnea. Not a single district is in border with Bangla Desh. All these districts are in border with Nepal. What does it mean? It means in border villages we are confronted with the smugglers, with anti-social elements. By barbed wire we cannot protect ourselves. Nowhere in the world by barbed wire smuggling can be protected. It can be protected by political will, by strengthening vigilance, patriotic will of the people. I should again appeal to the sanity of the present Government, we should be honest. We should not succumb to the extremists and communalists and racialists within our country and invite trouble abroad.

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA : You have given sanity to us at least.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Abdul Rashid Kabuli.

श्री अब्दुल रशीद काबुली (श्रीनगर) : जनाब डिप्युटी स्पीकर साहब, यह बड़े अफ-सोस की बात है कि जब हमारा बाउंडे वायर की तामीर का काम शुरू हुआ है, तो दोनों तरफ से फायरिंग हुई और कुछ अमबात बाके हुई। इसके अलावा ढाका में हमारे इन्फार्मेशन डिपार्टमेंट के दफतर को नुकसान पहुंचाया गया है और वहां एक बार फीज पैदा की जा रही है। यह बड़े दुख की बात है कि दोनों मुल्कों के दरम्यान टेंशन पैदा हो रहा है। हमारी हुकूमत का यह फर्ज

[श्री अब्दुल रशीद काबुली]

बनता है कि वह अपने बार्डर को सिक्युर बनाए। वैन अनक्वामी कानून के मुताबिक भी और अपने मुल्क की हिफाजत और दिफा के लिहाज से भी यह हमारा हक है। दुनिया के किसी भी कायदे-कानून की रू से बंगलादेश की कार्यवाही मुनासिब और मौजू नहीं है। वह इंटरनेशनल ला की खिलाफ-वर्ती कर रहा है।

लेकिन मैं सरकार से अर्ज करूंगा कि बंगलादेश एक बहुत छोटा मुल्क है। दूसरी बात यह है कि उसके साथ हमारे नात-रिश्ते रहे हैं। उस मुल्क के साथ हमारे कल्चरल और सांस्कृतिक ताल्लुकात रहे हैं। लेकिन इसके साथ ही हमें अपने इंट्रेस्ट और मुफीद की हिफाजत करनी है। जैसा कि मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा है, बंगलादेश के साथ हमारी सरहद 3200 किलोमीटर लम्बी है। हमने यह भी देखना है कि वह गरीब और पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है, जो हिन्दुस्तान की ताकत का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकता। हमारे मामने उसकी कोई हैसियत नहीं है, ताकत के लिहाज से हमारा और उसका कोई मुकाबला नहीं है। इसके अनावा बंगलादेश के लिए हमने कुर्बानियां दी हैं। बंगलादेश के सूरते हाल अलग हैं। पाकिस्तान और श्रीलंका की सूरते हाल अलग। बंगलादेश में हमारे जवानों ने अपना खून बहाया है। बंगलादेश की आजादी की जंग में हिन्दुस्तान का हाथ रहा है इसलिए हमारी तबक्को है कि बंगलादेश में डिमोक्रेटिक और सेक्युलर सिस्टम कायम होगा। ऐसे मुल्क के साथ हमारे ताल्लुकात बिगड़ रहे हैं तो हम अपने हक का इस्तेमाल करके अपने बार्डर्स को सील करना चाहते हैं, अपने बार्डर पर वार्ड वायर और पिलर्स लगाना चाहते हैं

और दूसरी तरफ से जो प्रोवोकेशंस हो रही हैं उनका एक ही नतीजा हो सकता है कि हालात और बिगड़ जायें और ऐसा तनाव पैदा हो जाए कि हमें उस मुल्क के साथ जंग करनी पड़े। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ बंगला देश के साथ हमें बड़ी समझदारी और अकलमंदी से काम लेकर ट्रीटमेंट करना होगा और अपने ताल्लुकात बनाने होंगे क्योंकि बंगलादेश के साथ हमारा टकराव वैनलअक्वामी तौर पर हमारे लिए मसायल पैदा करेगा। आज श्रीलंका के साथ हमारा तनाव बढ़ रहा है और इस तरह से हमारा जो जन्मी बार्डर है उसके लिए चिन्ता पैदा हो रही है और इंडियन ओशन को हम अपने लिये महफूज नहीं समझते, क्योंकि बड़ी ताकतें वहां आ रही हैं जो श्रीलंका और दूसरे छोटे राष्ट्रों को हमारे खिलाफ इस्तेमाल कर सकती हैं। पाकिस्तान के साथ भी हमारे अच्छे ताल्लुकात नहीं हैं। चीन के साथ भी हमारे ताल्लुकात अच्छे नहीं हैं। इन हालात में क्या हिन्दोस्तान इस पोजीशन में है कि हम एक-दूसरा फ्रंट खोलें? मैं समझता हूँ इस मुकद्दस हाउस में जो भी यह बात कहेगा कि हमें जल्दबाजी में बंगला देश के प्रोवोकेशन का ताकत के साथ जवाब देना होगा, हमें गुमराह कर रहा है यह हमारे देश के हित में नहीं होगा। हमें डिप्लोमेटिक तौर पर अकलमन्दी के साथ उस मुल्क से निपटना होगा। बार्ड-वायर्स और पिलर्स की बुनियाद पर यह देश अपनी हिफाजत नहीं कर सकता है। बार्ड-वायर्स या पिलर्स जो भी इस बस्त आप वहां बना रहे हैं, मैं समझता हूँ स्पग्लिंग और इन-फिल्ट्रेशन बंद होगा। उसको रोकने के लिए और मुल्क की हिफाजत के लिये चाहिये— लोगों में नेशनलिज्म और मुल्क की हिफाजत करने का जज्बा। मुझे दुख के साथ कहना

पड़ रहा है कि जेठमलानी साहब ने यहां पर कहा—उधर से एक टीचर आता है और हमारे पिलर को उखाड़ देता है और दूसरी तरफ एक आबादी है जो उस इलाके में रहती है, उन लोगों की नेशनलिज्म इतनी पक्की नहीं है कि अपने देश के इंटरेस्ट की हिफाजत करें। मैं पूछना चाहूंगा ये कौन लोग हैं? क्या किसी खास रिलिजंस कम्युनिटी से ताल्लुक रखते हैं जिन पर से ऐतमाद उठ गया है? यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है, जेठमलानी जी बेहतर तौर पर बतला सकते हैं। मैं तो जाती तौर पर समझना हूँ—बंगाल, आसाम, त्रिपुरा में हिन्दू-मुसलमान या बाकी कौमों के लोग बसते हैं वे पक्के नेशनलिस्ट हैं और इस देश की हिफाजत के लिये वे अपनी जान की कुर्बानी देने के लिए तैयार हैं। बंगला देश अलग मुल्क है। हिन्दुस्तान अलग मुल्क है। हिन्दोस्तान के मुसलमान हों, हिन्दू हों या कोई अन्य देशवासी हों, उनको इस देश की उतनी ही चिन्ता है जितनी जेठमलानी जी या किसी और को हो सकती है। मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इफिल-ट्रेशन की बात को इतनी अहमियत दी गई—यह तो सरकार ही बतायेगी कि बंगला देश से कितना इफिलट्रेशन हो रहा है। हम जानते हैं कि सी० पी० एम० की जो वैस्ट बंगाल है, वह 1971 को ही डिमार्केशन लाइन बतला रही है। उसके बाद जो लोग आए हैं, उनको निकालने के लिए बात करते

हैं, जो सवालात बंगला देश के बारे में उभारे गए हैं, उनसे सिचूएशन फिटिकल हो गई है। असम्भ में जो टर्न लिया है, बाद में जो हालात पैदा हुए, उसमें दो काम्युनिटीज में टकराव पैदा हुआ। एक काम्युनिटी का नुकसान हुआ, यह भूल नहीं सकते हैं। नील में जो पसंकर हुआ है, वह हमारे लिए कलक का टीका है। यह हमारे दिलों पर जख्म है। इस बिना पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि बंगलादेश को एक अलग फॉरन कंट्री के तौर पर ट्रीटमेंट दिया जाए। हमें हिन्दुस्तान और बंगलादेश के ताल्लुक बिगाड़ने के बजाय बनाने चाहिए, सुधारने चाहिए और किसी न किसी नतीजे पर पहुंचना चाहिए। इस बिना पर भी कि हिन्दुस्तान के बंगला देश के साथ सांस्कृतिक ताल्लुक हैं। मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जो पटसन के कारखाने चलते थे वैस्ट बंगाल में, उनका सारा पटसन ईस्ट बंगाल से आता था। जब इंडिपेंडेंट बंगला देश बना तो सारा रॉ मैटीरियल आना क्यों बंद हो गया, इसके संबंध में कदम क्यों नहीं उठाए गए। कामशियल बिजनेस की दृष्टि से भी हम फायदा उठा सकते हैं। मैं सरकार को खबरदार करते हुए कहना चाहता हूँ कि बड़ी ताकतें बंगला देश को हमारे खिलाफ इस्तेमाल कर सकती हैं, क्योंकि बंगला देश छोटा मुल्क है। मैं सरकार से गुजारिश करूंगा कि इस मसले को बड़ी अकलमन्दी और समझ से डील करना चाहिए।

بنگلہ دیش کی آزادی کی جنگ میں ہندوستان کا مدد ملے۔ کہ بنگلہ دیش میں ڈیکریٹنگ اور سیکورسٹر قائم ہوگا۔ اس ملک کے ساتھ ہمارے تعلقات بگڑ رہے ہیں تو ہم اپنے حق کا استعمال کر کے اپنے بارڈر کو سیل کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اپنے بارڈر پر بارڈر واٹر پلوس لگانا چاہتے ہیں اور دوسری طرف جو پروویکیشن ہو رہی ہیں ان کا کام ہی نتیجہ ہو سکتا ہے کہ حالات اور بگڑ جائیں اور ایسا تازہ پیدا ہو جائے کہ ہمیں اس ملک کے ساتھ جنگ کرنی پڑے۔ اس لئے میں سمجھتا ہوں بنگلہ دیش کے ساتھ ہیں بڑی سمجھداری اور مصلحتی سے کام لے کر ٹریٹ مینٹ کرنا ہوگا۔ اور اپنے تعلقات بنانے ہوں گے کیونکہ بنگلہ دیش کے ساتھ ہمارا ٹھکانہ بین الاقوامی طور پر ہمارے لئے مسائل پیدا کرنے کا۔ کچھ شری لنکا کے ساتھ ہمارا تناؤ بڑھ رہا ہے۔ اور اس طرح سے ہمارا جو جنوبی بارڈر ہے اس کے لئے چننا پیدا ہوا ہے اور انڈین آرمی کو ہم اپنے سٹے محفوظ نہیں سمجھتے کیونکہ بڑی طاقتیں وہاں آ رہی ہیں جو شری لنکا اور دوسرے چھوٹے ملکوں کو ہمارے خلاف استعمال کر سکتی ہیں۔ پاکستان کے ساتھ بھی ہمارے اچھے تعلقات نہیں ہیں۔ چین کے ساتھ بھی ہمارے تعلقات اچھے نہیں ہیں۔ ان حالات میں کیا ہندوستان اس پوزیشن ہے کہ ہم ایک دوسرا فرٹ کھولیں۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں اس مقدس ماؤں میں جو بھی یہ بات کہے گا کہ ہمیں جلد بازی میں بنگلہ دیش کے پروویکیشن کا طاقت کے ساتھ جواب دینا ہوگا نہیں قرآن پڑھا ہے۔ یہ ہمارے دیش کے بہت میں نہیں ہوگا ہیں ڈیپلومیٹک طور پر عقل مندی کے ساتھ اس ملک پہنچنا ہوگا بارڈر واٹرس باڈرسس کی بنیاد پر یہ دیش اپنی حفاظت نہیں کر سکتا ہے۔ بارڈر واٹرس یا پلاس جو بھی اس وقت آپ وہاں بنا رہے ہیں اس سے میں سمجھتا ہوں اسملنگ اور انٹرنیشنل ہند نہیں ہوگا۔ اس کو روکنے کے لئے اور ملک کی حفاظت کے لئے چاہیے۔ لوگوں میں نیشنلزم اور ملک

شری عبدالرشید کابلی (سرری نگر) : جناب ڈپٹی اسپیکر صاحب۔ ریفرنس انڈیا کے بارے میں کہ جب ہماری بارڈر واٹرز کی تعمیر کا کام شروع ہوا ہے تو دونوں طرف سے یہ قانوننگ ہوئی اور کچھ اموات واقع ہوئیں اس کے علاوہ ڈھاکہ میں ہمارے انٹرنیشنل ڈپارٹمنٹ کے دفتر کے نقصان پہنچایا گیا ہے اور وہاں ایک فرینٹری پیدا کی جا رہی ہے یہ بڑے دکھ کی بات ہے کہ دونوں ملکوں کے درمیان ٹینس پیدا ہو رہی ہے۔ ہماری حکومت ہائی فرینٹ بنا رہا ہے کہ وہ اپنے بارڈر کو سیکور بنائے۔

بین الاقوامی قانون کے مطابق بھی اور اپنے ملک کی حفاظت اور دفاع کے لحاظ سے بھی یہ ہمارا حق ہے۔ دنیا کے کسی بھی قاعدہ قانون کی دوسرے بنگلہ دیش کی کارروائی مناسب اور مؤثر نہیں ہے۔ وہ انٹرنیشنل لاکھ طاقت دزدی کر رہا ہے لیکن میں سسر کہہ رہے عرض کروں گا کہ بنگلہ دیش ایک بہت چھوٹا ملک ہے۔ دوسری بات یہ ہے کہ اس کے ساتھ ہمارے نسبتے رشتے رہے ہیں۔ اس ملک کے ساتھ ہمارے طرز اور مسائل کنگ تعلقات رہے ہیں۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ ہی ہمیں اپنے انٹریٹ اور مفاد کی حفاظت کرنی ہے جیسا کہ مشر صاحب نے کہا ہے بنگلہ دیش کے ساتھ ہماری سرحد ۳۲۰۰ کلومیٹر لمبی ہے۔ ہم نے یہ بھی دیکھا ہے کہ وہ غریب اور پھٹا ہوا علاقہ ہے جو ہندوستان کی طاقت کا متاثر نہیں کر سکتا۔ ہمارے ملنے اس کی کوئی حیثیت نہیں ہے۔ طاقت کے لحاظ سے ہمارا اور اس کا کوئی مقابلہ نہیں ہے۔ اس کے علاوہ بنگلہ دیش کے لئے ہم نے قربانیاں دی ہیں۔

بنگلہ دیش کی صورت حال الگ ہے۔ پاکستانی اور شری لنکا کی صورت حال الگ۔ بنگلہ دیش میں ہمارے جو لوگوں نے اپنا خون بہایا ہے۔

حفاظت کرنے کا جذبہ۔ مجھے دکھ کے ساتھ کہنا پڑا ہے کہ جب تک
ملانی صاحب نے یہاں پر کہا۔ ادھر سے ایک پتھر آتا ہے اور
ہمارے بار کو اٹھا ڈالتا ہے اور دوسری طرف ایک آدھی ہے
جو اس علاقے میں رہتی ہے ان لوگوں کی سیشن نرم اتنی ہوتی
ہے جس کو اپنے دل میں کو انٹرنیشنل کی حفاظت کریں۔ میں پوچھنا
چاہوں گا۔ یہ کون لوگ ہیں۔ کیا کسی خاص فوجس ٹیمونٹی سے
تعلق رکھتے ہیں۔ جن پر سے انعام دیا گیا ہے۔ یہ بات میری سمجھ
میں نہیں آتی ہے جیتھ ملانی جی بہتر طور پر یہ بتلا سکتے ہیں میں
قرذاتی طور پر سمجھتا ہوں۔ بنگال۔ آسام۔ تری پورہ میں ہندو مسلم
یا باقی قوموں کے ہونگ بننے میں وہ کئی نیشنلسٹ ہیں اور
اس دل میں کی حفاظت کے لئے وہ اپنی جان کو قربانی دینے کے
لئے تیار ہیں۔ بنگلہ دیش الگ ملک ہے۔ ہندوستان الگ ملک
ہے۔ ہندوستان کے مسلمان ہوں ہندو ہوں یا کوئی بھی دل میں
واس ہوں۔ ان کو اس دل میں کی اتنی ہی چنتا ہے جتنی جیتھ
ملانی جی یا کسی اور کو ہو سکتی ہے۔ مجھے انیس کے ساتھ کہنا
پڑتا ہے کہ انٹرنیشنل کی بات کو اتنی اہمیت دی گئی یہ تو سرکار نے
تھی کہ بنگلہ دیش سے دن انٹرنیشنل ہو رہا ہے۔ ہم جانے ہں کہ
سی۔ بی۔ ایم۔ کی جو دل میں بنگال سرکار ہے وہ ۱۹۷۱ کو ہی ڈیڈ
لائن بتلا رہی ہے اس کے بعد جو لوگ آئے ہیں ان کو بنگالے
کے لئے بات کر رہے ہیں۔

سوالات بنگلہ دیش کے بارے میں اٹھارے گئے ہیں۔ ان سے
سچو ٹیمونٹی کر بیٹیکل ہو گئی ہے آسام میں حالات نے جو ٹرن لیا
ہے بعد میں جو حالات پیدا ہوئے اس میں دو کمیونٹیز میں ٹکراؤ
پیدا ہوا ہے۔ لوک کھوئی کا نقصان ہوا۔ یہ بھولی نہیں
سکتے ہیں۔ میں جن جو میسر ہو رہا ہے وہ ہمارے لئے کلک سے
یہ ہمارے دنوں پر نہ سمجھے۔ اس بنا پر میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں
کہ بنگلہ دیش کو ایک الگ فارین کنٹری سے طور پر ٹریٹ منٹ
دیا جائے۔ یہیں ہندوستان اور بنگلہ دیش کے تعلقات بگاڑنے
کے بجائے بنانے چاہیے۔ بسدھارے چاہئے اور کسی نہ کسی

نتیجے پر پہنچنا چاہئے اس بنا پر بھی کہ ہندوستان کے بنگلہ دیش
کے ساتھ سانسکرنگ تعلق ہیں۔ میں سرکار سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں۔
کہ ہمارے جو میٹن کے کارخانے چلتے تھے ویٹ بنگال میں
اس کا سارا پٹن ایٹ بنگال سے آتا تھا۔ جب انٹرنیشنل
بنگلہ دیش بنا تو سارا میٹریل آنا کیوں بند ہو گیا۔ اس کے
سمجھ میں قدم کیوں نہیں اٹھائے گئے۔ کمرشیل بزنس کی طرف
سے بھی ہم فائدہ اٹھا سکتے ہیں۔ میں سرکار کو خبردار کرتے
ہوئے کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ بڑی طاقتیں بنگلہ دیش کو ہمارے
خلاف استعمال کر سکتی ہیں کیونکہ بنگلہ دیش چھوٹا ملک ہے
میں سرکار سے گزارش کروں گا کہ اس مسئلے کو بڑی عقلمندی
اور سمجھ سے ڈیل کرنا چاہیے

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the matter which is under discussion is very sensitive and it is expected that it is to be discussed in a correct perspective. Nobody can deny that following an unfortunate incident of exchange of firing between the BSF of India and Bangladesh Rifles, tension has been building up in several parts of our mutual borders. The erstwhile peace and tranquillity which was prevailing in the border villages has disappeared and a sense of insecurity, anxiety and concern prevails.

An immediate provocation, as I mentioned earlier, has been an exchange of firings centring round the erection of barbed wire fencing. So far as barbed wire fencing is concerned, India is within legal competence to have the barbed wire fencing. The legal competence is derived from the 1975 agreement between Bangladesh and India. It was specifically

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mentioned in the agreement that barbed wire fencing or any such arrangement can be made in order to minimise, if not eliminate, the infiltration and also to check the smuggling activities. It was also stipulated in the agreement that there should not be any defence construction. The barbed wire fencing is not a defence construction. Moreover, it is within our territory; it is within 125 yards of our territory.

The question arises that ours is a sovereign country and we have got the sovereign right to have a construction if it is not of military nature, if it is not of an aggressive nature, which is just for our own safety and security and, in this particular case, it is to minimise the infiltration and to check the smuggling activities.

Therefore, the Government of India is within its legal competence and within its moral rights.

Unfortunately, the position which has been taken or the posture which has taken by the Government of Bangladesh is one of belligerency and hostility. I say it is unfortunate on the part of Bangladesh to take up such an anti-India posture because India has no designs to have any kind of aggression on any neighbouring country, be it Bangladesh or Sri Lanka or any other country. But there is a calculated effort on the part of Bangladesh to unleash anti-India campaign. Some of the instances have been mentioned by my good friend Shri Madhavrao scindia. I have got an article with me which is published by 'Azad', and another article which is published in 'Holiday', a very important weekly in Bangladesh. All these tantamount to nothing but sabre-rattling, mass hysteria and jingoism against India.

As I have mentioned earlier, we are a responsible nation. We should not be provoked by this kind of jingoism. It is in the interest of our country that we

restrain ourselves. The greatest need is to restrain ourselves.

Some of my friends have uttered equally belligerent words. I do not approve of those words.

Ours is a big country. There is no doubt about it.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH :
It is not our fault.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Just listen. Don't become impatient. It is not your fault. It is unfortunate that you are ruling over such a big country. It is unfortunate.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : It is the will of the people. When people have thrown you out, it is not our fault.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : That is not the subject now. The subject is that we should not display big-brotherly attitude.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY :
Who is doing it ?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Just listen. This is in our own interest. But, at the same time, I also feel that friendship, cooperation and good neighbourliness is not one-way traffic. That is also a fact to be taken into account. The bigger the country, the bigger is the responsibility. Ours is bigger responsibility than of Bangladesh. It follows that we must have a better perspective than Bangladesh. We are proud of being a bigger country. Then why should we not shoulder bigger responsibility ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : What should we have done to fulfil our bigger responsibility ?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : We should always adopt the policy of persuasion.

As suggested in the article in 'Holiday', we should also try to convince the Government of Bangladesh that we have no evil designs against Bangladesh. We should firmly oppose the policy of jingoism which has been unleashed by others and that the period of succession has not expired so far as West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar are concerned

We have got our diplomatic relations. We have got diplomats. We have got political leadership. Therefore, we can tell them. We can explain that it is not in the interest of Bangladesh that this vicious campaign has been unleashed against India. After all, yours is a free and sovereign country. Ours is free and sovereign country. We want to have friendship, cooperation and good neighbourly relations. You should not behave in a way that the relations between us are spoiled. It is not a question between Governments alone. The people are also concerned. There, I want to mention a particular remark of my good friend, Mr. Ram Jethmalani. The people who are inhabiting the border villages in India may belong to a particular community, but they are no less loyal to India than any one of us. I can give you a picture today.....

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : Who talked of community? You have got a very dirty mind.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Do not say 'dirty mind'; suspicious mind.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I would go through the record whether he can say like that. (*Interruptions*) About an hon. Member's mind, whether he can express any such thing, I will go through the record.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I do not mind any of his expressions. I know what he is.

The question is this. Even the Muslim population of the three villages of Jalpaiguri over which Bangladesh is

reported to have laid their claim are saying that they do not want to go to Bangladesh, they want to remain in India. Therefore, that kind of observation is not good for the country's interest.

Therefore, the Government of India should continue the work of constructing, erecting, the barbed wire fence, but peacefully (*Interuptions*) Do we want that our army should go to the border? Do you want to say that?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Nobody has said that.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Therefore, what is the harm if I say 'peacefully'.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : By peaceful means. That is our policy.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : You have to protect yourselves...

AN HON. MEMBER : How to protect oneself in a peaceful manner?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : It is the Government which has to say that, it is the officers in charge who have to say that.

Such disputes have come because some misunderstanding has been created. It can be dealt with diplomatically and politically. It is not always to be dealt with by arms. I think he understands. If he has got that mind that our country is big and, therefore, why should our army not move towards the border, then his mind is not clear. I say, it has to be considered in a correct perspective, and correct perspective is the political leadership...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : What is your advice to Bangladesh?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Bangladesh should refrain from unleashing that kind

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of jingoism. Bangladesh should also refrain from creating a condition in which the situation may be aggravated. I have got the right to address the people of Bangladesh. It is not only Gen. Ershad who constitutes Bangladesh. We have got our stake in the restoration of democracy in Bangladesh and in Pakistan. That is the greatest guarantee for our defence. Restoration of democracy in Bangladesh and in Pakistan is one of the greatest bulwarks for our defence. Such a situation prevails in our surroundings. Therefore, do not forget that aspect, that we have also got a stake in the restoration of democracy, we have a stake in building up friendship with the people of Bangladesh. The people are not our enemies. We want to have friendship with the people of Bangladesh. Unfortunately, the ruling clique of Bangladesh is creating that kind of hostile atmosphere, they are creating mass hysteria, they are creating that kind of sabre-rattling, that kind of jingoism. Raising that kind of jingoism from their side does not build a bridge between the people of Bangladesh and the people of India.

Lastly, I say, the solution lies in bilateralism, solution lies in the wisdom of the political leadership. Our government should take the initiative in the matter of solving this problem arising out of this particular situation through bilateral talks and at political level.

There are other things also. There are certain bilateral disputes, That you cannot isolate.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : They are different from this. Why do you bring all that ?

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Just listen. There are disputes in regard to the sharing of waters of the Ganga..... Just listen. Why are you impatient ?...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am not impatient. You must see the time also.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : There are disputes in regard to the sharing of Teesta waters. There are disputes in regard to Tin Bigha. There are disputes with regard to certain demarcation of border villages. If these problems are not also treated with equal wisdom, with equal understanding and with the same perspective, then this problem will not also be solved. Therefore, this problem is not just merely that we want to erect a border barbed wire. The relation between India and Bangladesh has to be taken into consideration as a whole and the problem has to be solved through bilateralism and through political leadership.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P.C. SETHI) : At the very outset I thank the hon. Members who have participated in this discussion. The Government appreciates the grave concern expressed by the hon. Members regarding the latest incidents on the Indo-Bangladesh border.

The current situation is not of our making. We are concerned about the uncontrolled infiltration into India from Bangladesh. One of the measures, we think, is necessary is the construction of a fence. This is to be on the Indian territory. This is also something which was known for some time to the Bangladesh Government. The proposed fence is in no way designed against Bangladesh. On the other hand, once the fence is constructed, it could remove the major irritant of infiltration and thereby strengthen our relations.

We wish to live in an atmosphere of friendship and goodwill. We sincerely hope that the Government of Bangladesh would appreciate our position and act in that spirit.

As far as the defensive works are concerned, I may say that it is in complete accordance with the 1975 agreement. The 1975 agreement says that if defensive works of any nature including trenches exist in the stretch of 300 yards—that means 150 yards on each side of the

boundary, it must be destroyed or filled up. Our stand is that as far as barbed wire fencing is concerned, it is not a defensive work it is only a protective work in order to check the infiltration.

A question was also raised here whether before starting the work, we talked to the Bangladesh Government. During the visit to Dhaka in August 1983 our Foreign Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao has explained to the high authorities in Bangladesh in detail the rationale for construction of the barbed wire fence. The foreign Minister has conveyed that this may benefit both the countries once completed. Foreign Minister explaining this said that this was not an issue in our bilateral relations. Since then this has been explained in diplomatic contacts also several times

Mr. A.K. Roy happens to be the only Member who is opposed to barbed wire fencing. Although many of the hon. Members have said that barbed wire fencing is not the only answer, but nobody else has opposed it. I may inform the hon. Members that there are two Asian countries -I do not want to name them—which have got barbed wire fencing across their border and both are building it as a protection measure because there is also this question of infiltration. Sir, Mr. Rakesh has raised the point of interference by India in the internal matters of any other country.

I want to assure the honourable House that we have never interfered in the internal affairs of any country. Why should we interfere with the neighbourly countries with whom we want to build friendly relations ?

Shri Madhavrao Scindia has raised a question that there is a report of army being present. One other hon. Member also raised a question that two aircraft crossed the border and our army crossed the border. This report is not correct and no army is being present there.

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA : I asked whether Bangladesh Army is present in the 6 K M. area.

SHRI P.C. SETHI : Mostly it is the B.D.R. Beyond that, there is Bangladesh army.

As far as Mr. Chakravarty's point is concerned, the Tripura Government has reported to us about the serious matter of the *chakma* and other persons crossing their border for terrorist activities and, as desired by them, we have sent them further forces.

As far as the B.S.F. posts and barbed wire fencing are concerned, we have increased the B.S.F. patrol forces and now the distance between one check post and another check post has been reduced from 15 K M. to 8 K M. and we have got sufficient armed forces on our side as is warranted by the situation.

As far as the river water prevention of infiltration is concerned, there are river boards and there are people manning them in order to check infiltration in the river, water. As far as the barbed wire fencing is concerned, it will be followed by feeder roads. They will also be given more mobile units and more jeeps in order to move round the country.

Shri Ram Jethmalani has said that our border is unguarded and we have no check posts there. As I have just now pointed out, we have check posts and our border is fully guarded and still, I must admit that there are some people who are crossing the border. Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee asked a question as to what is the zero line. The border between the two countries is demarcated. There are connections between one pillar with the other and this connecting line is called the zero line.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE : What is the distance ?

SHRI P.C. SETHI : It is demarcated and there are pillars. I cannot say

[Shri P. C. Sethi]

what is the distance between one and the other. I am told that it is 150 yards. I would like to reiterate that we have got friendly relations with Bangladesh. We will make all diplomatic efforts to convince the Government of Bangladesh that it has become necessary to erect barbed wire fencing because of the problem of infiltration and persuade them to respect our sovereign decision for construction of the barbed wire fencing on our soil. It is our intention to continue the work after making arrangements for the safety of the personnel. I would also like to assure the House that we shall not abandon this work and, at the same, we will try to build friendly relations with Bangladesh. But in case there is any danger from Bangladesh side or, for that matter, from any other country, this country is well prepared to face it.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : One clarification, please.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I cannot allow any clarification on his statement. Now, Papers to be laid. Shri Janardhana Poojary.

19.45 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE—
CONTD.

Notification under Customs Act

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Notification No. G.S.R. 303 (E) (Hindi and English versions) published in Gazette of India dated the 26th April, 1984 together with an explanatory memorandum regarding exemption to barytes from the whole of the export duty leviable thereon, under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-827/84]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

1.46 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, April 27, 1984, Vaisakha 7, 1906 (Saka).