

[Shri Dinan Bhattacharyya]

State, and, therefore, he does not know the conditions in West Bengal.

MR. SPEAKER : This is hardly a point of order. Let the hon. Member not interrupt in this manner.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA : I have two humble suggestions to make. One is that Government must come forward with a gracious attitude and release all the political prisoners. One of my comrades, Shri Pravir Sen who is a member of the district committee of the Hooghly district of C.P.I. (M) has been put behind the bars under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act without there being any charges against him.

In fact, not only our party members, but even ordinary share-croppers who were not prepared to yield before the greed of the big jotdars have been arrested and kept under detention for months together. So, I would urge Government to immediately release all the political prisoners, so that there may be all-out unity against the military aggressors of Pakistan.

I would also like to make another humble appeal. The Governor of West Bengal has dismissed some State Government employees. I do not know under what rule he has dismissed them. But my doubt is that the top bureaucrats had advised Mr. Diaz, the Governor to dismiss the 13 State Government employees without issuing any show-cause-notice to them and without assigning any reasons for their dismissal.

At this hour, after 25 years of Independence, and at a time when with the help of the USA, Pakistan is trying to crush the liberation movement of Bangla Desh, I would like to make an appeal; I am glad the hon. Prime Minister is present here at this moment in the House. She should know that the Governor of West Bengal has arbitrarily dismissed 13 State Government employees who have committed no offence. The only reason is that they worked for the cause of the employees and they are trade unionists. I can assure the Prime Minister that if she personally intervenes, the matter can be settled. I urge upon her to call the 13 employees or their leaders, not only the State Government employees but the 32 employees of the Defence Department who were similarly

arbitrarily dismissed without any show-cause notice or charge-sheet or asked to appear before anybody to prove that they are not guilty. I would appeal to the Prime Minister to take personal interest in the matter. Let their cases be reconsidered and justice be done to them. I know they have no ill-intention against the administration; their only fault that they fought for the right cause of the employees. So I would request Government to please release all these political prisoners who have been detained and reinstate the State Government employees and the Defence department personnel who were dismissed or discharged.

With these words, I would again appeal to the Prime Minister to look into the cases of these dismissed employees, both of the State Government and the Defence department, and also release all the political prisoners.

SHRI K. BALATHANDAYUTHAM (Coimbatore) : I have to raise an important question concerning the availability of kerosene. Kerosene oil is selling in the black market and since yesterday nobody is able to get this commodity in the open market. I would request the Minister to make a statement about this.

MR. SPEAKER : I have sent this to the Minister to make a statement.

10.28 hrs.

STATEMENT RE : RECOGNITION TO BANGLA DESH

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINISTER OF ELECTRONICS, MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI) : The valiant struggle of the people of Bangla Desh in the face of tremendous odds has opened a new chapter of heroism in the history of freedom movements.

Earlier, they had recorded a great democratic victory in their elections and even the President of Pakistan had conceded the right of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to become Prime Minister of Pakistan. We shall never know what intervened to transform this

benevolent mood and realistic approach, if it really was that, to deception and the posture of open hatred.

We are told that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party, the Awami League, had planned a non-violent movement of resistance to the Government of West Pakistan. But they were caught unawares and overtaken by a brutal military assault. They had no alternative but to declare for independence. The East Pakistan Rifles and East Bengal Regiment became the Mukti Fauj and later the Mukti Bahini, which was joined by thousands of young East Bengalis, determined to sacrifice their lives for freedom and the right to fashion their future. The unity, determination and courage with which the entire population of Bangla Desh is fighting have been recorded by the world Press.

These events on our doorstep and the resulting flood of refugees into our territory could not but have far-reaching repercussions on our country. It was natural that our sympathy should be with the people of Bangla Desh in their just struggle. But we did not act precipitately in the matter of recognition. Our decisions were not guided merely by emotion but by an assessment of prevailing and future realities.

With the unanimous revolt of the entire people of Bangla Desh and the success of their struggle it has become increasingly apparent that the so-called mother State of Pakistan is totally incapable of bringing the people of Bangla Desh back under its control. As for the legitimacy of the Government of Bangla Desh, the whole world is now aware that it reflects the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, which not many governments can claim to represent. In Jefferson's famous words to Governor Morris, the Government of Bangla Desh is supported by the "will of the nation, substantially expressed". Applying this criterion, the Military regime in Pakistan, whom some States are so anxious to buttress, is hardly representative of its people even in West Pakistan.

Now that Pakistan is waging war against India, the normal hesitation on our part not to do anything which could come in the way of a peaceful solution, or which might be construed as intervention, has lost significance. The people of Bangla Desh

battling for their very existence and the people of India fighting to defeat aggression now find themselves partisans in the same cause.

I am glad to inform the House that in the light of the existing situation and in response to the repeated requests of the Government of Bangla Desh, the Government of India have, after the most careful consideration, decided to grant recognition to the GANA PRAJA TANTRI BANGLAA DESH.

It is our hope that with the passage of time more nations will grant recognition and that the GANA PRAJA TANTRI BANGLAA DESH will soon form part of the family of nations

Our thoughts at this moment are with the father of this new State—Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I am sure that this House would wish me to convey to their Excellencies the Acting President of Bangla Desh and the Prime Minister and to their colleagues, our greetings and warm felicitations.

I am placing on the Table of the House copies of the communications* which we have received from the Government of Bangla Desh. Hon'ble Members will be glad to know that the Government of Bangla Desh have proclaimed their basic principles of State policy to be democracy, socialism, secularism and the establishment of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. In regard to foreign relations, the Bangla Desh Government have expressed their determination to follow a policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and opposition to colonialism, racialism and imperialism in all its manifestations. These are the ideals to which India also is dedicated.

The Bangla Desh Government have reiterated their anxiety to organise the expeditious return of their citizens who have found temporary refuge in our country, and to restore their lands and belongings to them. We shall naturally help in every way in these arrangements.

I am confident that in future the Governments and the peoples of India and Bangla Desh, who share common ideals and sacrifices, will forge a relationship based on

*See at the end of the Statement.

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

the principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. Thus working together for freedom and democracy, we shall set an example of good neighbourliness which alone can ensure peace, stability and progress in this region. Our good wishes to Bangla Desh.

Letter dated 24.4.71 from Syed Nazrul Islam, Acting President of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh to the President of the Republic of India

Syed Nazrul Islam, Acting President of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh

Mujibnagar
April 24, 1971.

To

The President of the Republic of India,
New Delhi

Excellency,

Upon the proclamation of the sovereign independent People's Republic of Bangladesh on March 26, 1971 a Government with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at its head has been established.

A copy of the proclamation of Independence, Laws Continuance Enforcement Order and a list of Cabinet members are enclosed and marked with letters 'A', 'B' & 'C' respectively for favour of your perusal.

The Government of Bangladesh is exercising full sovereignty and lawful authority within the territories known as East Pakistan prior to March 26, 1971 and has taken all appropriate measures to conduct the business of State in accordance with custom, usage and recognised principles of International Law.

In view of the friendly relations that traditionally exist between the fraternal people of Bangladesh and that of India, I request your Excellency's Government to accord immediate recognition to the People's Republic of Bangladesh. The Government of Bangladesh will be pleased to establish normal diplomatic relations and exchange envoys with a view to further strengthening

the ties of friendship between our two countries.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our highest consideration.

Sd/—

(Syed Nazrul Islam)
Acting President.

Sd/—

(Seal of the
Bangladesh
Government)

(Khandakar Moshtaque
Ahmed) Foreign Minister.

'A'

The Proclamation of Independence

Mujibnagar, Bangladesh

Dated 10th day of April, 1971.

WHEREAS free elections were held in Bangladesh from 7th December, 1970 to 17th January, 1971, to elect representatives for the purpose of forming a constitution,

AND

WHEREAS at these elections the people of Bangladesh elected 167 out of 169 representatives belonging to the Awami League,

AND

WHEREAS General Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on the 3rd March, 1971, for the purpose of framing a Constitution,

AND

WHEREAS the Assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for indefinite period,

AND

WHEREAS instead of fulfilling their promise and while still conferring with the representatives of the people of Bangladesh, Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war,

AND

WHEREAS in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of 75 millions of people of Bangladesh, in due fulfilment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangladesh, duly made a declaration of independence at Dacca on March 26, 1971, and urged the people of Bangladesh to defend the honour and integrity of Bangladesh,

AND

WHEREAS in the conduct of a ruthless and savage war the Pakistani authorities committed and are still continuously committing numerous acts of genocide and unprecedented tortures, amongst others on the civilian and unarmed people of Bangladesh,

AND

WHEREAS the Pakistan Government by levying an unjust war and committing genocide and by other repressive measures made it impossible for the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh to meet and frame a Constitution, and give to themselves a Government,

AND

WHEREAS the people of Bangladesh by their heroism, bravery and revolutionary fervour have established effective control over the territories of Bangladesh,

WE the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh, as honour bound by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangladesh whose will is supreme duly constituted ourselves into a Constituent Assembly and

having held mutual consultations, and

in order to ensure for the people of Bangladesh equality, human dignity and social justice,

declare and constitute Bangladesh to be sovereign Peoples' Republic and thereby confirm the declaration of independences already made by Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and

do hereby affirm and resolve that till such time as a Constitution is framed, Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman shall be the President of the Republic and that Syed Nazrul Islam shall be the Vice President of the Republic, and

that the President shall be the Supreme Commander of all the Armed Forces of the Republic,

shall exercise all the Executive and Legislative powers of the Republic including the power to grant pardon,

shall have the power to appoint a Prime Minister and such other Ministers as he considers necessary,

shall have the power to levy taxes and expend monies,

shall have the power to summon and adjourn the Constituent Assembly, and

do all other things that may be necessary to give to the People of Bangladesh an orderly and just Government.

We the elected representatives of the People of Bangladesh do further resolve that in the event of there being no President or the President being unable to enter upon his office or being unable to exercise his powers and duties due to any reason whatsoever, the Vice-President shall have and exercise all the powers, duties and responsibilities herein conferred on the President.

WE further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations devolved upon us as a member of the family of nations and by the Charter of United Nations.

WE further resolve that this proclamation of independence shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26th day of March, 1971.

WE further resolve that in order to give effect to this instrument we appoint Prof. M. Yusuf Ali our duly Constituted potentiary and to give to the President and the Vice-President oaths of office.

Signed :-

M. Yusuf Ali
Duly Constituted Potentiary
By and under the authority
of the Constituent
Assembly of Bangladesh.

'B'

Laws Continuance Inforcement Order

Mujibnagar,

Dated 10th day of April, 1971.

I, Syed Nazrul Islam, the Vice President and Acting President of Bangladesh, in exercise of the powers conferred on me by the Proclamation of Independence dated tenth day of April, 1971 do hereby order that all laws that were in force in Bangladesh on 25th March, 1971, shall subject to the Proclamation aforesaid continue to be so in force with such consequential changes as may be necessary on account of the creation of the sovereign independent Bangladesh formed by the will of the people of Bangladesh and that all government officials - civil, military, judicial and diplomatic who take

the oath of allegiance to Bangladesh shall continue in their offices on terms and conditions of service so long enjoyed by them and that all District Judges and District Magistrates, in the territory of Bangladesh and all diplomatic representatives elsewhere shall arrange to administer the oath of

allegiance to all government officials within their jurisdiction.

This order shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26th day of March, 1971.

Signed :- Syed Nazrul Islam,
Acting President.

'C'

*List of Members of the Cabinet of the Government of Peoples'
Republic of Bangladesh*

<i>President :</i>	...	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman
<i>Vice-President :</i>	...	Syed Nazrul Islam
<i>Prime Minister :</i>	...	Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad
<i>Minister, In-Charge of Foreign Affairs, Law & Parliamentary Affairs :</i>	...	Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed
<i>Minister, In-Charge of Finance, Commerce & Industries :</i>	...	Mr. M. Mansoor Ali
<i>Minister, In-Charge of Interior, Supply, Relief & Rehabilitation :</i>	...	Mr. A. H. M. Kamruzzaman.

*Letter dated 15.10.71 from Govt. of the
People's Republic of Bangladesh to
Prime Minister of India*

Seal of the Bangla Mujibnagar,
Desh Government. 15th October, 1971
Excellency,

We write in continuation of the letter dated April 24, 1971, addressed to His Excellency the President of India, and the subsequent communications and personal discussions. Excellency, you are aware of the proclamation of Independence on the 10th of April by the Constituent Assembly of the duly elected members of the National and Provincial Legislatures representing the will of the 75 million people of Bangladesh. This declaration followed the unilateral, arbitrary and brutal denial of the verdict of the people and the suppression of their democratic liberties and fundamental human rights by the military regime of Pakistan since the 25th of March, 1971.

2. It is well known that the people of

Bangladesh were subjected to a long period of ruthless colonial domination, systematic economic exploitation and gross political and cultural discrimination by the successive regimes dominated by the ruling circles of West Pakistan. The letter of April the 24th, 1971, informed you of the formation of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh under the Presidency of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Action Presidency of Syed Nazrul Islam.

3. Over the last several years our people had waged a peaceful and non-violent struggle for the attainment of our basic rights. Even after the successive postponements of the convening of the National Assembly by the military regime of Pakistan we did not resort to violence but continued our non-violent struggle. The military rulers of Pakistan took advantage of this to gain time by employing the ruse of so-called negotiations till the night of 24th of March, 1971, while they were augmenting their military strength.

4. Their plans became visible to the whole world on the black night of March the 25th when they let loose their Army under a pre-meditated plan on the innocent and defenceless men, women and children of our country. They made a special target of the intellectuals, the elite of the youth and the leaders of the workers, peasants and students. This left us with no alternative but to resort to arms.

5. Since the formal proclamation of our Independence on April 10, our struggle for liberation has gained increased momentum and strength. Nearly 60,000 members of the former East Bengal Regt., East Pakistan Rifles and other para-military formations identified themselves with the struggle of the 75 million people of Bangladesh and took up arms in defence of our motherland. They were joined by hundreds of thousands of youngmen whom they trained to defend the sovereignty and independence of their homeland, and to release it from the bonds of colonial oppression.

6. The policy of repression has continued with increasing brutality in the vain hope of liquidating the leadership and reducing the majority of the Bengali speaking people to a minority. Members of the minority communities became special victims of the reign of terror. As a result of this policy of genocide, rape, arson and loot, nearly nine million of our men, women and children have been driven out in terror and have taken shelter in your country, and the exodus still continues.

7. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, our undisputed leader and President, has been subjected to a secret military trial and has been reportedly condemned to death. The Awami League has been banned which had won an unparalleled victory in the national elections held last December. The military regime of Pakistan has disqualified 79 duly elected representatives of the people and has imposed a so-called civilian regime consisting of defeated candidates and quislings which is now supported by the might of the military machine of Pakistan. These gestures have not deceived the 75 million people of Bangladesh. They have only exposed the deception and insincerity of the military oppressors. All this has only made us more determined than ever to liberate Bangladesh.

8. We are glad to inform you, Excellency, that this struggle has borne fruit.

The liberation army of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Mukti Bahini, are in full control of half the territory of Bangladesh. We also confirm that the Bangladesh Government has established effective civil administration over this area which is functioning smoothly. This development has not merely been welcomed by the broad masses of the people but the efforts of our Government have found spontaneous and overwhelming support in the areas under its control.

9. May we, therefore, in the light of these developments request your Excellency for a positive response to the message of 24th of April, 1971, requesting for recognition to the free and duly constituted Government of Bangladesh. Such a response on your part would give a tremendous impetus to the struggle being waged by the people and Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh for their liberation. It would also generate an international response which would promote the cause of freedom, peace and stability in this part of the world. May we, therefore, request Your Excellency for an early response to this communication.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our highest esteem.

Sd/—
(Syed Nazrul Islam)

Seal of the Govt. of
the People's Republic
of Bangladesh.

Sd/—
(Tajuddin Ahmad)

October 15, 1971
Her Excellency Mrs. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

*Letter dated 23.11.71 from Govt. of the
People's Republic of Bangladesh to
Prime Minister of India*

(Seal of Bangla
Desh Government)
Excellency,

Mujibnagar
November 23, 1971

May we invite your kind attention to our letter of the 15th of October written to you on the eve of your departure for Europe and in the United States of America? Our hope was that, apart from giving consideration to our basic request for the recognition of the People's Republic of

Bangladesh and its government, our letter would also assist you in conveying the depth of our feelings and the increasing momentum of our struggle for freedom to the world leaders whom you were to meet. The reports that we received about your discussions had created the hope that the statesmen whom you met, would be able to persuade President Yahya Khan to involve a political solution to the problem of Bangladesh, in consultation with our undisputed leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and our already elected representatives.

2. Even while you were abroad describing the realities of the situation and emphasising the imperative necessity of a political solution according to the declared wishes of the people of Bangladesh, we received definite indications that the military rulers of West Pakistan remain determined to continue their policy of repression and brutality against our people. President Yahya Khan's statement of the 12th of October, the increased activities of the West Pakistani army against the civilian population in Bangladesh and his rebuffs to various overtures made by the statesmen of the world urging a rational political solution on him, confirmed our assessment.

3. Developments specially over the last two weeks clearly show that the military rulers of Pakistan are not open to persuasion to return to the path of reason and face the realities of the situation. Meanwhile, the exodus of our countrymen into India continues unabated, which is a direct consequence of the continuing repression of our people by the West Pakistani Army. The oppression of our people is accompanied by a deceitful policy of so-called normalisation undertaken by the military junta of West Pakistan. The defeated candidates and quislings who constitute the so-called civilian government of East Pakistan, are sustained by a repressive martial law regime universally hated by the people of Bangladesh. Their atrocities have reached new and unimaginable dimensions in terrorising and decimating our people in recent days. You must have seen reports about curfews and arrests, exercises in scorched earth and mass extermination undertaken by the West Pakistani Army in Bangladesh over the last fortnight. Entire villages have been razed to the ground and their populations liquidated. The West Pakistani Army

has acted such systematic brutality that millions of our countrymen wander without shelter and food within Bangladesh. According to our assessment, nearly five million citizens of Bangladesh are in this tragic and heartrending predicament with no succour or relief. This is apart from the ten million citizens of Bangladesh who have already gone to India and whose number is increasing every day. The aforesaid facts lead us to the unmistakable conclusion that the military regime of Pakistan has embarked on a pre-meditated and planned extermination of our race.

4. The military regime of West Pakistan still refuses negotiations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the Government of Bangladesh. This has resulted in the alienation not only of the people of Bangladesh from the military regime of President Yahya Khan but also of the peoples in other parts of Pakistan. The people of the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan have expressed their dissatisfaction in a manner which has now compelled the Government of West Pakistan to ban the National Army Party which had won a majority in the provincial elections in these provinces of West Pakistan.

5. All this only confirms our original assessment that the people of West Pakistan were never a party to the conspiracy of military oppression undertaken by President Yahya Khan in conjunction with a small coterie of Generals. President Yahya Khan's pronouncements and activities over the last month gave a clear indication of his determination to suppress the democratic aspirations not only of the people of Bangladesh, but also of the people all over Pakistan.

6. As we had informed you in our letter of the 15th of October, the operations of the Mukti Bahini, have been gathering momentum. The Mukti Bahini, with the universal support of the people of Bangladesh, has achieved signal successes in regaining effective administrative control over large areas of our motherland against the military oppressor. We had informed you of our being in control of half the territory of Bangladesh in our letter of the 15th of October. We have great pleasure in informing you now that our effective jurisdiction extends to two-thirds of the total area of the country. We have not only liberated

this area, but also consolidated our authority and established increasingly effective civil administration in areas under our control. Even in the remaining areas, the freedom struggle with popular support has reached a stage that it has compelled the West Pakistani troops to confine themselves to a limited number of fortified positions. Our successes as well as the events in West Pakistan, with the passage of time have convinced even the people of West Pakistan, of the legitimacy of our cause. The intransigence of the military regime of West Pakistan and the pogroms being carried out by them against our people are indicative of the vain hope which President Yahya Khan entertains of retaining control over Bangladesh by coercive authority. This has only strengthened our determination to liberate our motherland completely and we are confident of achieving our objectives. We have become better organised and our Armed forces are acting with discipline and determination. The ranks of the Mukti Bahini have swelled with thousands of patriotic young men, dedicated to remove the colonial bondage of the people of Bangladesh once and for all. It is our unalterable intention to remove the root cause of the tardy which we have undergone—the oppression that we have suffered our nearly two decades, and culminating in the holocaust on March 25 and the events following it. This is a just struggle of an enslaved people against their exploiters.

7. It was our hope that our struggle would find immediate and tangible support from the international community, particularly from our great neighbour, India. Our expectations had some basis in the eloquent resolution passed by the Parliament of India on the 31st of March, 1971, which expressed sympathy for and solidarity with the people of Bangla Desh in their struggle for a democratic way of life. Already, eight months have gone by. Neither international pressure nor counsels of reason from the statesmen of the world have succeeded in persuading the military regime of West Pakistan to negotiate a political settlement with the people of Bangla Desh through their already elected and acknowledged leaders led by the President of Bangla Desh Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Nor has your tolerance and restraint made any constructive impact on the rulers of West Pakistan. To the contrary, apart from carrying out a systematic policy of genocide, violation of

human rights and repression, the military regime of West Pakistan has sought to divert the attention of the world from the root cause of the problem by attempting to internationalise the issue by projecting it as an Indo-Pakistan dispute. We are aware of the consistent efforts that your Government has made to explain the problem in its correct perspective and to direct the attention of the international community to the realities of the situation. These attempts at a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the people of Bangla Desh and the military rulers of West Pakistan have failed, and the recent pronouncements and activities of President Yahya Khan provide little hope for a political solution. In this context it has surprised and even perturbed us that India should continue a policy of caution and restraint against the oppressive military regime of West Pakistan.

8. The people of Bangla Desh are conscious of the leading role that India played in eradicating the evil of colonialism from the Afro-Asian region. It was India's eloquent advocacy and consistent stand in favour of the oppressed peoples of the world which made it the leading political force accelerating the process of decolonisation. Your Government and your people have always raised their voice where human dignity was in danger and liberties and freedoms of peoples threatened. Your consistent support to the just struggles for liberation and freedom movements of the oppressed people of the world is well-known. India has been a leading exponent of the cause of freedom and upholder of liberty for those who are oppressed and deprived of their fundamental rights. You have shown unflinching support to the principles of democracy, secularism, socialism and a non-aligned foreign policy. The proclamation of Independence of the People's Republic of Bangla Desh and subsequent pronouncements by the Government of our country have given clear indication that we share these ideals and aspirations. We should like to reiterate here what we have already proclaimed as the basic principles of our state policy, *i.e.* democracy, socialism, secularism and the establishment of an egalitarian society, where there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. In our foreign relations, we are determined to follow a policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence and opposition to colonialism,

racialism and imperialism in all its forms and manifestations. Against this background of this community of ideals and principles, we are unable to understand why the Government of India have not yet responded to our plea for recognition.

9. On a more practical plane, we are conscious of the burdens imposed on your country by the massive influx of the citizens of Bangla Desh in the face of the terror which they face in their own country. We share your anxiety regarding the tensions which the presence of millions of our countrymen on your territory can generate. The economic burden and the socio-political tensions which the large number of Bangla Desh refugees in India, can create, are and should be the common concern of both the Governments of India and Bangla Desh. With our effective control over our territory and with the establishment of organised civil administration, we are anxious that all our fellow citizens who were forced to leave their hearths and homes after the 25th of March, 1971, and who are now living in your country in adverse conditions despite your generosity, return to their homeland at the earliest possible date. We are also now in a position to resettle and rehabilitate them in their own homes in conditions of safety, dignity and honour. In view of the onset of winter, time is of essence in this matter. The health and welfare, especially of the women, children and the aged, can be safeguarded only if the arrangements for their return to Bangla Desh are expedited. We would like to assure you of our Government's full cooperation in organising the expeditious return of the refugees back to their home. Let it not be said that we failed them in their hour of need.

10. Your extending recognition to the Government of Bangla Desh seems an imperative requisite to us to relieve the tensions and strains which the people of Bangla Desh and India had to bear over the last eight months. The early achievement of our common objectives would also depend on your giving not only political and moral support to us, but also all essential material aid to the freedom struggle. We are convinced that your according recognition to us and giving substantive content to this recognition by cooperation in all aspects of our mutual relations would expedite a lasting solution to the problem of Bangla Desh.

11. We are grateful for the continuing support that you have given to our cause and the efforts you have made on this behalf with the international community. We feel it is now necessary to give formal political content to your support, in order that our struggle is rewarded with speedy success and our existence as a free society is recognised by the world at large. Recognition by you would give an impetus to and would be an acknowledgement of our aspirations and free existence. It is also our considered assessment that the granting of recognition by the Government of India to the People's Republic of Bangla Desh is a most necessary and important step not only to stabilise the situation on the sub-continent but also to ensure peace, progress and stability to South-East Asia. May we, therefore, reiterate the request which we made in our letter of 15th October that you accord immediate recognition to the sovereign People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our highest esteem.

Sd. Sd.
(Syed Nazrul Islam) (Tajuddin Ahmad)

Her Excellency Mrs. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

(Seal of the Govt. of the People's
Republic of Bangla Desh)

*Letter dated 4.12.71 from Govt of
the People's Republic of Bangla
Desh to Prime Minister of India*

From

Syed Nazrul Islam,
Acting President of the
People's Republic of Bangla Desh, and
Tajuddin Ahmad,
Prime Minister of the
People's Republic of Bangla Desh.

To

Your Excellency Madame Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

Her Excellency,

We have just learnt with deep shock of the dastardly attack launched against your country by the military junta of Pakistan on the afternoon of the 3rd of December. This

latest manifestation of Yahya Khan's reckless violation of international covenants is the final proof of his determination to subject the countries of this sub-continent to tensions, destructions and socio-economic ferment, the people of Bangla Desh were conscious of the above inclinations of the Government of West Pakistan and they launched their struggle for freedom nearly nine months ago. We had sent communications to your Excellency on the 15th of October and 23rd of November explaining the realities of the situation and our determination to fight the military junta of Pakistan till the complete defeat of the occupation forces is accomplished. The aggression committed by Yahya and his Generals on your country make it all the more necessary that the people of India and the people of Bangla Desh stand shoulder to shoulder to repel the aggressors and fight for democracy and freedom and the values we cherish in common.

Madame Prime Minister, we have the honour to inform you that in view of the direct aggression committed by Pakistan against your country on the 3rd of December, the freedom forces of Bangla Desh are ready to fight the aggressive forces of Pakistan in Bangla Desh in any sector or in any front. Our joint stand against military machinations of Pakistan would be further facilitated, if we enter into formal diplomatic relations with each other. May we, therefore, repeat our request to Your Excellency that the Government of India accord immediate recognition to our country and our Government. We should like to take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency that the Government and the people of Bangla Desh stand solidly with you in this hour of peril and danger to both countries. It is our earnest hope that our joint resistance to the nefarious plans and intentions of President Yahya Khan will be brought to a successful conclusion.

We assure Your Excellency of our Government's full support in your just struggle against the aggressor.

Renewing Your Excellency the assurances of our highest esteem.

December 4, 1971.

SHRI MALLIKARJUN (Medak): I congratulate the Prime Minister of this holy country. I see her as an absolute incarnation

of incorporeal and divine India. God will bless this country with all efficiency and we shall always remain victorious. Jai Bangla Desh.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond-Harbour): On behalf of my party may we say how very glad we are to welcome this day. This is really a day of days, since 1947.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North-East): Words fail us on this occasion. We have been waiting for months for the time when this country would associate itself entirely with the tremendous movement for liberation which has begun in Bangla Desh.

I do not know if any speech is necessary on this occasion; our hearts are full. We say it to the Prime Minister that she has done her duty at a historic moment. There is no doubt about it. We shall go ahead in this part of the world and entirely on a global basis. The struggle which is going on against that ghastly junta of military autocrats, the crazy power hungry people in Islamabad, that struggle would succeed and freedom would flourish in our part of the world, in the rest of humanity.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर): अद्यक्ष जी, देर से सही, बांगला देश को मान्यता प्रदान करके एक सही कदम उठाया गया है। इतिहास को बदलने की प्रक्रिया हमारे सामने चल रही है और निर्यात ने इस संघर्ष को, इस देश को, ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण क्षण में रख दिया है, जब हम न केवल मुक्ति संग्राम में अपने जीवन की चाहति देने वालों के साथ लड़ रहे हैं, लेकिन हम इतिहास को एक नई दिशा देने का भी प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। आज बांगला देश में अपनी आजादी के लिए लड़ने वालों और भारतीय जवानों का रक्त साथ-साथ बह रहा है। यह रक्त ऐसे सम्बन्धों का निर्माण करेगा, जो किसी भी दबाव से टूटेंगे नहीं, जो किसी भी कूटनीति का शिकार नहीं बनेंगे। बांगला देश की मुक्ति अब निकट आ रही है। मुझे लगता है कि हमारी सेनाएँ अब ढाका के दरवाजे पर पहुंच रही हैं। भारत सरकार ने

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

बंगला देश को मान्यता देकर केवल मुक्ति संग्राम को ही सहायता नहीं दी है, बंगला देश को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय दर्जा भी दे दिया है। अब वह सुरक्षा परिषद में स्वाधीन बंगला देश का नुमाइन्दा बन कर जायेंगे, इसलिए हमारा उन को इस समय मान्यता देना और भी अर्थपूर्ण हो गया है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी प्रधान मन्त्री जी वास्तव में बधाई की अधिकारिणी हैं। हम कुछ और भी ऐसी खबरों की प्रतिदिन आशा करते रहेंगे।

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam)
This is a historic day when free Bangla Desh is recognised by India. Our greetings to the Bangla Desh and its heroic people. May I request you, on behalf of my party and on behalf of this House to convey our greetings and best wishes to the Bangla Desh people and the Bangla Desh Government. We are one with them in winning freedom and preserving democracy. The fight that is now going on is not between Islamabad and Delhi or between Islamabad and Bangla Desh; it is a fight between military might and democratic rights. Democratic rights will ever succeed, as history has shown. A new history is being written in Bangla Desh.

श्री श्यामनन्द निषध (बेगुसराय) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस अवसर पर हम लोग प्रधान मन्त्री जी को और अपनी सेना को मुबारकबाद देते हैं। हम लोगो की आशा है कि जिस तरह से देश के विश्वस को प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने और हमारी सेना ने काबज रखा है उस विश्वास को वे लोग आगे भी बनायेंगे और आगे आने वाले जो दिन है, जिन में बहुत पेचीदगी भी आने वाली है, उनमें पूरे संतुलन और दूरदर्शिता में काम लेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ अभी तक जो हमारी सफलतायें हुई हैं उन से हमारी बहुत हिम्मत अफजाई हुई है, हमारे देश का सम्मान भी बढ़ा है और दुनिया की बहुत सी जगहों में जो इस सम्बन्ध में बातें हो रही है उनमें भी

बहुत कुछ विचार करने में दूसरे देश वालों के दिमाग में सफाई आयेगी। वे बहुत कुछ भ्रम में पड़े हुए थे हिन्दुस्तान की स्थिति के बारे में। हिन्दुस्तान की स्थिति आज साफ हो गई है और आज जब तीसरे या चौथे दिन ही युद्ध के बाद हम मिल रहे हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ बहुत कुछ जो अभी बातें चल रही हैं दुनिया में, वे बातें अब ऐसा मोड़ लेंगी जो शांति के लिए फायदेमन्द होंगी।

मैं ज्यादा समय न लेकर इतना ही कहूँगा कि अभी हमारे देशवासियों को यह नतीजा समझ लेना है कि आखिरी मोर्चे पर हमारी फतह-वाजी हो गई वल्कि हमें बहुत सी कुर्बानियां करनी होंगी और बहुत विचार, संतुलन और दूरदर्शिता में हमें काम लेना होगा।

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi) : I congratulate the Prime Minister from the core of my heart for her bold decision. She has taken a very bold step, though belated.

AN HON. MEMBER : At the right time.

SHRI P. K. DEO : My party is fully with her. That Pakistan is a geographical absurdity has been proved today. We hope that the damage done by partition would be repaired, and we fully hope that it will open a golden chapter in the history of the sub-continent. This bold decision reminds me of the saying :

मुहूर्तं ज्वलन्त श्रेयं, न तु घृणायित चिरं।

This bold decision is really very courageous and has injected new spirit into the Indian nation and at the same time into the freedom fighters, and I salute the freedom fighters, our soldiers and the martyrs who have laid down their lives for Bangla Desh.

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI (Berhampore) : This is, as every body has said, really a historic occasion, a great occasion, and long speeches are not needed. Even then, we are reminded of the day when the Indian nation really came into its own, when on the banks of the Ravi, under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,

we took the solemn vow of independence. Similarly on the 24th March this year, on the banks of the Buri Ganga, Free Bangla Desh was born, and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Father of the Nation of Bangla Desh, took the vow of an independent Bangla Desh and declared the independence of Bangla Desh. The Government and the Prime Minister have never been in more intimate communion with the heart of the nation, with the national spirit, than today. I thank her and the Government sincerely from the core of my heart.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Sir, the late Pandit Jawahar'nal Nehru once said that freedom, like peace, is indivisible and a threat to freedom in one part of the world constitutes a threat to freedom elsewhere. I am glad the Prime Minister has listened to the voice of her father and in resounding terms, has accepted the freedom of Bangla Desh, which is in consonance with the freedom of our country. Today the freedom fighters and martyrs of Bangla Desh must have felt that their martyrdom has not gone in vain. They must have realised that the recognition of Bangla Desh will not come at the diplomatic table, but it will emerge through the fire of revolution and struggle. And that way, the recognition of Bangla Desh by India has come. For that reason, I congratulate the Prime Minister and also the country.

I do not wish to take much time. Today the martyrs and the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh must be remembering the words of the great Poet who said :

"Oh ! Liberty ! Can man resign thee
Once having felt thy generous flame ?
Can dungeon, bolts or bars
Confine thee or whip thy noble spirit
tame ?"

These were the words which illumined the path of many freedom fighters the world over. These are the words which will enliven and illumine the life and dedication of the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh. I am glad the forces of freedom in India and in Bangla Desh have tuned themselves in unison. That will be the picture of the world we will like to dream of and India will always stand for all these who are struggling for freedom. Our armies will never march on any country to conquer the land; our armies will always march o

defend and uphold the freedom of and land. That is the tradition of our great country.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar) : So, recognition delayed is not recognition denied. I congratulate the Prime Minister for taking the right decision at the right moment in the right forum. But in this excitement, may I remind the House, that the real significance of this battle should not be forgotten ? The real significance is that the armies of Bangla Desh and India—Muslims and Hindus—are fighting shoulder to shoulder, defeating the military junta of Pakistan. This is not an assault on territory. This is an assault on the ideological basis of Pakistan. That is the essence of the struggle. Pakistan was created in 1947 on the basis of religious being different and religions demarcating the boundaries. In Bangla Desh today a Muslim Commander, Gen. Osmani, is commanding the forces, forgetting what religion is, remembering only one thing that human and democratic values are supreme. That is the essence of the freedom fight in Bangla Desh. I am sure all those who are upholding the cause of Bangla Desh, whether Mr. Vajpayee or anybody else, will try to implement the significance of this in our daily life and in the political pattern in this country as a whole.

SHRIMATI M. GODFREY (Nominated -Anglo-Indians) : Sir, words cannot express our admiration for our beloved Prime Minister. It is only God who has steered her through the difficult days that we have been passing through. God has given her also understanding and proper judgment to judge that today is the right day to declare the freedom of Bangla Desh. I know the times are very difficult for us to interfere in other's internal affairs. But our Prime Minister has steered us through these difficult days. I think today was the right time for the liberation of Bangla Desh. So, we all join in one voice to thank her for having taken this historic decision on this historic day. This will go down in the annals of history. Once more, I congratulate her and pray that God may always guide her to do the right things, which she has always been doing through all these days of struggled in this country of ours.

SHRI S. B. GIRI (Warangal) : Sir, ultimately the democratic will of the people

(Statement)

[Shri S. B. Giri]

of Bangla Desh and also the will of the people of this country has triumphed and recognition has been granted to Bangla Desh. On behalf of the Telangana Praja Samiti, I congratulate the Prime Minister for recognising Bangla Desh. I hope other countries will follow suit. I hope those who talk of people's democratic rights and the biggest democracy—America—will follow suit and recognise Bangla Desh.

श्री इसहाक सभली (अमरोहा) :

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हम को सब से ज्यादा मुबारकवाद देनी है बंगला देश के उन मुजाहिदों को जो आजादी संग्रहित और संकुलज्म के लिये लड़ रहे हैं। वह तो अपनी सरकार कायम कर चुके। हम को खुशी है और हम मुबारकवाद देते हैं हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को और प्राइम मिनिस्टर को जिन्होंने बंगला देश को रिकग्नाइज किया। यह एक तारीखी चीज है। वह ऐसा देश है जिस के अन्दर बहुत बड़ी तादाद ओवरव्हेल्मिंग मजहारीटी, एक मजहब मानने वालों की है, यानी मुसलमानों की। लेकिन फिर भी उन्होंने संकुलज्म को अपनाया है। मुझे यकीन है कि दुनिया के अन्दर करोड़ों आदमियों की आजादी का दौर इस दौर से शुरू हुआ है और वह एक-एक गुलाम इलाके को आजाद कराने में कामयाब होगा।

इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं बंगला देश को और इस सरकार को मुबारकवाद देता हूँ।

شری اسحاق سنبلی امروہا:

ادھیکش ہودے۔ ہم کو سب سے زیادہ مبارکباد دینی ہے بنگلہ دیش کے ان مجاہدوں کو جو آزادی، سوشلزم اور سیکولرزم کے لئے لڑ رہے ہیں۔ وہ تو اپنی سرکار قائم کر چکے ہیں۔ ہم کو خوشی ہے اور ہم مبارکباد دیتے ہیں ہندوستان کی جنتا کو اور پرائم منسٹر کو جنہوں نے بنگلہ دیش کو ریکگنایز کیا۔ یہ ایک تاریخی چیز ہے۔ وہ ایسا دن ہے جس کے اندر بہت بڑی تعداد اور ویٹنگ میجرٹی ایک مذہب ماننے والوں کی ہے۔ یعنی مسلمانوں کی۔ لیکن پھر بھی انہوں نے سوشلزم کو اپنایا ہے۔ مجھے یقین ہے کہ دنیا کے اندر کروڑوں آدمیوں کی آزادی کا دور اس دور سے شروع ہوا ہے۔ اور وہ ایک ایک غلام علاقے کو آزاد کرانے میں کامیاب ہوگا۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں بنگلہ دیش کو اور اس سرکار کو مبارکباد دیتا ہوں۔

MR. SPEAKER : I think there should be no more speeches now. I also join in congratulating the Prime Minister. All the parties have spoken. On behalf of those persons who do not belong to any party, who are non-controversial and who belong to both the Treasury Benches and the Opposition, on behalf of all the free people and on behalf of the whole House, I congratulate the Prime Minister. For the first time in my life as Speaker, today I joined in thumping the table. I thumped my own table. I think this declaration made by the Prime Minister will go down in history as a demonstration of the great cooperation and alignment we have with the freedom-loving people of Bangla Desh. On behalf of all those people and on behalf of all of you, I wish to congratulate the Government of Bangla Desh for the momentous and great declaration laying the foundation of their State on democracy, secularism, socialism, world peace and human rights.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : We should send a delegation there.

MR. SPEAKER : We will invite their delegation first.

SOME HON. MEMBERS : The House should be adjourned now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : To remember this great day, we request you to adjourn the House.

MR. SPEAKER : I have consulted my Secretary and there is not very urgent business pending, except that on which Mr. Dinen Bhattacharyya has already spoken. After Mr. Pant lays some papers on the Table, I will make the announcement.

10.52 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE—Contd.

DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT) : I beg to lay on the Table