

Tuesday, 8th August, 1950



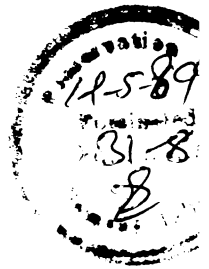
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(PART I— Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

Volume IV, 1950
(1st August to 14th August, 1950)

Second Session
of
PARLIAMENT OF INDIA
1950



CONTENTS

Volume IV—1st August to 14th August, 1950

	Cols.
Tuesday, 1st August, 1950—	
Members sworn	1—2
Oral Answers to Questions	2—32
Written Answers to Questions	32—70
Wednesday, 2nd August, 1950—	
Oral Answers to Questions	71—107
Written Answers to Questions	107—42
Thursday, 3rd August, 1950—	
Oral Answers to Questions	143—77
Written Answers to Questions	177—206
Friday, 4th August, 1950—	
Members sworn	... 207
Oral Answers to Questions	... 207—42
Written Answers to Questions	... 243—80
Monday, 7th August, 1950—	
Members sworn	281
Oral Answers to Questions	281—318
Written Answers to Questions	318—46
Tuesday, 8th August, 1950—	
Members sworn	347
Oral Answers to Questions	347—54
Thursday, 10th August, 1950—	
Oral Answers to Questions	355—89
Written Answers to Questions	389—440
Friday, 11th August, 1950—	
Oral Answers to Questions	441—78
Written Answers to Questions	478—508
Saturday, 12th August, 1950—	
Members sworn	509
Oral Answers to Questions	509—42
Written Answers to Questions	542—56
Monday, 14th August, 1950—	
Oral Answers to Questions	... 557—611
Written Answers to Questions	... 611—84

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part I—Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT

347

348

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Tuesday, 8th August, 1950

*The House met at a Quarter to
Eleven of the Clock*

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MEMBER SWORN

Honourable Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (Madras).

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Short Notice Questions and Answers

**RATIONING OF GRAM FOR HORSES IN
DELHI**

Giani G. S. Musafir: Will the Minister of Food be pleased to state:

(a) what steps have been taken to satisfy the horse keepers in Delhi, in connection with rationing of grams;

(b) whether it is a fact that grams are easily available in the black market; and

(c) whether Government have been requested by the parties affected to decontrol gram?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri K. M. Munshi): (a) stocks available with the Delhi Administration after the middle of May were

utilized for animal rationing only. Import of gram and other coarse food-grains into the rationed area of Delhi has since been made free. Besides, the bran that is available to the Delhi Administration as a result of milling wheat is now diverted for supply to animals in Delhi. The Delhi Administration were prepared to import oats, but the horse keepers did not show any interest in the matter. Government is considering the steps to be taken to secure gram for Delhi, and I am glad to mention that the U.P. Government is releasing 1,000 tons of gram for Delhi immediately.

(b) No such fact has come to the knowledge of Government. Anyway, it is not a fact that grams are easily available in Delhi.

(c) Letters have been received to this effect.

Giani G. S. Musafir rose—

Mr. Speaker: I shall call the second Short Notice Question also which deals with the same subject, and then the supplementaries will be common to both.

SHORT SUPPLY OF GRAM IN DELHI

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Will the Minister of Food be pleased to state:

(a) the reasons for short supply of gram in Delhi resulting in the total discontinuance of the gram supply by the Rationing Department for the horses of *Tongawalas* in Delhi;

(b) the total number of horses affected by the discontinuance of the gram supply;

(c) the quantity required per month if supply of gram is again restored on the basis of the scale originally fixed by Government;

(d) the steps taken by Government so far, to procure stocks of gram required for the purpose;

(e) whether it is a fact that East Punjab and PEPSU have not supplied the quantity of gram which they were expected to do;

(f) if so, what steps have been taken by Government to obtain further supplies from them; and

(g) what is the quantity of gram, if any, imported from Pakistan for Delhi so far?

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri K. M. Munshi): (a) The normally surplus States have not been exporting gram this year due to damage to the gram crop.

(b) 4,000.

(c) 16,000 tons per year for animal rationing.

(d) Out of a total surplus of 64,000 tons distributed under the Basic Plan for Gram drawn up in May 1950, Delhi was allotted 10,000 tons. Against this allotment, about 930 tons only has been received in Delhi so far. The Government have requested the surplus States to supply gram, but so far no steps have been taken by these States to comply with the request. Gram has been placed on the O.G.L. and gram is being imported from Pakistan. But there is no definite information as to what part of the gram has been received in Delhi.

(e) Yes.

(f) These States have stated that they have no surplus. The Government is considering the steps to be taken to secure the gram required for Delhi from the States which have stocks of gram.

(g) Information is not available.

گہانی جی - ایس - مسافر : جیسا کہ آپ نے فرمایا ہے کہ دہلی میں بلیک مارکیٹ میں بھی چلنا نہیں مانتا - تو کیا آپ یہ خیال کرتے ہیں کہ دہلی میں جو گھوڑے ہیں وہ بغیر چلے کے جی رہے ہیں ؟

[**Giani G. S. Musafir:** As you have stated that gram is not available in Delhi in black market even, then do you think the horses living in Delhi are subsisting without gram?]

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. That is an argument. Does he want to ask for any information?

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: When did Government first come to know that this year the gram crop of surplus areas was deficient and that Delhi would not be able to get its proper quota?

Shri K. M. Munshi: The Basic Plan for this year was issued on the 21st April, and thereafter Government came to meet with difficulties over procuring gram for Delhi.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: What steps were taken by Government to make alternative arrangements to get supplies from other sources?

Shri K. M. Munshi: Government have been pressing the surplus States to provide gram.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Do Government believe that the surplus States have not declared their surpluses correctly and that, in fact, the surpluses are much higher and they are in a position to supply additional quantity of gram to Delhi?

Shri K. M. Munshi: It is difficult for me to say, but they say they are not in a position to supply. On the other hand, it is found that in some parts of those States gram is found in surplus quantities.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: What is the effect of O.G.L. on the supply in Delhi? Is it a fact that O.G.L. makes no difference as the gram imported from Pakistan cannot reach Delhi except through Punjab which is not permitted?

Shri K. M. Munshi: I don't think that any gram which has been imported under O.G.L. has so far come to Delhi. That is my impression. I have no definite information on the point.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: But have Government suggested to the Punjab Government that in the case of any gram purchased in Pakistan for purposes of Delhi there should be no restriction placed on its movement to Delhi?

Shri K. M. Munshi: No one has approached Government with the request that they should buy that gram and make it available in Delhi. So the question does not arise.

सेठ गोविन्द दास: क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि गये साल पंजाब में बहुत सा चना मौजूद था, उसमें से कुछ सड़ गया, और अभी भी पंजाब में कुछ व्योपारियों के पास चना मौजूद है और वह यहाँ पंजाब स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के मार्फत मंगाया जा सकता है ?

[**Seth Govind Das:** Is it not a fact that last year huge quantities of gram were available in Punjab, a part of which deteriorated and as yet the traders of Punjab have got huge stocks of gram and this can be imported here with the help of the Government of Punjab?]

Shri K. M. Munshi: As regards the first part of the question, I can only say what I heard on the floor of this House, that there was a lot of gram last year in Punjab but it did not find its way to other parts of India. So far as this year is concerned, the information which has been supplied to the Government of India is that there are several parts of Punjab where there is hoarded gram.

Shri Himatsingka: Is it not a fact that if gram is imported direct from Western Pakistan and booked to Delhi, the East Punjab Government cannot seize it and no permission would be necessary?

Shri K. M. Munshi: The Punjab Government has a right to impose a ban on the export of their gram, but no such case as the one mentioned by the hon. Member has been brought to my notice. But I think if gram is directly despatched from Pakistan to Delhi, no question of permit can arise.

श्री एम० एल० गुप्ता : अभी हमारे आनरेबुल मंत्री ने श्री देशबन्धु गुप्ता के जवाब में कहा था कि लोगों ने दरह्वास्त नहीं दी, इसलिये यहाँ पर ओ. जी. एल. से चना आने का सवाल नहीं पैदा होता। क्या यह जरूरी है कि इसके लिये वे दरह्वास्त दे, वरना गवर्नमेंट इसका ख्याल नहीं करेगी ?

[**Shri M. L. Gupta:** The hon. Minister while answering the question of Shri Deshbandhu Gupta had stated that as no one approached the Government so the question of importing gram here on O.G.L. does not arise. Is it necessary for the people to approach the Government in this respect, otherwise the Government would not look into the matter on her own accord?]

Shri K. M. Munshi: Unless any merchant comes and says that he wants to import gram from Pakistan, how is it possible for Government to announce to the whole world that anybody can bring gram from Pakistan? Once a commodity is put on the O.G.L., everybody knows that he can import it into India freely.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Cannot the Government themselves buy gram from Pakistan and import it into Delhi?

Shri K. M. Munshi: So far gram is on the free list of Pakistan, and therefore it is not advisable to have Government to Government transactions.

बाबू रामनारायन सिंह : क्या यह बात सही है कि दिल्ली के आसपास के जिलों से यहां चना आना मना है ?

[**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** Is it a fact that a ban has been imposed preventing gram from being imported here from districts neighbouring Delhi?]

Shri K. M. Munshi: There were two kinds of bans. One was the ban imposed by Punjab, Pepsu and other Governments on the export of gram outside their States. The other was the ban imposed by the Delhi Administration preventing gram from coming in from outside. But the latter ban has been removed.

Shri Tyagi: When was the scarcity of gram in Delhi brought to the notice of the Ministry?

Shri K. M. Munshi: Almost from the time that I took office.

Shri Gautam: Why did not Government take suitable steps before the *tongawalas* went on strike?

Shri K. M. Munshi: Government took all steps which were within their power to induce the surplus States to part with their gram.

Shri Gautam: My question is: why were not these steps taken before the strike took place?

Shri K. M. Munshi: It is not correct to say that, because steps were taken, as I said, right from the 20th of May, 1950. This matter has been engaging the attention of Government ever since that date. But the difficulty has been that it is very difficult to induce the surplus States to part with their gram.

Shri Tyagi: May I know if it is a fact that the proposal to purchase gram from outside was shifting from one office to another and that the sanction of the Finance Ministry took a lot of time in coming?

Shri K. M. Munshi: It is not correct to say so. Government are taking steps, but the first question is to induce the surplus States to part with their gram.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Is it a fact that Delhi is surrounded on all sides by surplus States like U.P., Punjab and Pepsu and in view of this, have Government considered the desirability of removing the restrictions placed on free movement of gram from these areas to Delhi?

Shri K. M. Munshi: This question along with others is under consideration of Government.

Tuesday, 8th August, 1950



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME V, 1950

(31st July, 1950 to 14th August, 1950)

Second Session

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1950



CONTENTS

Volume V.—21st July, 1950 to 14th August, 1950

CONTENTS

MONDAY, 31ST JULY, 1950—

President's Address to Parliament	1—16
---	------

TUESDAY, 1ST AUGUST, 1950—

Business of the House	17
Death of Shti A. B. Lathe	18
Resignations of Dr. John Matthai and Shri Motilal Pandit	18
Leave of absence from the House	18—19
The President's Assent to Bills	20

Papers laid on the Table—

Documents on Korean Affairs	20—21
Treaty of friendship between the Government of India and the Imperial Government of Iran	20—21
Report of the Indian Delegation to the Ninth Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council	20—21

WEDNESDAY, 2ND AUGUST, 1950—

Death of Mr. Bhaskarrao V. Jadhav	107—108
Leave of absence from the House	108

Papers laid on the Table—

Delhi Road Transport Authority (Motor Vehicles Insurance Fund) Rules, 1950	108
Report on Fourth Session of Transport and Communications Commission	108—109
Delhi Road Transport Authority (Members Allowances and Fees) Rules, 1950	109
Railway Accidents (Compensation) Rules, 1950	109
Report of the Indian Delegation to Second Session of International Rice Commission, February, 1950	109
Report on Second meeting of F. A. O. Nutrition Committee for South East Asia	110
Report on Fifth Annual Conference of Food and Agriculture Organisation	110
Supplementary statement showing the action taken on assurances, promises and undertakings given during November-December Session, 1949	110
Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	110—111
Motion on Address by the President— <i>Concluded</i>	111—141, 141—214
Member Sworn	141

THURSDAY, 3RD AUGUST, 1950—

Papers laid on the Table—

Amendments to Federal Public Service Commission (Consultation by the Governor-General) Regulations and Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations	215—216
Revised Regulation 54 of General Regulations of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India	216
Central Excises and Salt Notifications	216
Motion <i>re</i> Korean Situation— <i>not concluded</i>	217—290

	Columns
FRIDAY, 4TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Message from the President	291
Cooch-Bihar (Assimilation of Laws) Bill—Introduced	291—292
Dentists (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	292
Naval Forces (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill—Introduced	292—293
Motion <i>re</i> : Korean Situation—Adopted	293—299
MONDAY, 7TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Deaths of Shri Akhil Chandra Datta and Shri Gopinath Bardoloi	391—393
Motions for Adjournment—	
Strike by Delhi Tongawalas	393—395
Papers laid on the Table—	
Notifications making certain further amendments to the Indian Aircraft Rules, 1920 and 1937	395—396
Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Schemes (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	396
Ajmer Rural Boards and Municipalities (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	396—397
Allianz Und Stuttgarter Life Insurance Bank (Transfer) Bill—Introduced	397
Contingency Fund of India Bill—Introduced	397
Business of the House	398
Motion <i>re</i> : Bengal Situation— <i>not concluded</i>	398—482
TUESDAY, 8TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Sugar Crisis Enquiring Authority Bill—Introduced	483
Motion <i>re</i> : Bengal Situation— <i>not concluded</i>	483—52
	528—596
Business of the House	526—528
WEDNESDAY, 9TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Members Sworn	597
Motion <i>re</i> : Bengal Situation— <i>concluded</i>	597—623
Census (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	623
Salaries of Ministers (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	623
Preventive Detention (Amendment) Bill—Passed	624—639
Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1950-51	639—706
Demand No. 8—Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (including Working Expenses)	640—665
Demand No. 9—Cabinet	665—704
Demand No. 11—Ministry of Home Affairs	704—705
Demand No. 13—Ministry of Law	705—706
THURSDAY, 10TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Papers laid on the Table—	
Forty Second Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Explosives in India	707
Business of the House	708—712
Fair Wages Bill—Introduced	712
Motion <i>re</i> : Treaty of Friendship with Iran	712—736
Voluntary Surrender of Salaries (Exemption from Taxation) Bill—Passed	737—742
Cantonment Laws (Extension and Amendment) Bill—Passed, as amended	742—765
Naval Forces (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill—Passed	765—789
Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill—Passed	789—796
Discussion on Government Housing Factory at Delhi— <i>concluded</i>	796—808

FRIDAY, 11TH AUGUST, 1950—

Papers laid on the Table—	
Declarations of Exemption under the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939	809—810
Annual Report of the Central Electricity Commission for 1948-49	810
Report of the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee	810—811
The Constitution (Removal of Difficulties) Order, No. II (Second Amendment) Order	895—897
Motion <i>re</i> : Report of the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee—Adopted	811—812
Influx from Pakistan (Control) Amendment Bill—Introduced	812
Ajmer Tenancy and Land Records (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	812—813
Salaries of Ministers (Amendment) Bill—Passed	813—839
Census (Amendment) Bill—Passed	840—841
Dentists (Amendment) Bill—Passed	841—871
Contingency Fund of India Bill—Passed	871—891
Demand for Supplementary Grant for 1950-51	892
Demand No. 19-A.—Transfer to the Contingency Fund of India	892
Financial Laws (Amendment) Bill—Motion to consider— <i>not concluded</i>	892—895
Closing of Post Offices on Sundays	898—910

SATURDAY, 12TH AUGUST, 1950—

Appropriation (No. 3) Bill—Introduced	911
Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Bill—Introduced	911—913
Delhi Premises (Requisition and Eviction) Amendment Bill—Introduced	913
Resolution <i>re</i> : making of laws by Parliament with respect to certain matters in State List for one year—Adopted	913—995
Finance Laws (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended	995—1008

MONDAY, 14TH AUGUST, 1950—

Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> : Toofan Express Accident	1009—1012, 1112—1123
Business of the House	1012
Paper laid on the Table—	
Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fourth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1949	1013
Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Bill—Passed, as amended	1013—1112
Influx from Pakistan (Control) Amendment Bill—Passed	1123—1127
Appropriation (No. 3) Bill—Passed	1127—1128

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

*Tuesday, 8th August, 1950**The House met at a Quarter to
Eleven of the Clock*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11 A.M.

SUGAR CRISIS ENQUIRING AUTHORITY BILL

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri K. M. Munshi) : I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to vest an Enquiring Authority with certain powers.

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to vest an Enquiring Authority with certain powers.”

The motion was adopted.

Shri K. M. Munshi : I introduce the Bill.

MOTION *RE* : BENGAL SITUATION—*contd.*

Mr. Speaker : We shall now proceed with the further consideration of the following motion moved yesterday by the hon. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru :

“That the Bengal situation with reference to the agreement between

the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan signed on the 8th April 1950, be taken into consideration.”

We shall also consider the amendments which are before the House. But before we begin the discussion, I would again appeal to hon. Members to be brief. I find a large number of hon. Members, who are anxious to speak on this motion. Therefore, I think I must place a time-limit of fifteen to twenty minutes at the most. Even then, I am afraid it will not be possible to satisfy all.

Shri B. Das (Orissa) : Yesterday we were considering the poignant situation in East Bengal and in India owing to the harassment of the East Bengal Hindus. I was trying to assess the malaise of the Pakistan Government and people. I was trying to analyse the reason for their repeated harassment of non-Muslims, whether it be in West Pakistan or in East Pakistan. I came to the conclusion that it is an economic malaise which Pakistan is suffering from. Pakistan is one of the youngest sovereign States in the world and as such it could not adjust itself to the new conditions. So it wanted to grow on its feet by trying to exploit the resources of its non-Muslim citizens under the guise that Pakistan is a Muslim State and therefore no non-Muslim has any right to live there or possess wealth there. I pointed out yesterday that this method of appropriating unproductive

[Shri B. Das]

wealth will not help the Pakistan State to become a prosperous sovereign State. I was going to develop the point that the Government of India should send a Peace Mission to Pakistan. I based my suggestion on the partial success of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact attained thus far.

I repeat my suggestion. If tension has been removed, if the situation has been eased and is at present a little better, then why should not we carry it a stage further? I suggest that the Peace Mission should be led by my esteemed and revered friend, Shri Rajagopalachari, because all his life he has been devoted to the bringing about of unity and harmony among Hindus and Muslims and a reconciliation of the two viewpoints. He will be an admirable leader to lead a deputation of Indians to discuss with the Pakistanis why they should adopt means of productive wealth; why they should join hands with India to develop the natural resources of Pakistan and India, so that both the countries will become prosperous and go hand in hand and maintain the sovereignty of Asian nations and prevent the Western bloc led by U. S. A. trying to divide us or trying to establish air, naval and armament bases in Asian countries. I should think that such a Peace Mission is possible.

But before that, the Pakistani leaders and publicemen should give up their idea of robbery and theft,—the idea of taking away the property of non-Muslim citizens as if non-Muslims are not human beings. One would have forgiven them for what they did in Western Pakistan, because that was the beginning and the early stage of their Independence. At such a time, we human beings—as much as nations—do make mistakes.

It has been unmistakably and systematically demonstrated, as my friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee pointed out yesterday, that the Government and the people of Pakistan are not in a mood to develop the economic wealth of their country by right methods. Looting the property of the Hindus

does not increase their *per capita* income: it does not increase their national income nor does it add to their productive wealth. We with our ancient culture, with or tradition, with the leadership of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, do not want to appropriate the properties of others. So, we are the right people to send a Mission to Pakistan. As I said yesterday, I am against referring this matter to the United Nations. Let our Peace Mission go. Most of the Cabinet Ministers of Pakistan have been our personal friends in this House or the other House. I can claim many friends among them, though I do not know whether I can call them my friends today. We should develop this approach to the problem, whereby once and for all we can remove this exploiting instinct in Pakistan people and the Pakistan Government.

Much was said yesterday about the rehabilitation of the East Bengal refugees. Whether they are 31 lakhs or 51 lakhs as Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee put it yesterday, the fact remains that it is a vast problem. It has often been said here and outside that the Minister of Rehabilitation should not sit in Delhi; he should have his office in Calcutta as well. It is most unfortunate that crates and crates of disposal goods in clothings are lying in the open exposed to the sun and rain, or moth-eaten on account of the laxity of the Defence Ministry, or the Rehabilitation Ministry or the Ministry of Industry and Supply. I hope the Government of India will at least unlock them now and distribute them to the half naked people of East Pakistan who have come to our unfortunate land. This is a suggestion which has been made by so many leaders and from so many quarters.

Before I conclude I want to make two or three points for the consideration of Government. The Minister of Rehabilitation will make every endeavour to see that the refugees from East Bengal who have come to our side are resettled together on reg-

ional basis. At present I find them being dispersed to the different provinces. Secondly, the Government of India should appoint a high-powered commission on rehabilitation. Resettlement of so large a number of people cannot be left to be done spasmodically, as happened in the case of migrants from West Pakistan. Social and moral factors are not to be torn asunder. The third point is the climatic condition which has already been referred to by Dr. Mookerjee yesterday. The East Bengal people do not like West Bengal ; they do not like Orissa. Much less can they be resettled in Mysore or Rajputana, because they are accustomed to an entirely different mode of life. They love fish and rice and they live in water almost.

These are some of the points I have to make. I do appeal to the Government of India and to the House to work together on this matter so that we can convince Pakistan and make her work for her economic prosperity so that she need not have recourse to loot others' properties thereby creating permanent economic distress both in India and in Pakistan.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Bihar) : We have discussed now for four days two important questions relating to our country. The first one related to our foreign policy, namely the Korean situation, and the unanimity that was displayed in this House over that matter did to me at any rate, exhibit that the core of the nation was sound, because I believe that if there is complete unanimity between the Government and its people on its foreign policy it shows that the nation is prepared to withstand all difficulties and stand by the Government.

Similarly, we have noticed an amount of diversity, or if I may use the term, variety, in the discussion over this home problem, as I call it—call it the refugee problem, call it the evacuee problem, call it the Bengal situation if you like. On this problem a certain amount of diversity of opinion has been expressed. It again, if you

will permit me to say so, is indicative of the fact that the nation, both outside as well as through its representative in this House, is alive and conscious of the situation. It shows that the people are not static, but they are dynamic. But, if they are critical of the actions so far taken by Government in this direction, permit me to say, that it should not be construed as indicating that they are unappreciative of what the Government have done so far. I feel that it only indicates that the nation both outside and in this House wants more to be done, very much more, and above all it wants an objective to be set and that objective to be pursued with a very firm policy.

India has been sore over the partition of the country. I do not know whether it would be in the fitness of things to say or interpret others' minds in this House, but I make bold to say that even the hon. the Prime Minister must be sore over this partition. What followed in the wake of that partition has also been causing immense distress. The tragedy is that it seems to be unending, and the expression of opinion, sometimes irritation, is only expressive of the fact that the situation is really becoming desperate. I would submit therefore that the discussion in this House both by the Members and the Government must be construed in this light. It requires understanding and appreciation of the other man's view point and if the discussions are conducted in this light I have no doubt that it will bring very good results. Who does not know that much that might have happened in this country was prevented by the Father of the Nation after the partition? There is no doubt also that much that might have happened in recent times has been prevented by the hon. the Prime Minister and his Government, including the State Governments. But, I must express my apprehension and I must state it quite frankly—I shall not be fair to the House or to the Government if I did not do so—that if really conditions continue as they are continuing it will drive the

[Shri Syamnandan Sahaya]
peoples of India into desperation and I am doubtful whether even the Government of Prime Minister Nehru will be able to check the surging tide of desperation that has already risen very high. I submit, I am saying these words not in a spirit of criticism : I am only trying to do my duty by the Government and by this House in trying to express what I have felt and noticed during my discussions and talks with various elements in this country, including the refugees.

The inhabitants of Pakistan, both Hindus and even some Muslims, ask themselves the question "What have we done to deserve this fate ? Did we ask for partition ? Was our consent sought when partition was made ? Were we really immovable property or chattels that we were partitioned off ?" But they also say another thing. They say "Even if it was necessary in the interest of the motherland that we should be separated, have we no claims on the consideration of the Government of India ? Shall we be just left out because we now belong to a foreign country ?" I submit India has to answer these questions. Whether we liked it or not, and although it was not contemplated that millions of people will come back to India from the different areas of Pakistan, but they did. Therefore it stands to reason that this matter, although extremely difficult, has to be tackled. It cannot, I submit, be left merely to the decisions taken unilaterally by one party.

There is another very poignant situation in the consideration of this subject and that is this. It is not only the Hindus who did not want separation or Pakistan but even those Muslims who did not want Pakistan that are suffering. Can we even after a hundred years from now forget the condition of the Khan brothers in Pakistan ? Shall we content ourselves by just saying "It is their home policy, what can we do ?" I know and I repeat that there are difficulties in the way. But I contend also that we have to find a solution for these difficulties. If we do not, the difficulties I am afraid will solve themselves.

With regard to the Indo-Pakistan Agreement I do not know whether I am competent or will be justified to discuss the philosophy of it. But there is one thing which I would like to submit, namely, that it has been our ideology and culture to espouse the cause of the suffering and the weak. Gandhiji staked his life in South Africa in order to save Indians from dishonour. I do not base my conclusions on anything that I have heard outside. I have gone through, even recently, the speeches delivered by members of the Government on different occasions with regard to the treatment meted out to minorities in Pakistan and on that basis I feel I have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the minorities in Pakistan are not living with honour. Whether they shall do so tomorrow is another question. I ask, will the land of Gandhiji tolerate such dishonour to such a vast number of people, crores of them ? If we feel our incapacity or our inability to secure redress let us say so. It has been taught to us that in difficult conditions there is nothing like accepting your difficulties. But at no time shall we justify or even ignore a wrong or would say that what is done or has been done can be supported on any grounds. It appears to some of us that probably what is troubling us is not troubling others. The stories which are related day to day by people who come out from East Pakistan trouble our heart, and I have no doubt that it must be troubling the Prime Minister's heart also. For some time perhaps it may be expedient, it may be politic for the hon. the Prime Minister to support the case of necessity, but I have no doubt that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—with the heart of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—will never be able to tolerate it for long, and much less will he do so as the successor of Mahatma Gandhi. I am reminded of an instance after the partition. At one of the meetings of the Constituent Assembly we desired that Mahatma Gandhi should come and bless the House on a certain important occasion and we wrote out a letter of request and handed it over to

the Chief Whip. As the hon. the Prime Minister was not in the House he took it to the hon. the Deputy Leader, Sardar Patel, and Sardar Patel said "We have tried our best, but we have failed. Let these young men try now". To that request Mahatma Gandhi said "My place on that day is in Noakhali, not in India". These words indicate what was the feeling of that great leader, the Father of the Nation towards our brethren in Pakistan.

I will not take your time as I have not much to say on the point whether the agreement has succeeded or failed, considering the approach and the circumstances in which the agreement was made. Let us say and admit that for a time it was able to create a better situation in both the countries which had really become very very difficult. That at that particular time the agreement was able to ease the situation for a time, cannot be denied. If that was the only object or achievement of the agreement, I might be permitted to say that we have not made any good score by the agreement.

In order to consider this aspect I will not take any information that I might have either from the Press or even from Members who have spoken in this House before. I have got two authentic documents in front of me, one being a note of the Ministry of External Affairs and another the answer given by the Hon. the Prime Minister to Mr. Kamath. It is not a very long document, but even so, I shall not read it as it will take your time, Sir. I shall just draw pointed attention to one or two matters. The note says :

"So far as West Bengal is concerned houses in urban areas are being restored to the owners immediately on their return. Out of 22,000 Muslim industrial employees, 9,000 have been re-employed. No exact information is available as to what percentage of migrants who have returned to East Bengal have got back their properties or otherwise have been rehabilitated."

If I am not mistaken, our Minister Mr. C. C. Biswas and the Minister on the other side, Mr. Malik are working together and spend most of their time together. If there was any information available would it not have been possible for Mr. Biswas to secure that from Mr. Malik ? I, therefore, come to the conclusion that there was not information enough to be given and if there was anything it was not worth being given to us. The note also says :

"Many reports have been received to show that large-scale requisitioning of houses in urban areas still continue."

I would like this information to be weighed against the previous information, which I have conveyed to you, that so far as West Bengal is concerned, the houses in urban areas are being restored to the owners immediately on their return. "Reports have also been received that in rural areas of East Bengal houses and lands have been forcibly occupied by the refugees". This explains the East Bengal situation.

Then, there is another indication. The note says :

"Exact information is not available about the number of places of worship damaged or destroyed or otherwise defiled in East Bengal".

This could not have been in thousands ; at best it would be in hundreds. Could even this information not be supplied by the East Bengal Government ? I conclude that there is a definite attempt at not placing facts and if there is no information and no figures supplied, we have to take it that they are not worth being placed before India.

Then, I come to the subject of abducted women. You will be surprised to hear that the Relief Commissioner of East Bengal stated that 50 reports have been falsely made. I am exceedingly sorry at this statement. Whatever might have happened, to whatever degradation or depths of

[Shri Symnandan Sahaya]

ignoring the Refugees might have fallen, one thing remains outstanding that they have maintained their religion and their dignity and would not go down to the extent of making false reports that their wives or daughters had been taken away. Such reports could not be falsely made. Out of sheer shame some people might not have sent a report at all. But to say that 50 cases were absolutely false and this statement to come from the Relief Commissioner is appalling to put it very mildly.

We on our side have been able to recover as many cases as were reported and were traceable. There is one point which, I think, still requires consideration and that is with regard to the different steps that have been suggested to be taken and with which the hon. the Prime Minister does not agree. The three suggestions made are: We must, if necessary even by a conflict try and prevent what is happening to the minorities in East Bengal. The second is that if the Hindus come away, let the Pakistan Government cede the necessary territory to rehabilitate and settle the people who come here. Thirdly if nothing is possible, have an exchange of population. All these three suggestions are difficult of achievement, I know, because there is a third party involved in it, that is, the Pakistan Government and they may not agree to any of these. In fact they will not as they do not want exchange of population. May I ask then what is the objection to getting back to India those Hindus who are still left in Pakistan, provided the hon. the Prime Minister is convinced that the conditions there are such that no member of the minority community can live there honourably? The Prime Minister made a bold and, pardon my saying so, a bold statement when he said that he believed that Hindus will still live in Pakistan.

What I desire to submit, before I resume my seat is, that whatever else the Prime Minister may do he may carry on the peace negotiations as he has been doing—it is a laudable object, it expresses his faith, his sincerity and

his genuineness and it raises the country's position very much indeed—but let him not for the sake of humanity, for the sake of the Hindu brethren in East Bengal, come to this conclusion that the Hindus in East Bengal can still remain honourably. My own feeling is that if we do not show a little grace in trying to bring them over to India, they shall come all the same and then we shall be saddled with difficulties unwary and unprepared and perhaps such that we may not be capable of meeting with suddenly. I submit, therefore that this is a vital problem which deserves very serious consideration and it cannot in my opinion be brushed aside on the ground of being a matter of foreign policy or anything else.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani (Uttar Pradesh): As I rise to speak on this motion, I am reminded of the days four months back when news started pouring in from East Bengal about the persecution of the minorities there. We were all greatly perturbed and all of us started searching for a solution of this ever-recurring problem. We held innumerable meetings, innumerable discussions; all sorts of solutions were proposed and all that culminated in the Indo-Pakistan Pact. Many welcomed this pact. Some of us were sceptical about it; others even doubted the benefit of the pact but whatever be the views that the people held, the country as a whole decided to give the pact a fair trial. Four months have passed. I think sufficient time has passed to enable us to assess the working of the pact. I do not want to minimize the benefit that has accrued from the pact but let us analyse and see what for this pact was entered into? The chief object of the pact was to give security to the minorities in their own territory. We wanted to make the minorities to look to their own Government for protection and not to the Government of the neighbouring state. If this chief object failed, then there was a subsidiary object, and that object was to facilitate the migration of the minorities to the other territory. What have we seen in these four months

I have gone again and again to these poor people of Bengal. I have actually met many of them who have crossed the border. When I first went there the people who came into our country were absolutely in a ragged condition; they were harassed, molested in every possible way. After the pact, I went there and I saw that they were coming back with their little belongings, their chattels, bullock carts with some little household goods. When the tension was eased the situation did certainly improve but as far as the chief object was concerned, that is, giving security to the minorities in their own territory, that has not been achieved.

Many people have visited East Pakistan. Newspaper reporters have gone; many eminent Indians have gone. We have both official and non-official reports as to the conditions prevailing in East Pakistan. All that we can say is that the conditions are better; but the conditions are not such that people can live there in peace, in honour and safety. Even the hon. the Prime Minister said yesterday, that the security conditions are not such as people can live there.

Yesterday, there was a report in the newspapers that houses are being requisitioned in large numbers. What is the meaning of this? If Pakistan is sincere about the minorities, if Pakistan does want to extend protection to the minorities, no house should be requisitioned. We have good information that even houses in which people are living have been requisitioned. Today, I have received information from a friend of ours, who is also known to the hon. Prime Minister, Dr. Jeevan Ratan Dhar of Jessore, who was trying his level best to stay there—that his house has been requisitioned. If Pakistan follows such a policy, how are we to believe in their sincerity to render protection to the minorities.

I have myself during the last two months of June and July toured extensively in Bengal and Assam—myself and at least three Members of this House. We have seen and

spoken to thousands of refugees literally. Wherever we went, we asked one question, "Are you prepared to go back after the Pact? Why don't you go back? What is the difficulty? Why are you staying in the camp and undergoing very great suffering?" Each and every one told us, "We are not prepared to go back; kill us; give poison to the whole family; we shall not go back". Then we asked some of them, "Did not any of you try to go?" Many of them said that they did go back. There were no officers to protect them in the villages, but the people there taunted them saying, "Why have you come back? did you not get any food to eat? and so you have come back". That is what the people told us. They are not educated people; they are not leaders of the community, but they are ordinary peasants, artisans, cultivators and the like. One thing is obvious that the minorities find it very difficult to stay there, and the exodus will continue.

It is true that the exodus is less and fewer people are coming. I do not want to get into the controversy about the figures as to how many are going and how many are coming. Yesterday, the hon. Prime Minister and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee enlightened the House a lot about it. Let us take an overall picture. What is the net result since 1947? After the partition, 60 lakhs of people have come from West Pakistan. The West Pakistan Government has practically liquidated the minority problem. Very few people are there. Some of us were fondly hoping that this applied only to West Pakistan and East Pakistan will remain safe. But, many who were wise among us said, wait and see; a time will come when the same thing will happen in East Pakistan. What has been happening in East Pakistan? Since the days of Noakhali, there was a small stream of people trickling into India. There was a big spurt a few months after the partition: not immediately, but a few months after. They came as a consequence of riot and disturbances. In that influx I

[Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani]
lakhs of people came. Then, we have the second influx in March. There is dispute about the number. The number is no less than 40 or 45 lakhs. So, today, India has got a refugee population of one crore. I want to ask you a very practical question : have we got the finances to rehabilitate this one crore of people ? During our tour in Assam and Bengal, we asked highly responsible people when this exodus will stop. They told us, "No, we expect more people to come; at least 60 lakhs will come." This was the opinion of responsible people and that is also the conclusion that we came to from our observations. Then, as regards the people who are returning to East Pakistan, there is dispute about the number. Some people put it at one lakh ; others say it is five lakhs. Whatever it may be, what difference does five lakhs make in a total of one crore ? India today is having this huge burden to look after.

Then, what is the condition of these refugees ? Let me tell you a little about that. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee told a good deal about it. For some months I have seen with my own eyes the condition of the refugees. I have myself run refugee camps and I am intimately connected with this problem though I do not hold any official position. I know the State Governments and the Central Government are spending lakhs and crores of rupees ; but the arrangements are totally inadequate. Even in the Ranaghat camp, which is a very big camp run by the Central Government, the death rate is 10 to 12 per day. This was the information given to us by the officers who are running the camp. The child mortality in Assam and Bengal is between 30 and 50 per cent. I am reminded of my own experience similar to the one recounted by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. Mothers came and wept before us and said, "I lost my child yesterday ; I have lost so many children since I left Pakistan."

Shri Sidhya (Madhya Pradesh) :
What is the population of that camp?

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani : (Ranaghat) : 35,000.

The general health condition of the people who come from East Pakistan is bad to start with. They were already suffering from mal-nutrition. They have not got the stamina that the people coming from West Pakistan had. They cannot resist for long. We are receiving innumerable applications for aid against T.B. In one Centre in Bombay, 400 people are asking for assistance against T.B. I have got 200 applications from the Rajputana refugees asking for assistance against T.B. What are you going to do and how are you going to solve this problem ? Let us turn to Bengal and Assam. I will just tell you very briefly the conditions prevailing in two of our reception centres. There is one small centre at Dauki on the gate of Assam. People are pouring in. It is a very small place ; there are no houses. A few houses that are there are occupied by the refugees. The rest of the refugees are living in the stalls meant for the weekly market, the *hati*; stalls made of bamboos and thin matting. It is a very malarial place with a heavy rainfall. People have been living under these mattings for the last three months. Even that shelter is denied to them twice a week when the market takes place. Then these refugees sit in the sun and rain. Most of them are suffering from malaria and many of them are on the point of death. They will die within a few months, if not today.

What is the condition in Sealdah ? You know that very well and I need not say much about it. In March when I first went to Calcutta, I went to Sealdah. In June and July, I did not go to Sealdah because I have not the heart to go there. I know when I go there, people expect things from me. I cannot do anything ; I cannot stand their misery ; therefore I did not go. I shall only read to you what an American visitor said when he went to Sealdah : "Simply stunned to see the ghastly sight at Sealdah railwa

station. I forgot for some time that I was in any civilised country." We also feel like that. I do not blame the Government ; I am only blaming the situation. What is happening in Sealdah ? People are dying of hunger, thirst, lack of accommodation, leaving other things about which other people have spoken. I want to draw the attention of my friends here to one point. Young girls are left unprotected for days at the Sealdah station. You must have all read in the papers, of the great scandal that is prevailing in Calcutta. Girls are enticed away for evil purposes and are taken away to live shameful lives. When for months and days these girls are left entirely unprotected, in hunger and starvation, these things are bound to happen. See the moral degradation to which we have descended. I do not want to emphasise the lack of clothing which we found everywhere. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava was with me in the tour. He was greatly moved by this one factor. Wherever we went, we found men and women in absolute rags. There was demand for clothing. The Government have distributed whatever they could. No Government can go on distributing cloth to millions. They are doing their best. But the problem is tremendous and whatever is being done is totally inadequate.

Failing to get help here, many refugees are going back. A very pitiable case came to our notice from Silchar. A family was starving for five days. Ultimately, the man decided to go back to Pakistan. He went to the railway station to catch the next train. Knowing that this man was returning, some people went to him and offered him some rice. He was starving with his children; but he refused to take that rice. He said, "I have taken a vow that I will not take a drop of water or a grain of rice in this country; I am going to Pakistan; I will become a Muslim there and live." You can imagine with what bitterness of feeling this father who had allowed his children to starve for five days, would allow them to starve for another day and he would not take a drop of water or a

grain of rice here. That is the condition of the refugees.

Then again, the dispersal of refugees is not taking place quickly enough. I know the Government of Bengal is trying to do their best. I do not desire to assign any blame or fault to any one. They are all doing whatever they can. But it is entirely impossible for a small government like that of Bengal to look after these hordes of refugees pouring in. Refugees should be sent out to other provinces as quickly as possible. When we started the Ranaghat camp it was meant to be a dispersal camp where the refugees could be kept for a short time to be sent off to different provinces. But now the dispersal of refugees has come to a standstill. As a result there is accumulation at Sealdah, at Ranaghat and at other places. What is the average attitude of the different Provincial Governments? They think that the burden of setting these one crore refugees is that of the Central Government. They do help a little; they take a few refugees but while doing so they think they oblige the Central Government. There is not that feeling in this country that this is a national crisis, a national problem which has to be tackled by the entire people. Wherever we went we drew the attention of the people to this aspect of the problem. All of you, we said, have to pull your weight together in the matter of settling these refugees otherwise the problem will not be solved. This is not Delhi's responsibility alone.

And then, what do we find in the matter of rehabilitation of the refugees? The work of rehabilitation is progressing extremely slow, and that for various reasons. One of them is that our Government has not decided as to their policy, whether they should settle the refugees from East Bengal. I remember in March when we were in Calcutta and Shri Mohanlal Saksena had come there, at that time some three to four lakhs had come, Mohanlalji told us that he expected these refugees to go back to Pakistan. So the proposal was to build border hut,

[Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani]

keep them there for six months and then send the refugees back. We told Mohanlalji again and again, "Don't indulge in this kind of wishful thinking. These people who have come are not going back. This is your responsibility and you will have to rehabilitate them." But our advise was not accepted hence this delay in starting rehabilitation work in Bengal. There are other reasons also into which I do not want to go because of lack of time.

I would, however, like to draw your attention to one aspect of the problem. When we were in Assam we tried to see as much as we could. We saw some very good relief work, and rehabilitation work done there. One was at Golapara where a fairly large number of Hindus as well as Muslims have been settled in Chapar. In this area 808 Hindu and 993 Muslim families have been settled on Muslims evacuee land. These people were quite happy. When we asked them, how they were they said, "We are as we were in our homes, we do not want anything more". But then they asked, "What is going to happen to us afterwards? That is what worries us now. We do not want to be thrown out at the end of the year. Where will we go?" I want to ask you the same question, what are you going to do with them? These people you have once settled, once again, are you going to uproot them? The process has already started. But surely, you will have to find some other land for them. But how is it justified from the point of view of finance even? I would ask, how can India afford to do this? Can we afford to rehabilitate people twice over?

As far as rehabilitation work is concerned, on the whole the impression that we gathered was that its progress is very slow and its natural consequence is additional hardship for the refugees.

Now, what will be the result of all this? Very large numbers will die. Some will rehabilitate themselves with their own efforts. Some will be rehabilitated by the effort of Government, and some will go back to Pakistan.

But what is the picture in Pakistan? In Pakistan, can we expect them to live in security? I know it is a difficult task.

It is difficult to guarantee security there, because it is another State. What will happen to them? We were told that the number of conversions has decreased. But I can tell you from my little experience of these people, a very large number of people will be converted. These conversions will be called voluntary conversions. There the economic pressure and, the social pressure are such that you cannot exist if you are a Hindu. If you are a Hindu, all avenues of earning are stopped. If you are a Hindu you suffer under hundred and one difficulties. Ultimately what will you do? After all the body is stronger than the spirit. They will embrace Islam. When I went to Noakhali in 1946 I found practically ninety per cent had been converted. Then we put forth special efforts to bring them back. Dr. Syama Prasad, other pandits, and Mahatma Gandhi, all of them issued statements to the effect that we do not accept such conversions. We distributed *sindoor* and *Sankha* and little things for worshipping and brought them back. You may ask, "What does it matter if a Hindu becomes a Muslim?" I am not myself a religious person; but I certainly have the strongest aversion to that sort of conversion. It is the worst type of degradation and demoralisation, and I am not prepared to see my people reduced to such degradation and humiliation.

So the long and short of it is that the exodus will continue to a great extent, unless the present situation changes.

Sir, if you will allow me another five minutes, I will try to finish. Now, what is the financial implication of the continuance of this exodus? We cannot formulate our Budget. With great difficulty Dr. Matthai formulated a Budget, a surplus budget, but what has happened to that surplus? It has dwindled. If in the middle of the year, a huge number of people come, we have to find money for them. I

was in Bengal a few days back and I asked the officers, "Why have not your rehabilitation work progressed?" The Rehabilitation Commissioner said, "The difficulty is, when we had formulated our plans, then came this influx and that has changed the situation. We are busy giving relief all the time. What can we do?" The entire plan is thrown out of gear. If we know once for all what is the population we have to support, then we can make some arrangements, but if after every two years or every six months, a huge lot of people come our economics, our plans are inevitably shaken. The food problem is aggravated. How do we propose to solve it? It is a difficult problem, no doubt. I do not want to make suggestions which have been made by others, and which are abhorrent to our Government. But I want, with great humility to ask one question. Do our finances justify the shouldering of this heavy burden? These unfortunate people have left property worth crores behind. Estimates say that in West Pakistan some 4,000 crores and in East Pakistan some 5,000 crores have been left. These estimates may not be correct, but even if we take only half of it, still it is a tremendous amount. If you make some serious attempt to take the property back, then you can rehabilitate these people with their own money, and Government need not spend money on that score. Let us concentrate on this one point and try for exchange of Property, on a Governmental level. This is a fair demand. Why should we always accept refusals from Pakistan? Some people say, in this socialistic age, why ask for property? In the context of present social and economic order what does property mean? Property does not mean mere amassing of wealth. Here it means food, shelter over your head, it means the honour of your wife and daughter, it means education for your children. Therefore, let us concentrate on this one point. These poor people, must have something so that they may live with honour and self-respect. We do not want the entire people to be reduced to the state of beggars. We do not want them to

die in large numbers. Let us, therefore, do what we can. With the utmost humility I again and again request the Prime Minister and our Government to see how best they can salvage this property so that with their own money our refugees can be settled.

And what is the political implication of all this? It is even more serious. We are all pledged to a secular, non-communal State. That is very dear to us. We have fought for it. The Congress has struggled for it all these years, and we want to maintain it. But do you think the non-communal character, the secular character of this State will be maintained if this exodus goes on and continues for years? It is not for me to give the reply; it is for you to give the reply. I am merely posing the question.

I am not an expert on international affairs but what little I have read of history tells me that international relationship wherever it is just and fair is based on principles of mutuality. Why has the country been divided today? We did not want a division of the country. The Congress tried its level best to prevent the division but there was no response from Mr. Jinnah. There was no response from the Muslim League. There was lack of mutuality and so the country has been divided. Why did Gandhiji die? Nobody had greater faith in the unity of the country than Gandhiji. He tried his best but had to lay down his life because of the lack of response from the other side. We have to make Pakistan understand that for ever this one-sided policy will not continue. No country can afford to be generous to that extent. There is a very wise Chinese saying : Love your friends : do justice to your opponents. That is the utmost that any State can do. Be just to your opponents but do not be unjust to your own people.

My time is up and I will finish now. All that I submit is do your level best to stop this exodus. Do not try to stop it as it is being done by some unimaginative officers by stopping the rations of the refugees. A friend of

[**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani**]

mine asked me at a sumptuously laid lunch table, "Why are people coming here? It is because they can get relief." People do not leave their hearths and homes, even if it is a broken down cottage just for a handful of rice. They come here under very great suffering and travail. So do not try to send them back by stopping their rations as it is being done in some places. I do not want to mention what the places are.

There is another very serious political implication in this. One crore of people is not a very small minority; it is a very big number. If they find that justice is not being done to them, if they know that their rights will not be restored to them, we will be opening the gates for the entry of chaos and disorder. Let us therefore take stock of the situation. The time has now come for the government to revise their relief and rehabilitation policy regarding the East Bengal refugees and also their policy towards Pakistan in general. As to how it should be done it is not for me to suggest. It is for our wise leaders who are at the helm of affairs to decide how best to solve this problem, because we cannot tolerate injustice for too long.

Shri Chaliha (Assam) : I have heard with great attention the speech of **Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee** and **Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani**. No one could have presented better the conditions of the refugees than these two persons. When **Dr. Mookerjee** was speaking it was so wonderful and so mystifying that we were carried off our feet. He presented the case of the refugees in such a manner that every one who heard him had to shed tears.

Coming as I do from Assam there is another aspect to the problem which I shall try to present to you. I shall confine myself to the economic aspect of the Agreement. We had to transport about 3½ million lbs. of tea from Assam. It could not be done and it was bottled up and it could not have been transported but for the Agreement which we had arrived at. On the

productin of tea depended the livelihood of nine lakhs of labourers and an equal number of people depended on them. But for the Pact the condition of these people would have been as bad as that of the refugees themselves.

It should also be remembered that we have to transport 80 million gallons of petrol from Assam and about 12 Noon 15 to 20 thousand labourers are engaged on it and about 10,000 middle class families are also dependent on that. Unless we could transport that through the river routes passing through Pakistan, probably we would have brought misery, starvation and famine to these people.

There is also another aspect to the question. Our production of jute is perhaps the highest in the country. We grow jute on about four lakh acres and on that depend more than one lakh families. If that had not been transported probably another five lakhs of people would have had to starve. There are also other matters in this connection. If food and cereals could not have been transported to Assam, probably the primitive people who surround Assam would have revolted against the Government and created a problem which could not be conceived. So to that extent the agreement has succeeded.

May I submit to you that 67 per cent of our coal is consumed by East Bengal and 24,000 labourers are involved in it. If you do not transport coal to East Bengal you will throw out of employment 24,000 people and probably another 24,000 more will be involved.

Sixty per cent of the galvanised sheets we produce and it is sold in East Pakistan. You have been deprived of the market now and we want it to be sent to them. Otherwise another 30,000 labourers are again going to starve. They have represented to the Government of India that there should be an agreement on this matter also.

So is the case with cotton production. We produce only about 20 laksh bales

and we are dependent for another 20 lakh bales on West Pakistan and we shall be causing hardship to the labourers engaged in the Textile Mills about whom you are so anxious. This aspect of the matter ought to be looked into. You could not produce another 20 million bales in a day not even in five years and you are going to get it from Egypt and other countries at double the price. Your peasants will have to buy cloth at double the price and it will create a great deal of hardship to them. Should not you look at this aspect of the problem? Human misery, abduction and outrage attract our attention and we will request our Prime Minister to do his best. He has been doing his best to prevent these inhuman outrages but we have to see the other side of the picture as well. What will happen if jute is not produced and is not supplied to the jute mills in Calcutta? These are questions which also you will have to look into. The Government has been doing their best. It might be said that the Prime Minister has not been able to do all that he should have done. With his broad-mindedness and his liberal-mindedness these questions have received his due attention. I do not think we can get out of this agreement at present; it would be doing harm to your own people, to your own industry, to your own jute, wheat and other things and to the people whose interest we want to uphold. We have a good deal of sympathy towards the outraged humanity, the men and women who have suffered so much, and we want that something should be done for them. We may criticise the Government, and offer our advice as to how it should be improved. I have a suggestion that there should be a minority Minister in Eastern Bengal who commands the confidence of the people. It is said that Congressmen there are under suspicion. They may even take one of Mr. Jogendranath Mandel's party. We should therefore ask our Government to press on the Eastern Bengal Government that they should take as minority Minister a person who commands the confidence of the middle class people and the peasants there to

protect the interest of the Hindus in East Pakistan.

Shri Shankarrao Deo (Bombay) : They call me a silent Member of this House and they are almost true because I have sought the indulgence of this House on very special occasions. And this is one of those occasions when silence, in my opinion, would be criminal because that would be failing in our duty towards those millions and millions of men and women who are the sufferers in this tragic drama. Besides, without fear of contradiction, I can claim to have a special qualification to speak on this occasion, for, I think with the exception of our Minorities Minister, the hon. Shri Biswas, there is no Member of this House who has so much firsthand knowledge of the situation, not in this country but in East Bengal, as I have, and even the hon. Minister will concede that there was much difference in my touring and his touring in East Pakistan. I have toured for two weeks, I have visited seven districts of East Bengal, and I have also gone to the interior and met all classes of men and women belonging to both the communities. I have also toured in West Bengal, and if unfortunately, due to my illness, I had not to give up my tour of West Bengal I could have claimed that I have as much knowledge of the conditions in West Bengal as I have gathered from my tour in East Bengal.

I may tell you that I have addressed several meetings, met hundreds of men and women belonging to both the communities who have opened their hearts to me because I had the honour to have as my friend in my tour Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh who commands the respect of both the communities in East Pakistan. Not only the Hindus, but the Mussalmans belonging to all classes and having different opinions have said that if this pact had not come they did not know what would have been the sufferings both in Pakistan and in India. I hardly met a single individual there, even from amongst the Hindu community, who did not thank our Prime Minister for having come to their help, because they knew that but for this pact the sufferings

[Shri Shankarrao Deo]

would have been untold. Every one of us knows that but for this pact perhaps today we would not have been here to speak calmly as legislators or Members of this Parliament, the conditions would have been quite different. It is very well to say that the pact has failed, from the things or events that have happened after the pact, but in my humble opinion, the failure or success of this pact must be judged not from things that have happened—of course, that also is a great thing—but from this angle that if the pact had not been there what would have happened? And I may tell you, and you will agree with me, that if the pact was not there and if both the countries were allowed to go into the deep ditch, even if there were no war there would have been war conditions. Giving a list of atrocities, dacoities and molestations of women and trespass, is allright. I have got the fullest sympathy for these sufferers. But this is nothing compared with what would have actually happened if conditions were allowed to deteriorate.

Therefore, those who condemn this pact put more meaning consciously, and perhaps cleverly, in that pact, which the authors had never had in their mind. They say the pact has failed. Why?—because it has not created conditions in East Pakistan in which the minority community can feel a sense of security and can live there with honour and self-respect, because the exodus has not stopped. Is it really that what was meant by this pact? Did anybody ever imagine that this pact by itself could have succeeded in creating conditions in East Pakistan where the minorities could feel a sense of security permanently and exodus would stop? If they think so, then I say they are saying something which they know is not correct. What the pact did was that it immediately put an end to a great calamity and gave time to both the Governments to think about measures which can ultimately be taken, which will create conditions if at all possible, in both the countries in which the minorities will feel that they

can permanently live in their own respective countries and that they will not have to leave at any time their hearths and homes. I purposely say that because whenever we think and whenever we talk of minorities, we on this side generally and naturally refer as minorities to the Hindu brethren of ours in Pakistan. Let me tell you, I have met and spoken to my Muslim friends here also on this side, and when you say that the Hindu minority does not feel secure there, let me tell you that the mere acting on this pact will not give that permanent security and will not create conditions which will enable even our Muslim brothers and sisters on this side to feel that they are permanently secure in their own country which they now say is Bharat. After all, it is not as though it is one thing here and another there. Then alone can a permanent sense of security to minorities in Pakistan and Bharat come when the relations between Pakistan and Bharat are permanently settled and permanent peace is established between both the countries. As long as that thing does not happen and there are so many problems which have yet to be solved, even on this side for the minorities, of whom we think no doubt but still forget when we think of the sufferings and fear in which our Hindu brothers and sisters have to live in Pakistan, that condition and that frame of mind will be there.

Therefore, whenever we think of this pact we must think with a balanced mind and with an objective attitude. Of course, as I said, as far as this pact is concerned, it gave tremendous relief and as our Prime Minister said, and I agree with him, this pact has succeeded to a great extent. I have no doubt about it myself because, as I said, its objective was to give immediate relief. It has not only succeeded in giving immediate relief to the people there but I may tell you from my own personal experience that it has helped to raise the morale of the Hindu minority in East Pakistan.

After all, there are lakhs and lakhs people who do not want to leave their hearths and homes and come to this

side. They have openly said to me that they have confidence that because of this Pact they feel encouraged and feel that there is every possibility of conditions being created in Eastern Pakistan whereby they will not be compelled to leave their homes against their desire or mind. Therefore, I would appeal to those friends who have criticised the Pact—they will pardon my saying so—they have never reconciled themselves to the fact that, irrespective of the causes, there are two independent countries : India and Pakistan. They never welcomed this Pact. Of course, they said they will give us all help and they told us that they would like to give the Pact a trial. But that is not sufficient. They must try to see that the Pact succeeds. My hon. friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee made it clear from the beginning—because he went to the extent of resigning from the Central Cabinet—that he did not believe that the Pact would succeed, though at the same time adding that nobody would be happier than himself if it succeeded. I have met friends and talked to them in East Bengal. There are hundreds and hundreds of Hindus who told me : “ Please—will you ask our friends on your side to keep quiet for some time ? ” It comes to this : Save us from our friends. This is the feeling of Hindus there. The way in which Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and his friends from the Hindu Mahasabha have been trumpeting and carrying on a virulent propaganda against this pact is something that makes the Hindus in East Bengal feel that they cannot live there, because you are telling them every day, every minute, that Hindus in Pakistan cannot live there ; they must come to this side ; West Bengal is the home of Bengali Hindus. If you carry on that propaganda, will it help your brothers and sisters on the other side ? Will it help them if you say, “ You cannot live there ; for God’s sake, hasten and come away, because this Pact gives you an opportunity to come over to this side ”. That is not the real way of maintaining the morale of the people. I say that those who really, genuinely feel that relations between Pakistan and Bharat should be cordial and there should be a

permanent peace between them—such people should feel it their duty to feel for Hindus and Muslims on this side as much as for Hindus and Muslims on the other side. They must say that whatever has happened so far, now we shall put a stop to that. It is no use saying that because no Hindu has been left in Western Pakistan, therefore no Hindu can live in Eastern Pakistan ? To say that is to have too static a state of mind. How can you say that because certain things have not happened in the past, therefore certain things will not come about in the future ? It all depends on how we act. What is your attitude ? I tell you with all humility, but at the same time with all the emphasis that I can command, that if only Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and his friends had not stopped at agreeing to give the Pact a trial but had actually helped us, I tell you that conditions would have been quite different in East Pakistan than what they are today.

Several Hon. Members : Hear, hear.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (West Bengal) : You are using the words of Feroz Khan Noon .

Shri Shankarrao Deo : If there is truth in my opponent, I must accept it.

An Hon. Member : What is truth ?

Shri Shankarrao Deo : I do not know. As Christ or Pilate.

Mr. Speaker : He may address the Chair.

Shri Shankarrao Deo : What I was going to say was this : when we say that the Pact has failed, it is wrong. It has succeeded to the extent to which it was expected to succeed, because even the authors of this Pact never claim that it was by itself along going to create conditions in which Hindu minorities in Eastern Pakistan will feel a sense of permanent security and think that nothing more will have to be done. The measure of the success of this Pact depends on this, namely, that though the exodus has not altogether stopped, still it is on the decrease. If this Pact was not there, even the peo-

[Shri Shankarrao Deo]

ple who have come here would not have been able to come here and people who have stayed there would not have been able to stay there. You are thinking in terms of lakhs, I may tell you that if the Pact had not been there, you would have been forced to think in terms of—not lakhs—but millions. I tell you the exodus has not stopped ; but it has decreased. It will not stop, because its stopping depends on a sense of security and absence of fear. But I may tell you that it is not a dacoity here or a case of arson there or a case of molestation there. It is really the fear about the future that makes a Hindu family in East Bengal feel insecure. They are not sure what will be their future, and their future depends neither on this Pact, nor on the movement of coal from this side or jute from the other side, but the future ultimately depends upon how we reconcile ourselves to the fact that there are two independent countries. It may be that we were, to a certain extent, compelled by circumstances and conditions then prevailing to accept partition, but having once conceded Pakistan and having accepted Pakistan, it is our duty to see that Pakistan not only lives but lives at peace with Bharat. If you cannot reconcile yourself to this fact, no Pact—not even hundreds of Pacts—will enable the Hindu minorities on the other side, or even, I may say, the Muslim minorities on this side to feel a sense of security. They will feel that you may drive them away at any moment, that anything may happen, because Kashmir is there ; so many other things are there and nobody can guarantee security. Supposing they ask you, “ Now that there is Pact, shall we now stay here ? Will you protect us ?”, we will have to say to them, “ Please. We will create or try to create conditions which will enable you to stay where you are, but we cannot say ‘ You must stay here ’ without fear because we do not know what is in store for us and for you in the future.”

With the limited time at my disposal, I cannot do justice to this subject, but

a last appeal I would make to my friends. Instead of harping and harping that this Pact has failed, the better constructive attitude would be to say that the Pact has succeeded to the extent to which it was possible for it to succeed. Now let us think of the future. I want to ask another question : How are you going to implement this Pact ? What other things you are going to add to this Pact, so that we may realise the full potentialities that this Pact holds ? The next step cannot be war, because it passes beyond anybody's comprehension as to how war is going to save the minorities in Pakistan. By war, how are you going to save the people from suffering ? War will not only add to the suffering of the refugees but it will add to the suffering of the people in both the countries in general. How are you going to rehabilitate the refugees if you are going to be at war—I am referring to the refugees who are coming here. In case of war, it will not be a question of rehabilitating refugees but of sending hundreds and thousands of people to the battlefield to be butchered. Therefore, I am one of those who feel that those who have the interests of Bharat at heart must also have the interests of Pakistan at heart. I cannot serve my country if I am not willing to serve Pakistan; similarly, a Pakistani cannot serve his country if he is not ready to serve Bharat. That is my view. Therefore, I would appeal in all humility to my friends : Your attitude must be constructive. I have carefully gone through the speech of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. Just now, I listened to the speech of my sister, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani. It was a *kahani* of the refugees' suffering. Of course, she has done so much for them that she has every right to ventilate them here but that is not the problem today. That is merely one of the problems. The problem is, as I have said, the need for establishing permanent peace and goodwill between the two countries. A mere *kahani* of the refugees, or rousing the sentiments of the people is not the real solution. What our Prime Minister has said is the only solution—friendly negotiation with

determination and constructive attitude. That alone will save not only the minorities on both sides, but also both the countries, India and Pakistan.

Shri Buragohain (Assam) Having listened to the debate so far I feel that I should intervene in this debate to submit one or two observations for the consideration of this House.

One of the points that has been stressed by certain hon. Members who have been critical of the Pact has been that Pakistan is working on a planned basis to convert its territories into an Islamic State. So it has been said that it is part of its plan to squeeze out the minorities from Eastern Pakistan. When, therefore, we hear in this House hon. Members making statements in a manner calculated to assist in that 'Islamisation', if I may say so, of that part of Pakistan's territory, may I ask with all respect that are we not playing into the hands of Pakistani planners themselves by assisting in their process of converting Eastern Bengal into an Islamic territory?

One of the things that this Pact has done is to reverse the process of migration to an appreciable extent and to that extent I should think that it has given the greatest single blow to those Pakistani planners of converting Eastern Bengal into an Islamic State. Dr. Mookerjee mentioned yesterday afternoon that Pakistan was trying to organise an Islamic bloc and if that is a fact, will it not disturb the balance of power that exists in Asia today? Will it not affect the very security of India if our neighbour is to organise another bloc based on principles to which we are opposed like poles as under? We are living in an age where ideals and ideologies play a very large part. These ideas and ideologies are capable of exterminating nations, if we cannot reconcile them. What has been the conflict between India and Pakistan during the brief years of their separate existence? It is the clash of these ideologies between India and Pakistan. So, one of the

obvious things which we who have the welfare of India at heart should do is to ask the minorities in East Bengal to hold on. They are not a small number; they are not a negligible factor. They constitute one-third of the population of East Bengal. Even today there are ninety lakhs of them who are still there. And is it not our duty to ask those of them who have come away, maybe 30 lakhs maybe, 40 lakhs, since February last to go back? Should we not assist in trying to send them back to Pakistan, so that the ideal of Islamisation may not take place?

Certain points have been made by hon. Members about the conditions of refugees in West Bengal and Assam. I agree with most of the views that have been expressed. It was my privilege to visit Sealdab with a number of hon. Members of this House and we no doubt found their conditions horrible, I must, however, pay a tribute to the large number of non-official organisations in West Bengal who were trying to mitigate the suffering of these refugees.

Then, with regard to the conditions in Assam it has been said that Assam has not been doing as much as she should have done in the matter of rehabilitation. What has been the position during the past six months? About a quarter of the population that has crossed the border into India have found their refuge in Assam and today there are about six lakhs of refugees from East Bengal in Assam. And what has been the effect on the economic life of the province? In this House there seems to be an erroneous impression and notion about Assam. It is a fact that Assam occupies an area of about 49,000 square miles. But you must remember that two-thirds of this area is hills and that part is inhabited by tribes to which even the indigenous people have no access. This leaves us only about 16,000 square miles for a population of about 70 lakhs and how does it work out? In point of density of population per square mile it works out at the rate of 431 per square mile. This is even more than

[Shri Buragohain]

that of Germany which is only 373 per square mile and it is very much near Japan which is 482 per square mile.

It is true that West Bengal, as Dr. Mookerjee has said, has at present a population the density of which is perhaps the highest in the world and according to him it is 750. Therefore, it is very urgent that the refugees who are in West Bengal should be distributed into the various parts of India and the responsibility for their rehabilitation should be taken over by the various States, in order to relieve the economic stress and strain of West Bengal.

This problem of the refugees should no doubt be taken, as has been stressed by hon. Members in this House, on an all-India basis. The refugees should not be left in the hands of the Assam Government or of the West Bengal Government alone. I also endorse the suggestion that has been made on the floor of the house that the economic implications of this problem of refugees should also be explored. I should think that the Planning Commission should be asked to take up the question of utilisation of refugee man-power for the development of agricultural and industrial resources of our country. The problem of refugees is very urgent and should be taken up with all earnestness and energy that Government can command.

I have nothing more to add but to wish well for the Pact which the two Prime Ministers entered into and which had gone a great way, as has just been stressed by my hon. friend Mr. Shankarrao Deo, to infuse a sense of security in the minds and hearts of the minorities who are at the moment terror-stricken and panicky. With these few words I resume my seat.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the chair*

Shri A. C. Guha (West Bengal) : It is a very delicate matter for me. . . .

Shri Chaliha : On a point of order Sir, in the House of Commons the Whips are not allowed to speak. The Whips never speak. But in this House

they are speaking, not the Chief Whip but I find Shri Guha and Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt always speaking. I would like to have a ruling on this point.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : I think it is better to allow them to speak rather than carry on propaganda silently.

Shri A. C. Guha : It is a very delicate matter for me to speak in this debate. I come from East Bengal though I have been living in Calcutta for the last thirty-five years. I was born in East Bengal and I had my education and my political inspiration in and from East Bengal. I am very intimately connected with East Bengal. I know the Muslims,—I know the Hindus of East Bengal. I can very easily appreciate that the intensity of my feelings cannot be shared by other Members of the House, but I shall try to be as much objective as it is possible for me.

It has been debated in this House almost by every Member whether the Pact has been a success or a failure. It seems to me somewhat an academic issue. I cannot say and nobody can say, that the Pact by itself has not achieved anything. It has come just after a peak period of disturbances and disorder and that peak period of disturbances and disorder cannot have been expected to continue for ever. It was subsiding when this Pact was signed. I must also admit that it has helped to make conditions easier immediately after that peak period of riots and disturbances and to make them come somewhat to normalcy. But I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to say that the conditions now prevailing in East Bengal are better than what they were in December or November 1949. I can say that though I have been debarred from going to East Bengal for nearly two years I can get almost direct and what may be called personal information from East Bengal. I have got my own relatives. I have also got my own elder brother still living in East Bengal. I have got my political friends and colleagues in East Bengal. My own nephew is still in an

East Bengal jail for about two years. I know the conditions perhaps more than anybody else except some of my Bengal friends. I don't like to blame the Government of East Bengal or the Government of India. It is in the very nature of a particular set-up that certain things prosper and certain things cannot exist ; similarly in the matter of certain type of States certain institutions are allowed to prosper and certain institutions and things are not allowed to exist at all. Under communist states, certain institutions and things prosper, and certain institutions and things cannot simply exist under capitalist states, certain institutions and things prosper, while others cannot exist at all. Pakistan has got a particular set-up. I am constrained to say, and in that set-up it is not possible for men who belong to other religious communities to live there in honour and peace. When we accepted partition of India we did violence to our political conviction because the forces of realities were too much for us. We could not resist them and so we yielded,—with the expectation that if we gracefully accepted this partition of India then things might come to some normal conditions. That expectation has not been fulfilled so we may again have to do violence to our political convictions to meet the demands of the realities.

I wish I had the privilege to tour seven or eight districts of East Bengal after partition along with Mr. Nurul Amin who is now the Premier of East Bengal, on a goodwill mission. I tried my best, and my colleagues in East Bengal, my political friends who suffered for the national liberation of India as much as any other person in India have been trying their utmost, to create a sense of security in the minds of the Hindu communities of East Bengal and to build up a modern democratic State in East Bengal. And I can say if the East Bengal Muslims were left to themselves our dreams would have been achieved. I know the East Bengal Muslims and I can say they are perhaps the least communal-minded amongst the Muslim community in

India. I have been living with them in close neighbourly fraternity and close co-operation. I cherish very intimate friendly relations with many of them, and during my long political career I have never been accused of having been influenced by any communal or sectional interest. Rather I have often been abused by my Hindu compatriots for holding views which they thought were more favourable to the Muslims. But after my experience of three years after partition I have come to this conclusion that under the present set-up at least, or as long as conditions do not improve radically, it would not be possible for the Hindu Minorities of East Bengal to stay there. I expected—and it was natural too, that probably immediately after the signing of this pact conditions would improve radically; but that has not been possible. Now things have become somewhat chronic. I can understand a peak period of a riot ; that is a temporary madness of a community. I have seen and lived in the riot period in Calcutta for one full one year from August 1946 to August 1947 in a part of Calcutta, which is predominantly inhabited by Muslims. Mine was the only house in that area occupied by a non-Muslim. I must say that even in those riotous days, I was almost immune from any attack by the Muslim neighbours. If now I am constrained to come to this conclusion that it is not possible for the Hindu minorities in the present conditions to remain in East Bengal with honour and with a sense of security, I am so much sorry for that. To make a personal reference again, my elder brother who is near about 70, hesitates to come out. He writes to me that he hates to be a refugee. But I cannot expect that such sentiments would be shared by the general mass of people.

Shri Shankarrao Deo has said and I agree with him that the Hindus there feel that they have no future in the present set up of the Pakistan State. One thing I would like to say is that that if this pact had the ultimate aim of having cordial and friendly relations between India and Pakistan, as Shri Shankarrao Deo has said

[Shri A.C. Guha]

I also would like to contribute to that; I also would like to have most cordial and friendly relations between India and Pakistan. But to-day the greatest stumbling block for developing that friendly relation is the Hindu minority in East Bengal. They feel insecure. As long as the Hindu minorities feel that their lives are not secure, you cannot expect friendly relations to develop between India and Pakistan. Moreover, it is in the very nature of things that if there is no sense of security for the Hindu minorities in East Bengal, however well we may try, the Muslim minority here cannot feel secure; it is in the very human nature that they cannot feel secure. The feeling of security cannot be instilled as a police measure or by having recourse to martial law or by the use of bullets or batons. The feeling of security must come from the general masses. If something wrong is going on on the other side of the border and the Hindu minorities there started crying, I cannot give the assurance of security to the Muslim minority. Nobody can give such an assurance. Personally I may stake my life for the safety of a Muslim but that would be little consolation for him. So both for the cordial relations between the two states and for the Muslim minority here, it may be necessary to take over the Hindu minority from that side.

There has been much controversy in this House about the figures. I have tried to verify the accuracy of the figures of Hindus who have returned to East Bengal both from official and non-official sources but I am constrained to say that I am not satisfied about the accuracy of those figures. Moreover, the House should remember that there are three categories of people who are returning to East Bengal. Some go there to make some arrangement about their properties, either to bring some movable property or to collect some revenue or to sell some of their immovable property. They go and stay there for a certain period and come back. They have to go with some female members of their family, otherwise they are not taken as returning migrants

by the East Bengal Government who have come to settle down there. There is another class who go there, that is, who return to East Bengal. Perhaps the Members are not aware that the refugees who are coming from East Bengal get gratuitous relief only for a certain period. Previously it was for one month only and now I think, it has been extended to two months and it is expected that after two months the refugees will fend for themselves, which is almost an absurd proposal. So, many refugees have tried to make a second bid from some other place by enlisting themselves as refugees and thus to get relief for another period; they go back with the whole family and furtively come back after a few days and say that they have come from East Bengal. This time they come to another place and get themselves entered as fresh refugees so that they may get gratuitous relief for some time more. Of course some return to settle there, but I would have been happy if they would have returned because of the improved conditions there,—because of being assured of a secure and honoured life there. That is not so. They return because they find that India has provided nothing but hell for them and there is only callous indifference shown by us. I can understand it is not possible for any Government to meet their expectations and it is not possible for the Government to meet their demands. When these people go back, they do so cursing India, cursing the Congress for having betrayed them after alluring them and they go back with a determination that they shall die or become converts to Islam, rather than come here and live in some refugee camp. This sort of going back does not mean the success of the Pact. They go back in distress and in great disappointment.

Even the figure of returning migrants the Commissioner of Rehabilitation of East Bengal has given, is one lakh; but from the figures that I have been able to collect from the different districts, I do not think the actual number of those refugees who have returned to settle there would exceed a few thousands. Some have gone back to Bagerhat, I think 3,000 or 4,000

of the *Namasudras* who came out of Bagerhat just in the beginning of January of this year or the end of December last year, that is before the actual riots had started. We have been told that some went back to Bogra; but we have the statement of Shri Sureschandra Das Gupta, the veteran old Congressman aged I think over 75. He is the President of the East Bengal Congress Committee. His statement has been published in almost all the Bengal papers and he has given a graphic picture of these unfortunate refugees who went back to Bogra and how they fared there. If that is the picture there, I do not think that quite a large number of refugees could have gone and settled in Bogra—and we have not been able to find that any large number of refugees have returned to any other district. Even at Barisal, which I know is the worst affected district, some people have returned to Barisal town but not with their families but their families have been left outside. They tried their best to find any scope for living; and finding there is no chance of settling here, they have returned to Barisal. That is only a sort of experiment. Such returns are distress-returns—which like distress-sale should not be taken to be real return.

Then, we should not take serious notice of the figures of Hindus who are returning to East Bengal. As to how many are still there, that is also again a question which has to be decided. According to the calculations that we have been able to make, at least 55 to 60 lakhs of Hindus have come out of East Bengal during these four years, beginning from immediately after the Noakhali outrages,—I can say not less than 55 lakhs. Even before the partition, during the war and during the famine years, some 10 or 12 lakhs of Hindus migrated from East Bengal to Calcutta and industrial areas. So roughly, about 60 lakhs of Hindus must have come out from East Bengal, that is, about 50 per cent may have remained there. If the present flow goes on unabated, I do not think after the end of the year we will have more than 40 lakhs or something like that.

Some point has been made out that there has been total demoralisation of the East Bengal Hindus. I would like to point out to the House that the East Bengal Hindus have withstood the oppression of the British Government, not for one year or one decade, but for full four decades, starting from 1905. Under the British regime, to that region, I think was allotted the largest portion of British oppression,—much more than to any other part of India. If they, who have withstood that, are not able to withstand the subtle methods of Pakistan. I do not think we should blame, them or accuse them of lack of courage or lack of morale. Even now the old Congress organisation is functioning there as before in all the Districts except perhaps one. Only the other day, in Myensingh, they had a Minority Convention which was a well attended function, meeting under very difficult circumstances. It passed a resolution. It did not condemn the Pact; it welcomed the Pact. The resolution points out 16 or 17 conditions to be fulfilled before the Hindus could be expected to live there with honour, in security and peace. These are very moderate conditions which could be expected from any democratic modern State. They wanted joint electorates. They wanted that all rights should be shared by all the people irrespective of religion. They wanted that the State should not be declared an Islamic State. They wanted that the Hindus should be given those arms licences which have been taken away unjustifiably. They wanted the dissolution of the *Ansars*. Such other similar conditions they have stipulated so that they may live there. They want to live there with honour and in security. Can the Government on this side give an assurance to the Hindus on the other side that these conditions will be fulfilled? I do not think this Government has any machinery or any authority to make the Pakistan Government accept those conditions. It is for the people who are living there and are fighting to have their own political organisations and to have

[Shri A.C. Guha]
 their rights established,—it is for them only to decide how and whether they can live there. It is not for us, to say that they must live there under any conditions. It is not for us to say that they must reconcile. Reconcile with what ? We can reconcile with some sort of oppression; it is not possible to reconcile with all kinds of things.

Lastly, about 50 or 60 lakhs of refugees have come already; still some more are coming. It is expected that these refugees are to be rehabilitated by this Government. Many of our friends have gone to Calcutta and seen the position in the Sealdah station. This time, I purposely did not go to Sealdah. I purposely avoided going to Sealdah and seeing the human suffering there, not being in a position to do anything to alleviate their sufferings. It was something impossible for me to bear. I know what is happening there. Sealdah is only a symptom of the whole disease.

Through you, I would appeal to this House and to the wider public outside that India must do something really to alleviate the suffering of millions of our own compatriots, whom Panditji himself has described as our own kith and kin, as of our own flesh and blood. We cannot afford to be indifferent to them any longer. Not sufficient has been done for their relief. The problem is enormous; let not the enormity of the problem lead us to escapism. That would be disastrous. Let us not be complacent and let us not shut our eyes so that we may be spared the sight of reality.

Another thing I should like to say. The people from East Bengal should be rehabilitated as far as possible in compact areas, in adjacent areas so that they may retain their social and cultural entity. They should not be dispensed to distant and different parts of India; that would be the greatest misery for them. The greatest misery of the Jewish nation was their *diapora*, I am only anxious

that such a fate should not befall the Benagrees at the hands of this national Government. Again I appeal in the name of suffering humanity, let not our conscience be allowed to slumber, let this suffering humanity move our hearts to take adequate measures to alleviate their suffering and to take prompt measures for their rehabilitation.

The House then adjourned for lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The House re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, may I request that in order to get a little more time for the discussion of this very vital matter, the House may sit till 5-30 P.M. to-day and further, time may be fixed tomorrow morning for the reply, and the question hour for tomorrow may be postponed to Monday as we are sitting on Monday?

Mr. Speaker : While I am always willing to give more time for discussions, I am constrained to remark that, the same points are being argued over and over again, though the language is different; and in spite of my request that Members should restrict themselves to fifteen and twenty minutes, and in spite of my attempts to give them a mild warning by ringing the bell, Members exceed the time limit considerably. Not only twenty minutes, but even thirty minutes have been taken. In that way, it is not possible to adjust the affairs of this House. We must be able to keep to time and stick to a time-table. Otherwise those who do not get an opportunity to speak must resign themselves to the situation. It is the fault of none; but it is a case of want of collective planning. That is all that I can say.

As regards the suggestion made, I do not find that the hon. Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs is here.

Some Hon. Members : There is Mr. Biswas here.

Mr. Speaker : So far as the arrangement suggested by Mr. Kamath is concerned, viz., that of postponing the questions of tomorrow, that really does not solve the difficulty, because, after all, there is some work put down, and from the work put down, we are taking away the time. Anyway, I shall consult the hon. Minister of State and if he is agreeable I shall have no objection. But then there is this difficulty that they have got a Cabinet meeting at 5 P.M. to-day, I understand. Is there a Cabinet meeting to-day at 5 P.M. ?

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopaldaswami) : Yes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker : So, that is the position to-day.

Shri Kamath : The Prime Minister can reply to-morrow.

Mr. Speaker : We shall see to that, if all the Members are agreeable to postponing the question to Monday.

Shri Sidhva (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, on a point of a little information. I want to know which Bills will be coming up. About thirty Bills have so far been introduced and we would like to know which of them will be coming up. Some are small and some big ; some Bills are simple and others comprehensive, and we would like to know which Bills will be taken up because the session will not go beyond the 14th and if we know which Bills will be coming up we may study them and not waste our time and also stationery by giving amendments which will not be taken up. We would therefore like to be enlightened as to which Bills will be taken up.

Mr. Speaker : I want to hear what the hon. Minister of State has to say on what Mr. Sidhva has said.

The Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha) : I am sorry I could not hear him.

Mr. Speaker : Mr. Sidhva wants to know, out of the large number of Bills

introduced this session, which particular Bills the Government wish to put through, during this session, so that Members may study those Bills and spare the time that might otherwise be spent in studying other Bills and giving amendments.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha : The Priority Committee has decided on the Bills and put them down on the Order Paper. The Session is not to go beyond the 14th and so whatever Bills are finished by that date, they will be finished.

Shri Sidhva : But we must know the order in which they will come up.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha : In the order in which they are put on the Order Paper.

Shri Gopaldaswami : Sir, what has been decided now about the present debate?

Mr. Speaker : Nothing has been decided. The only point to be considered is, in case the question hour is postponed to Monday, whether the Prime Minister may reply to-morrow instead of replying to-day. Is that feasible?

Hon. Members : Yes, Sir.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha : : I do not know Sir ; but the Prime Minister may agree, if that is the request of the House.

Mr. Speaker : The hon. Minister may consult the Prime Minister and let me know.

MOTION RE BENGAL SITUATION

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Punjab) : In order to understand the full implications of the Pact and its effect on the Bengal situation, we must study the real background of the partition of the country. Unless and until we keep that in mind we will not be able to understand how Pakistan is working and how our Government is working. In fact, I am not going to find much fault with my Government, though with many of its policies in regard to

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]
 refugees and Evacuee Property I have not agreed, and many Members of this House have not agreed. The essential background of the partition was that the minorities in the two countries will be fully protected, that they will live a life of honour, of peace and of safety. India had a clear objective and they stuck to that objective. It is true that the partition was made by agreement; but the agreement was forced upon our leaders. I am not here to question the propriety or the wisdom of partition. In fact I am myself convinced that the leaders had no choice but to make a partition. It is idle now to rake up those things and say that the leaders had committed a mistake or that they did not commit a mistake. At the same time it must be clear to those before whose very eyes the whole struggle took place, the entire history of the struggle between the Muslim League and the Congress took place, it must be clear to them that the essential purpose of partition, according to the League was that the Muslims and Hindus of India were two different nations and the Muslims had a certain way of life, and they must have a country in which they could develop that type of life. And to that end they bent all their energies, and subsequently they wrested this Pakistan from us. It is true that the Englishman and others were interested in this and therefore they succeeded. Perhaps they might not have succeeded otherwise. But at the same time, there is no doubt in my mind that the whole policy of Pakistan is that they do not want any people who are un-Islamic to remain in Pakistan, and so by hook or crook, they want these people to be driven away. We cannot forget this. This is the policy right from the beginning. With this background let us understand the position. Once the Punjab was clear of non-Muslims, they turned their attention to Bengal. It certainly is the policy of Pakistan that no Hindu should live there. It may be that I am not very charitable to Pakistan, but there are many people in the country who think like me. Now, so far as our Government is concerned,

they are wedded to the theory that religion does not count in politics, that India is a land where every person can practise his own religion, where every person is given fundamental rights, whether he be a Hindu or Muslim. That being so, where is the strangeness in the conduct of our Government either in regard to evacuee property or in regard to many other matters that appertain to Muslims? In these matters they have adopted an attitude which was not even secular, but they went out of their way and favoured the Muslims. But I do not complain. We are 85 per cent and we have our Muslim brethren, we call them our brethren and give them equal rights and we are all anxious to see that their rights are protected and their susceptibilities are not injured. So far as any good Muslims are here, who do not believe in the two-nation theory and who have their heart in loyalty to this country, I bow to them as I would to my Hindu brothers. That is the mental attitude not only of Congressmen but a very large number of my countrymen, whether Congressmen or not.

If you study the whole problem in its true perspective you will see that when we were complaining in the Assembly that Hindus were turned out by Muslims of East Bengal, neither the Government of Bengal nor the Government at the Centre would admit that, because they did not want that there should be any sort of dispute with or discredit to Pakistan. In the world context it is an essential and inescapable fact that the interests of Pakistan and India are one and there is great truth in what Mr. Shankarrao Deo said, that our economy is, as a matter of fact, tied up with the economy of Pakistan. We desire nothing but peace and prosperity for Pakistan: All the same I am extremely sorry to see that the Pakistanis do not feel like this. Our leaders are international leaders. They are world figures and I am very glad and proud of it. So if you look at it from the world point of view or from a different angle there is nothing wrong about it. When they consider the essential interests of Pakistan and

India they think that even if Pakistan does some injustice to us, we should bear it. That is their attitude. My submission is that whereas, in fact we get all the advantages of our leaders from their characteristics, we should be prepared to take some of the disadvantages as well. Our leaders never think that Pakistan has got the mentality which I have described. Otherwise they too will come to different conclusions.

Now what happened in this Pact ? This Pact is certainly a very great success if you think of its immediate aim. The people of both countries heaved a sigh of relief when they came to know that their respective Prime Ministers had averted an impending war. So far so good. Nobody complains that the two Prime Ministers did not do the right thing or did not put their people under great obligation. Mr. Shankarrao Deo has depicted a very lurid picture of what would have happened if war had come about. Certainly war is a very terrible thing. Nobody in this House has ever suggested that there should have been a war. All the same if you look at the essential purpose of this Pact, ultimately this Pact should have led to the solution of the difficult problems that confronted both the countries. From this point of view it has been a grievous failure, not a mere failure. As a matter of fact from Dr. Mookerjee's point of view the Pact has succeeded. After all he wanted that people should come away without any fear of molestation and annoyance and people are coming out. But from the point of view of the Prime Minister he wanted that ultimately people should remain there. By this Pact the exodus has been stimulated according to the official paper which has been circulated to us. So from the point of view of the Prime Minister the Pact has failed miserably and from the point of view of Dr. Mookerjee the Pact has immediately succeeded. This is an antithesis. My submission is that the point at issue before the country is not whether the Pact has succeeded or failed. The Pact is a lifeless thing. But the question is what are we going to do with these 50 lakhs who have come and the 70 lakhs

who have yet to come. This is a very difficult question to decide. At the same time it is a question which we must decide now and forthwith.

As has been stated by my sister Sucheta Kripalani we have seen some of these camps and since she has described those camps I will not go into that matter. It is too tragic for description and I do not want to depict before the House what we saw at Sealadah, Ranaghat or other places. So far as the condition of the refugees is concerned we have no right to complain against Pakistan : we have on the other hand a right to complain against our own Government. But I do not want to complain against my own Government. I know that our Government has been spending as much money as was possible for them. It has done as much as was possible under the circumstances. But the magnitude of the problem is such that no Government, however capable, efficient or rich can cope with it in the manner in which all of us would like to see it done. The mortality rate has increased, people are dying or are living in conditions under which no human being in any civilized country should be allowed to live. All the same it cannot be helped by any Government. I am not here to blame my Government. However, I want to know how the Government is going to tackle this question and the allied question of the other persons who are still remaining in Pakistan. Our Government is wedded to look after the welfare of those Hindus who are left in Pakistan. It has been stated times without number in this House and elsewhere that they will look after the welfare of those non-Muslims who were in Pakistan, because they are part and parcel of ourselves.

I know something of international law. I know it is not possible under international law to interfere in the affairs of another sovereign country. It is true. At the same time we have pledged our word that we will stand by those who were our fellow subjects and who by the effect of Partition have

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]
gone to the other side of the country. If we had no such right, may I know why these two Ministers Messrs. Biswas and Malik were appointed on both the sides? If we are not to dabble in the politics of the other country, who are we now to look after the interests of the refugees or those that are still in Pakistan? Who are we to settle the question of evacuee property of all the Punjabis who were nationals of Pakistan? But we have taken up this position and for all time that all those non-Muslims who were our fellow subjects are our special charge and in that way we accept the position that we must look after their interests.

The Prime Minister has stated that the situation in East Bengal is returning to normalcy now and has given figures. I would not dispute those figures, not because I accept them but because I have no time. I am not satisfied that the two-day census is sufficient for us to come to any conclusion. If the Pakistan Relief Commissioner says that so many people have gone there for whom they want to provide relief or our Prime Minister says that so many have come over, I will accept the figures the Government have given. Whether it is forty or fifty lakhs or more, approximately half of the population has come over and then the question remains whether the other half will stay there. From what I have seen after visiting many camps and talking to people I submit with all the emphasis that I can command that I do not think under the circumstances obtaining at present in Pakistan there is any likelihood of those persons remaining there. I agree with Mr. Shankarrao Deo that nobody in India should in any manner suggest to those people who are living there that they will not be able to live there. I quite agree that we should fully co-operate with the Government and I understand that so far as most of the Members of this House are concerned they are fully at one with the Government and we shall do our best to see that the Pact is implemented. But to say that any person would make such a violent wrench from his roots and be prepared

to leave his hearth and home and come over at the bidding of a Mahasabha leader or any other eminent leader, I do not believe. This exodus is in no manner connected with the agitation of any party. It may be that a person here or there who does not want to live there may be induced. But what are the conditions here in India? Those persons who are returning to Pakistan know them full well and yet we understand that some are returning. Do they not carry tales of the people that had come over to India and how desperate and bad are their conditions? And yet they are coming and the exodus has not stopped. We understood from the Prime Minister that dacoities are taking place in very large number in the houses of rich people in East Bengal. If it is true that the petty official in East Pakistan is not co-operating with the provincial Government nor carrying out the orders of the provincial Government where is that condition of things in which any person can stay there with safety and honour? The requisitioning of even inhabited houses clearly demonstrates the mentality of Pakistan. I believe and there is no doubt in my mind that the conditions are such that these persons who are staying back will not stay for very long. If they do, my view is that we should do all that we can for them. After all everybody accepts that the right solution is not that these persons should come over here and other persons should go from here. Our Government and country has accepted the right solution, that those that are there should remain there with honour and safety just as we want our Muslim brethren to live here in our country. Our experience of four months has demonstrated how the petty Government official can dodge the policy of the Government. I know what happened in the Punjab and how Muslims and Muslim officials behaved when people were coming away. I know what happened in Lahore. Before the very eyes of the public the Muslim magistrates in Lahore shot down people. The police and the military shot down the people, but still they would not come away and

did not like to come away unless forced by circumstances. Nobody would like to come away from his hearth and home, but at the same time if the Government of the day, the police and the military force them out, then they have no choice. Why do the poor people come away ? I saw a camp of fishermen near Calcutta and I saw their pitiable condition. Why did they leave their homes? They were forced to do so. I don't believe in conversion. I know what happened in Punjab. We converted some Muslim Jats and certain interested people said, "Why do you convert them ? We want their property." Similar is the case there. Even if the Hindus were converted the Muslims would not allow them to have their property. The Muslims are after the moveable and immoveable property of Hindus. In a sense it is an economic question. Therefore, the situation is such that I can't but come to the conclusion that these people will not remain there.

The question will arise : we can't cope with these fifty lakhs ; what will happen to the one crore ? What is the remedy? I must submit that I sent in an amendment which, however, I did not move. I recommended four remedies in that amendment. I know some of those remedies were such that a Congressman would not propose them. For instance, cession of territories is out of question. No country would agree to cession to foreign territory. Supposing the Muslims wanted that we should cede to them some territory, we would be the last persons to agree to that. Then there is the question whether an exchange of population is feasible or not. The last question is of evaluation of property and taking compensation for that property and facilitating the migration of such Muslims as want to go away at their sweet will. These are the four things which I have suggested. I don't suggest that they should be adopted by the Government. I only suggest them as a basis for the modification of the Pact.

On these lines, I submit with all the emphasis at my command, the House

must see that the Pact is to a certain extent modified. I want that the Pact should work ; I have stated in my amendment that six months' time should be allowed. If we come to the conclusion that the Pact is workable and that the Pakistan Government can create conditions in which the people can stay there with safety and honour, it is all right. We too should do all we can to bring about these conditions. But if, however, it is proved that it shall not succeed even after the ten months are allowed for experimentation, then we should do what our Government did with regard to Punjab. I know exchange of population is a very difficult affair. I know thereby very many people are put to great difficulty. I know it involves squeezing of some people out—some people don't want to come away. I know what will happen to your Constitution if my proposal is accepted, but at the same time I know emergency knows no law and in emergency's constitutions are suspended. When the present Government itself was in power and the question was between West Punjab and East Punjab, our Government and Pakistan agreed on this question. Two independent, sovereign Governments can, in the interests of the people they represent, agree to anything, and if they agree then there is nothing unconstitutional, nothing wrong, about an exchange of population. In Punjab I have seen the caravans of migrants passing. We put them in the vehicles and saw that they went away whether they willed it or not. But, this exchange of population is much less troublesome than the trouble I have seen in the camps. You have to go to these camps to be convinced that the present position is intolerable. And if sixty lakhs more come, where will you find room or money for rehabilitation of this one crore ? It is too great a problem. The entire Indian economy will be ruined. We will not be able to tackle the law and order problem.

This is not a question on which you can say that a person has made

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

good speech or a bad speech. Our leader has to find out a solution. I know my leader is in great difficulty to find a solution which will satisfy everyone. And is it in his power? He can do what he likes in India, but so far as Pakistan is concerned he can only suggest—he can either make a war (which nobody suggests), or he can negotiate. So, it is not in the hollow of his hand to bring about conditions which we are asking for. But at the same time he must have some solution which he has not been able to disclose to us—and I don't want that he should disclose it to us. But so far as our intellect goes, we put these suggestions for his consideration. It was suggested that those people who suggest such amendments are insane. I am one of those insane persons who suggested all these amendments. I stand by them and I don't claim that I have done a wrong thing. I do believe that an exchange of population is more convenient and less troublesome and is a feasible proposition. There is no difficulty about it. We and Pakistan will not be the first to experiment on it. On the contrary in the world there are precedents where this has been done and there is no reason why we should not do it if both the Governments agree. But it is no longer in Pakistan's interests to agree to it. There was a time when Mr. Jinnah wanted an exchange of population, but why should they want it now? If within one year only fifty lakh Hindus are remaining there, why should Pakistan agree to an exchange of population? Why did Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan move down to Delhi to come to terms with Panditji? Panditji does not want war—he proposed a "No war Pact". He offered that he and Liaquat Ali Khan should tour both Bengals, but Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan would not move in the matter. But when the circumstances forced him, when he realised that it was no longer right for him to stay away and that the best interests of Pakistan would be served if he came to terms, then he came down. The Pakistan Govern-

ment was convinced that it was a game which two persons can play.

In the Punjab there was so much of butchery, so much of difficulty; but if there is an agreement all those things need not be repeated. Those things would not have taken place had we accepted an exchange of population, if Panditji and Sardar on this side and Liaquat Ali Khan on the other side had their own way and Lord Mountbatten and Field-Marshal Auchinlock had not been here. But that was not so and by September 1947 our leaders were powerless when all the butchery took place. They were not responsible for the butchery because it happened in spite of them. Now there is no such contingency. If Pakistan and India agreed, this exchange of population can take place very easily, and very comfortably, though there are difficulties.

But supposing this does not happen, the other solution that I have suggested is one which you can certainly enforce. The other thing which I have suggested is:

"or at any rate to facilitate the return of all Muslims from India to East Bengal, who may be desirous of going over to Pakistan."

Now, I don't believe in the theory that those Muslims who have gone away should be invited back, whether it is a secular State or not. At the same time, I do believe that India is now constituted in such a manner that there is not enough room for its own people and those who have to come from Pakistan. Therefore, it is no longer necessary for us to call those Muslims who have gone away. In such a state of affairs as Pakistan has brought about, any Muslim has the same feelings as a Hindu has. Every Muslim feels that some time or other Panditji may not hold the reins of power which he is holding now. After ten years God alone knows what may happen. And every Muslim feels he is not safe. There was trouble in Bengal and people ran away from U.P. Why? Because every Musselman feels that as long as

this atmosphere remains he is not safe. Many of these Muslims who want to go to Pakistan have their hearts in Pakistan. Such of them as can have the assurance that they shall have in Pakistan properties to the same extent which they have here would rather like to go away. If I were in their place, I would have liked to go away to Pakistan myself. So, I do not think there is any reason why we should stand in the way of such of them as wish to go away and have equal amount of properties there.

3 P. M.

Now, I would like to refer to part (c) of my amendment, which reads thus :

“Recovery of full compensation from Pakistan in respect of moveable and immovable properties left by the non-Muslims in East Bengal after deducting the value of immovable properties left by Muslim refugees to East Bengal, in such manner as may be agreed upon.”

This is the most important part of my proposals. Those Punjabis who have left their hearths and homes are very sore. During those two and a half years they have got nothing. The question is very fresh and yet if time is allowed to lapse, it will, like Punjab refugee properties, go into cold storage. If we want to rehabilitate these people, our Government must get back these Rs. 5,000 crores worth of their property. After all, they look to the Government to get back that property. If the Government of India get back that property, even if there is no exchange of population, there is enough land in Hindustan on which these people can be settled. Therefore, my humble submission is that Government must not imagine that things are going well. I do not suggest for a moment that the hon. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is not thinking all the twenty-four hours of the day about these refugees. I know his difficulties. At the same time, the people are very insistent. I have seen in Bengal young men who are full of zeal, and although I do not

want to say many things, with your permission I would like to relate a story about what happened to me. Our front-rank leader Shri Shankarrao Deo and Shri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh went to a certain place and they were not allowed to address a meeting. Shri Sondhi and I went to visit Ranaghat Camp. My hon. friend Shri Sondhi is gifted with a bald head, and he had no cap on. I went in my present dress and people thought that some leaders had come. Shri Sondhi was taken to Dr. B. C. Roy. Meanwhile, I was mistaken for my leader and people talked among themselves. We went to them ; talked to them ; saw their houses and so on. Finally, when I came into my car, the chauffeur told me—corroborated by my hon. friend Shri Sondhi—that what the people were talking about was this : “These leaders have come here. We do not know how they dare to see us in this condition. We are in such a distressful condition and yet they have come in a car. They are so happy. So, let us take this opportunity and beat them”. I was not prepared to hear this. But I really understood the depth of their feeling. I do not blame the refugees. I have seen them in their naked clothes : I saw naked clothes, because the clothes are there, but they are so tattered and torn. I have seen children in such a pitiable condition as I have never seen in any of the famines in the Hissar district. I have seen many things in my life, but I never saw the kind of things which I saw in Sealdah and Ranaghat. I do not say that the Government is not doing what it should. It is doing, and it will do, and we shall see that we do all that we can. All the same, my humble submission is this.

I asked the Bengal Government Why should these 19,000 people lie in Sealdah station without being cared about or shifted to a camp ? I was told that there was not enough land in Calcutta. You will be surprised that there is such an acute dearth of land in Calcutta that for Rs. 13,000 a month they have taken a ship on

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

hire in which 500 refugees are allowed to stay. That is the condition. We went to many other places. Conditions are indescribable. But the question is : what is the remedy ? The situation is grave beyond words. Government must find a solution ; if they do not, our economy will be ruined—not the economy of Bengal but the economy of our whole country.

As my time is up, I shall merely refer to my visit to Assam. I went to Agartala. I saw things there. I have been to other States also. I wish to sound a note of warning to the Government of India. The Central Government is doing all that it can, but the State Governments are not playing the game. They think that it is the charge of the Central Government alone. They want to charge us money even for the lands they give us. They do not do the work economically, even if the Centre gives the money. They do not look after the refugees properly since they do not want to spend money. I have seen all this.

Before I close, may I say a word about our Government too? When this exodus started, they thought that two lakhs of people will come and they will return back, whereas as late as 29th of May we were informed that the Government of India had not decided that these persons would be rehabilitated. When I went to Bengal and asked the Bengal Government why they were not rehabilitating those people, they replied that as a matter of fact they did not propose to rehabilitate them as they were not to be rehabilitated but were to be sent back. This shows the utter lack of appreciation of the situation which the Government is suffering from. I do not think that any Government can for a moment think that these lakhs of refugees who have come are going back. The exodus has not stopped, but what will happen to these people ? My humble submission is this : this idea that the situation is getting normal is wrong. Unless the exodus is stopped, I will not be satisfied. I think these people will still be coming if the conditions are not substantially

changed. Therefore, I wish to emphasise once again that the country should not remain complacent. The country should know that there is grave danger in the present situation and unless a solution is found, this grave danger will ripen into a very great calamity.

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopalaswami) : I rise with a considerable amount of hesitancy to intervene in this debate at this stage. We have heard a number of speeches, several of them in an impassioned key. I am not accustomed to making passionate speeches. We have also heard speeches from persons who have first hand knowledge of the conditions in the two Bengals and in Assam and Tripura—conditions relating to the problem that we are at present addressing ourselves to. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani has spoken with a very intimate knowledge of refugee camps and the way in which they are being worked. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has spoken after coming into fairly close contact, during the last four months, with those who have come over to West Bengal from East Bengal. Shri Shankarrao Deo claims not only these contacts, but he claims also to know the mind of the minority in West Bengal as well as of the minority and of the majority in East Bengal. The assessment of the results of these contacts has not all been the same. Shri Shankarrao's view is not the same as that of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. I, for my part, cannot claim these intimate contacts, but I have given a great deal of thought to this problem. I have studied it in all its phases and aspects. I have studied all the literature, all the reports that have come in, not excluding the speeches of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. I am in intimate contact with the officers who engage themselves in work connected with this problem. I, therefore, am able to bring to bear upon this problem an objectivity which perhaps not many Members of the House can claim, or are anxious to claim.

I listened yesterday carefully to every word that fell from the lips of

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. It was a speech surcharged with emotion but emotion very skilfully held in check and very carefully controlled in order to suit the audience which he was addressing. He is a person for whose ability I have the greatest respect, and I have no doubt that in the presentation of his case to this House he was able to do so in a manner which extorted my admiration in any case. But that is not to say that he presented the right aspect of the case to this House. I often wonder what it would have been like if his great ability and his skill in oratory had been turned to the advocacy of the right cause, so far as this problem is concerned.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : Right, according to you !

Shri Gopaldaswami : Of course, it is according to me. I am only asking the House to agree with me that it is the right course.

What I wish to do is to attempt to take the House into confidence as regards the views which I shall express in regard to certain aspects of this problem. I shall attempt to be perfectly objective and also as brief as possible.

The Pact is before the House. It is in the dock and we are asked to pronounce our verdict as to whether it has succeeded or failed. The Prime Minister in his opening speech took great trouble to show that the question of the success or failure of the Pact was not the real issue. The question was whether conditions have so altered since the signing of this Pact that the living conditions in East Bengal have improved to the point of having some influence on the numbers who have been pouring into West Bengal from East Bengal and on the numbers of those who having come to West Bengal are going back to East Bengal. Now, the numbers themselves are not of much consequence. After all it is only four months since this Pact was signed and conditions of life do not alter with such great quickness that within that short period we should have

attained the full objective of making everything safe in East Bengal so that not a single Hindu would feel any insecurity of life, or property or honour. Now we have got to understand the Pact in the spirit in which it was entered into. What was the objective of this Pact ? It was not really to produce a difference in the numbers to which I have referred. It was rather intended to produce a change in the mental attitude of the two countries towards each other. It was rather intended to make the two Governments look at the differences between them from a point of view which was constructive, from a point of view which did not consist in blaming the other Government, but consisted in trying to find a solution which both Governments could accept for the purpose of reaching a common goal which was the real objective of the two Governments.

Now from that point of view I challenge anybody to say that there has not been a very substantial, significant change in the mental attitude of the two Governments towards each other. I can speak from personal experience, because I have so much to do with the relations between India and Pakistan. I deal with the matter officially and I can tell you from personal knowledge that the character, even of the communications—the correspondence that passes between the two Governments—has vitally changed. The manner in which representatives of the two Governments meet and discuss questions in conferences called for the solution of other problems has also vitally changed. Now, it is an achievement for which the Pact is almost entirely responsible. Things which had been put on the shelf for many long months have been reopened and discussions have been held with the prospect of our reaching a solution which would be not only acceptable to Pakistan but would be satisfactory from our own point of view. There it is I think that the great merit of this Pact consists.

Now what did it do ? I think there has been unanimous opinion in this House to the effect that it averted a

[Shri Gopaldaswami]

threatened armed conflict between the two countries ; it avoided war. Is that not an achievement of which we should be proud ? That was only the negative part of the achievement. There was a positive side to it. The two Prime Ministers met and discussed this matter at great length between themselves. What was it that was at the back of their minds in carrying on these discussions ? It was a determination to settle the problem, that they had come to attack jointly, by negotiation, discussion, goodwill on both sides and the sure prospect before them of their being able to reach a conclusion which would not only avoid war, but which would bring about a change in conditions which will endure or work towards a permanent solution of this problem. It was a thorough-going change of attitude and approach. And that change was achieved not only in respect of the Bengal trouble : it was achieved also in respect of other disputes and differences that still exist between Pakistan and India. Whenever there was a hitch, whenever there was any snag in the relations between the two countries it was only necessary for the government of the one country to draw the attention of the other to the Nehru-Liaquat Pact and to the spirit behind it in order to make them agree to reasonable proposals for the purpose of solving the particular issue on which profitless correspondence had been carried on previously.

Now, with regard to Bengal I do not think the Prime Minister made any very extravagant claim as a result of this Pact. He mentioned a number of matters in which an improvement had taken place. He also mentioned other matters which continued to be unsatisfactory. And the result of the balancing of these two positions was that the situation in Bengal had not become perfect, but certainly was an improving situation. I stress the word 'improving'. It was a process which started from the signing of the Pact, has gone on for the last four months and will go on for a fairly considerable period hereafter before we could substitute some more satisfactory word than

'improving' for the situation in Bengal. Now, that modest claim has been attacked. Some people have said that the Prime Minister is self-complacent. Others have said that he has distorted what his own figures must lead him to as a conclusion, that far from the situation being an improving situation the real fact was that the Pact had failed and the situation had deteriorated.

Facts cannot support this latter alternative conclusion. Facts are directly against it. Take the very big thing that stared us in the face just before the two Prime Ministers met to have these talks—the kind of insecurity of persons moving from East Bengal to West Bengal, the insecurity of movement inside East Bengal and the rest of it. What is the position today ? If it is not one hundred per cent correct, I believe I am justified in saying that there is freedom and security of movement both inside East Bengal and for people who have to travel from East to West Bengal. As regards moveable properties which they had to take over when they migrated from East Bengal, everybody will recognize that the position has infinitely improved. There has been a certain amount of restoration of immovable property to migrants who had gone to West Bengal and had returned. There is, however, some complaint about this matter. This complaint has recently been discussed between the two Governments and I have no doubt that we shall arrive at a conclusion which will satisfy the most rabid critic amongst us of what we are doing.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar) : When?

Shri Gopaldaswami : Almost immediately.

Then, about abduction of women. Abduction as such is of very small dimensions. There have, however, been insults to the honour of women, and I am sorry to say that they still continue. There have been attacks on the modesty of women, other offences against women, which have occurred in

large numbers. These and the dacoities and thefts and so on are really due to the inefficient machinery in East Pakistan for the maintenance of law and order. The Pakistan Central Government are I think fully aware of this, and the East Pakistan Government—those at the top—I think genuinely desire that this position should be improved in East Bengal. This is a matter in judging which I should like the House to take a long view. These offences are offences which have continued in East Bengal over a long term of years. Sometimes they have occurred in large numbers, sometimes in smaller numbers. But the fact has been there. It is an inheritance from the days previous to Independence. No doubt they have spurted forth in recent months. But that is a thing which has to be tackled on a long-term basis. These offences can be altogether prevented only by a very substantial improvement in the efficiency of the lower grades of officers who exercise powers of no mean magnitude in regard to person and property.

I have mentioned those things which might be said to be on the credit side, with qualifications. On the debit side there have been a series of incidents of greater and smaller magnitude. But it is a fact—and it is conceded by Dr. Syama Prasad himself—that anything like a mass attack upon Hindus by Muslims has hardly occurred, since the signing of the Pact, in East Bengal. There have been, however, individual incidents which have occurred in such numbers and over so widespread an area that they have contributed to a sense of insecurity in the minds of the Hindu population. I quite concede that position and all that can be done with regard to these incidents is that everyone of them should be promptly and properly investigated and the offenders brought to book. We have relied too much hitherto on sending lists of these incidents to the other Government and receiving lists from them of alleged incidents in our limits. Lists when sent in such a fashion do not incline the official mind towards an investigation of each one of them to see if it is true or false. They are too

prone to take a sort of mass view of all the incidents included in a list and say that many of them are false, others are not true and so on. But both the Governments have now recognized—we have been really doing it in our limits for some time now—that every one of these incidents should be investigated in the proper way and the result communicated to the other Government, action taken promptly and so on. This will apply not only to future incidents but incidents which have occurred in the past.

Then there is the question of requisitioning of houses about which the Prime Minister has given you facts already. All that I can add today is that during the last few days representatives of the two Governments have met and have arrived at agreed conclusions which, if accepted by the Central Pakistan Government, as I believe it will be, will remove these grievances altogether, and I hope that it would be possible to make known the particular arrangements agreed on within the next few days.

There has been some delay in prosecuting and punishing offenders on the other side and also a certain amount of laxity in the tightening up of law and order machinery but it has been impressed upon the Pakistan Government that these things should be done quickly, that officers who are guilty should be punished as the West Bengal Government have punished their officers severely in similar matters and that it is necessary that the fact that officers who have been detected in activities opposed to the Pact have been promptly punished. In order to make it known, there should be a periodical publication of the action taken by each Government in this respect. Making allowances for all that I have said both on the credit and on the debit sides, there can be absolutely no doubt that the situation is visibly and substantially improving. You might say, if it is improving it should find expression in the figures of the exodus. No doubt, I was rather amazed and when I gave more thought to it, a bit amused, at the way in which Dr. Syama Prasad

[Shri Gopaldaswami]

characterized the Prime Minister's inferences from certain figures, which he quoted to the House, as being fallacious. I am not concerned to defend the Prime Minister, but I would only say this, that what Dr. Syama Prasad claimed to be a superior method of assessing these figures is perhaps even more fallacious than he thinks the Prime Minister's figures are. I shall tell you why. He said that he had engaged a number of social workers for the purpose of questioning a number of individual refugees in order to find out whether they were going to East Bengal for the purpose of remaining there or intended to come back and his case was that 15,900 persons were so questioned by his workers and 90 per cent. of them returned answers to questions to the effect that they intended to return. Now I wonder if this method which was spread over the period from about the 16th of June to 3rd of August—I take it that the questioners put these questions on a number of different days—I do not know whether these questions were addressed only to refugees who had come by rail or were going by rail. But assuming that that was so, in any case, if he made that statement with reference to all refugees by whatever transport they had reached West Bengal, it should be equally applicable to the numbers who came by rail.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : I referred to rail passengers only and none else.

Shri Gopaldaswami : I stand corrected. If really that was so, I should like merely to refer to this fact.

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

If 90 per cent. of the persons going away from West Bengal on a particular day intended to return to India, then that 90 per cent. should influence the figures for subsequent days or for subsequent weeks of Hindus coming over to West Bengal from East Bengal. If that was so, I have here worked out the figures. According to the figures that have been supplied to the House by the hon. the Prime Minister 3,85,688 people came from

East to West Bengal for the week ending 18th June 1950 to the week ending 30th July 1950, just three days before your 3rd of August. I leave out the first week because people who want to return, I take it on an average will stay in East Bengal for about a week ; it may be more or it may be less. Whatever it is I have looked only at the way in which this percentage would affect the figures for weeks subsequent to the week ending 18th June 1950. If we take 90 per cent of these people, then 2,47,100 of the 3 lakhs of people who went from West to East Bengal should be included in the 3,85,600.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : I did not say that 90 per cent. were coming back. Not at all. That is not my figure at all.

Shri Gopaldaswami : May I read what I have read in the papers even if my ears betrayed me.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : I may just say in one sentence. The hon. Member has arrived at a wrong conclusion. All that I said was that the figures which I had collected—sample checking as it is called—disclosed that 90 per cent. of these 15,900 people said that they were going to East Bengal but they had no intention of staying there permanently. I never suggested for a moment that those who were coming back included 90 per cent. of old persons who had come to West Bengal, gone back to East Bengal and again coming back to West Bengal. The Prime Minister said that two days' checking showed that 80 per cent. were going to stay in East Bengal. I contested this.

Shri Gopaldaswami : My hon. colleague in the House, Dr. Syama Prasad has anticipated some of my criticisms and tried to explain away what he actually said yesterday.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru) : I did not say exactly what Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee said that I have said. I did not say that.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : That is the difficulty in relying on incomplete statistics.

Shri Gopaldaswami : If statistics could not be relied upon, I do not see why Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee took the immense trouble of appointing so many social workers to obtain these statistics.

Now, I do not think I should begin to expand on the many other aspects of this problem. But, I think I should say a few words as regards the so-called remedies for the problem that faces us. I would lump two of these remedies together namely unification of East and West Bengal and cession of territory by East Bengal for the purpose of accommodating the Hindus of East Bengal to live their lives in a compact area where they would not be contaminated by Muslims living in the neighbourhood. I only wish to make one or two remarks about what Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee said regarding the basis or the basic principles of the partition. It is true that when partition was agreed on—I might paranthetically state that I myself was not in favour of partition at that time—it was understood that the minorities in either country would receive the best kind of deal possible, that there should be no difference in the treatment of the minorities from the treatment that would be accorded to the majority and so on. But, to say that, having agreed to that as one of the reasons for the partition, when that particular thing has not been implemented by one country or the other, the whole of the partition which was entered into for more reasons than one, some of them very important reasons, I think, more important even than this assurance of good treatment to minorities, should tumble down and we should get back to the state of things before the 15th of August 1947 is an argument which I hope will not be easily swallowed by this House. With regard to this particular matter, I wish only to remind Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee that in the protracted negotiations we have had with the Pakistan Government over the Bengal problem, one of the fundamental things to which we put our signature was that there should be no propaganda, no agitation in this country with the object of re-uniting

East Bengal, on the one side with West Bengal, Assam and Tripura on the other.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : Even by friendly agreement through your efforts ?

Shri Gopaldaswami : I do not expect that any effort of mine will bring it about and I doubt whether I will agree to make any effort of that kind having put my signature to a document of a solemn nature. I believe Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee was a party or was present at the Conference that was held in Calcutta in April 1948 with Mr. Neogy in the Chair, where one of the clauses was this and it was agreed to by both the Governments. We reiterated it at the December Conference and I know that Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee did attend it.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : No propaganda by Government : correct yourself, please.

Shri Gopaldaswami : That means you can make an agitation if you can avoid what you might define, by reference to the dictionary as propaganda.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : By coming out of the Government, you can carry on propaganda.

Shri Gopaldaswami : That particular thing is repeated in this Delhi Pact that we shall not do so. Having done all that, to come now and say, let us look upon this as one of the solutions of this problem, is a thing to which no Government can easily agree. Apart from that, on the merits, it is, I think, as the Prime Minister did say in his effective and forceful way, a fantastic thing, a thoroughly impracticable thing. If anybody will take the facts into consideration as they are, and the facts as they are bound to be in the future, to think of re-uniting India and Pakistan or parts of India with parts of Pakistan is a thing which, I certainly agree with the Prime Minister in characterising as fantastic.

Take another fact. The minorities are not merely ill-treated, but they actually have all of them found their

[Shri Gopalaswami]
way into India from West Pakistan. Leave alone the Punjabs where perhaps people on both sides took the matter into their own hands and migrated to the other country. Take Sind. There is no doubt that a very large number of Sindhis have found it necessary to come a way from Pakistan leaving large valuable properties in Pakistan. Yet, I do not think that anybody has put forward the claim that we should consider the inclusion of Sind in India or any portion of Sind for that matter.

Then, I come to the idea of exchange of population and properties. I was rather surprised to find Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava in agreement with this suggestion.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : What about one-third of the territory as Sardar Patel has suggested ?

Shri Gopalaswami : I forgot to refer to that. To ask a foreign country to make over one-third of its territory for the purpose of locating a homogeneous Hindu population and for the purpose of excluding Muslims from there.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : Both will stay.

Shri Gopalaswami : How can they stay ? Then it should be more than one-third ; it cannot be merely one-third.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : Even one-third will be acceptable.

Shri Gopalaswami : Even in this one-third you certainly do not contemplate the Muslims occupying a position in which they are likely to be, even a nuisance to the Hindus, apart from doing mischief.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : That would become a secular State.

Shri Gopalaswami : These two things, both unification and cession of territory you cannot achieve except after war. If you eschew war, as sometimes Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in his speech did, then, the only other alternative that is left would be something other than war. Now, what is that thing other than war ? Before I come to

that, I should like to refer to this question of exchange of population. What are the probabilities ? What is it that Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has at the back of his mind. Does he expect that practically all the 15 millions or 16 millions of Hindus who were in East Bengal will come away to India ? Is that so ? The point is not specifically stated. Besides that, we have it as a result of experience that at least 80 per cent of the Muslims in West Bengal, not to speak of other parts of India, do not wish to go to Pakistan. They want to remain here.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : Have statistics been taken of that ?

Shri Gopalaswami : We have it on the authority of the West Bengal Government that practically 80 per cent. of those who had left Bengal for East Bengal had returned to their homes. That is the information we have. It may be perhaps that the numbers, likely to migrate to Pakistan is ten per cent. more, or as you are willing to concede, even 20 per cent. more. That does not matter very much. But, that the majority of the Muslim population now in India does not want to migrate to Pakistan is a fact with which you have got to reckon when we talk about exchange of population.

Now you have got to receive all the Hindus from East Bengal and you have to retain this sixty to eighty per cent. of Muslims who are in India. Is that a proposition which you can face ? Well, if you want to send more Muslims in order to equal the number of Hindus we get from the other side, it cannot be a voluntary thing. It must become compulsory. It must be compulsory, and what is the compulsion ? It must be either government compulsion, or it must be compulsion such as was exercised in the two Punjabs. To neither of these propositions can any sane government of this country agree. I cannot agree to either of these for this reason. You cannot yourself engage in the act of squeezing out from your country people who are your citizens. That is number one. And if you are a government, a fairly strong government

possessed of the necessary power and authority to enforce your decrees, you cannot permit private persons to squeeze out Muslims from this country by any extra lawful activities. Now, if that is so, you have got to rule compulsion out in this matter. If you take into consideration the kind of State that we are responsible for, the kind of Government that we pride ourselves in administering in this country, if you rule out compulsory evacuation, if you rule out voluntary evacuation, because it will not produce your results, what next? I forgot to mention one thing in regard to compulsory evacuation. If you have to evict an adequate number of Muslims against the number of Hindus that come over from East Bengal, you will have to travel far out of the confines of West Bengal to find the necessary number of Muslims to be pushed out. You will have to go out to other Provinces and push out Muslims from there. Therefore, if you rule out all these things, you have got to consider what is the alternative. The only alternative is the alternative which accords with the respectability and civilised character of states in the world. You rule out war. You rule out exchange of population, you rule out cession of territory. The only thing you can do is to try to persuade the other Government to see our point of view and to ensure that security returns to the minds of the Hindus who are still in East Bengal, and of the Hindus who want to go back to their homes and properties in East Bengal.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : And if you fail in spite of all this? What is the remedy then?

Shri Gopaldaswami : If all this fails, then you and I can sit round a table and discuss the propriety of going to war. But that is a different matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Why doesn't the hon. Member wait for my reply? He will get it to-morrow.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : Thanks, I am glad I will get it to-morrow. But he need not get angry now.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Order, order.

Shri Gopaldaswami : Dr. Mookerjee at the close of his speech triumphantly asked the House, "Was there any speech of mine in which I asked the Hindus, the Hindu majority in West Bengal to attack the Muslim minorities there?" He has not done so, and as I am a careful reader of his speeches. But what is the relevancy of that in this connection? He says that he did not believe in this Pact, even when it was being negotiated. He has no belief in the Pact since. But he said he would have been glad if the Pact had produced results of the kind he anticipated. Now what are these results he looked forward to? I take it that, if I mention them, the House is entitled to infer that he approves of those objectives. The first is that Hindus who still remain in East Bengal should refrain from moving out, should refrain from moving to West Bengal. The second objective is that those of them who have come over to West Bengal should go back to their homes and properties in East Bengal. If the Pact, during its working within the last four months had achieved these two objectives, then I take it, his heart would have been glad. Now, these are things which he would gladly have welcomed when achieved. I ask, then, is it not his duty to promote the attainment of those objectives? He said he did not ask the majority Hindus in West Bengal to attack the minority Muslims there. But it would have been more to the point and done him greater credit if he had positively addressed himself to the task of asking the East Bengal Hindu who had come over, to go back to his home and property. He should have sought facilities for the purpose of going to East Bengal and putting heart into East Bengal Hindus and appeal to them to stay where they were. If he did not do this, did not attempt to do this, I would ask the House to agree with me in saying that he has failed in his duty to the country.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : Why don't you go there, instead of making speeches here?

Shrimati Renuka Ray (West Bengal) : A great deal has been said about the

[Shrimati Renuka Ray]

Indo-Pakistan Pact, to the effect that it has been a failure because it has not been able to create a sense of security in the minority community in East Pakistan. I do not think that this is a measure by which we should judge this Pact. I think the Pact has been instantaneous in its effect and it has done a real and substantial service. As other speakers have said, this Pact averted war, a war which might have destroyed both India and Pakistan.

It has averted the widespread horror that was taking place in East Pakistan and which was gradually finding its repercussions on our side too. Above all, it has allowed the migrants from East Pakistan to come over with some sense of security together with some of their possessions, without being killed on the way.

4 P. M.

Months back when we brought this matter to the notice of the Members of this House and to our Prime Minister, what was it that we asked him? We from Bengal asked the Prime Minister to make some provision whereby the minorities from East Pakistan could come over to India in safety. I say that in this matter the Pact has been successful. That the Pact has not been able to engender a sense of security amongst the minorities in Pakistan is absolutely true. But I would ask: do we want the Prime Minister of India to perform miracles? Is it possible for him to ensure conditions in another state, over which he has no jurisdiction, so that minorities can remain behind with a sense of security and with honour? The Government of India is making those attempts but if those attempts fail, I do not think that blame can be attached to the Prime Minister or his Government.

The policy of India has always been very different from the policy of Pakistan. Their very approach is different. The speech which the Prime Minister made yesterday is eloquent testimony, if any testimony was needed, that the approach of India towards the question of minorities and their protection is quite different from that on the other side. Even before the Pact was signed,

when there was some disorder in West Bengal it was put down with a firm hand. The trouble was localised. The District Magistrate of Howrah was removed before even the Pact came into being; whereas even four months after the Pact has been signed the District Magistrate of Barisal is still there as District Magistrate. How then can we have a sense of security engendered in Pakistan among the minorities, if this continues to be so? Many Police Officers have been charged in West Bengal but in E. Bengal there is no such change.

Before I go into any details I would like to say one thing. Whatever be the provocation, whatever be the conditions that may operate in East Pakistan, we on our side must guard against destroying our souls of the very objectives we have stood for all these years. Because certain conditions do not obtain somewhere else, is it right for us to follow that same way? Is it not our duty to keep our judgment fair and maintain a balance of mind, so that we may be able to find some solution in some other way, in some way that does not lead us into the abyss of dark mediaevalism. I do not want to use the word secular for our State. We are a rational State where whatever be a man's religion it is his personal affair. It is his loyalty to the State that counts. We shall treat every citizen in the State, irrespective of his religion, as equal provided he is loyal to India. It is also our duty to make provision for those who seek shelter and come to us, because through no fault of their own they are today the victims of the two-nation theory. It is as much our duty to see that every citizen in this country and every man, woman and child that comes to us from Pakistan, because they cannot live there, is treated on an equal footing with all other citizens.

I will not go into statistical figures. We have had a lot of statistics. It is not figures but facts that count. Since the last session of Parliament I spent my time during the last three or four months in refugee camps in West Bengal, Tripura, Assam, Orissa and also saw some camps in Bihar. I will

just put some facts before you. My hon. friend Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani gave a descriptive analysis of what she saw. The hon. Member, Mr. Shankarrao Deo chose to call it a *kahani*. It is not a *kahani*, it is not a fable or a story. They are facts as they are and they are undisputed and poignant with misery. These are not statistics. The concentration of refugees in the camps in West Bengal and in the neighbouring provinces speak for themselves. Going to the refugees you can see what their condition is. This is the strongest de'errant against any one coming over.

It has been said that propaganda has had its effect and has brought the refugees over. It has been said by my hon. friend Mr. Shankarrao Deo that the eloquent speeches of my hon. friend Dr. Mookerjee has had the effect of bringing minorities over from East Pakistan. I say that 60 to 70 per cent. of the refugees are cultivators. I ask, does a cultivator leave his land, does any man or woman leave their roots and their belongings and all that they possess to come over to India, because Dr. Mookerjee is a brilliant speaker, so that they have to face an uncertain future in the refugee camps ?

What is the condition in these refugee camps ? I claim to be one of those who have allied themselves with the work of refugee rehabilitation. Many people have been working in this field, both officials and non-officials, in Bengal. In this connection I would like to pay a special tribute to some of the women of Bengal who are not known to you as Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani or myself but who have been working consistently all the time for refugee rehabilitation. And yet today I acknowledge that we have not been able to cope with the problem as we should have done. West Bengal is one third the size it used to be. The concentration of refugees in West Bengal in all the camps is so great now that it is not possible to absorb all the refugees in that small province. I say that the Relief Commissioner and the Relief Department have been doing their very best. But how can they put all their mind to rehabilitation when

every day the influx of refugees goes on ? It may be less on some day and may be more on other days. But the fact remains that it goes on and we have to find accommodation or build accommodation for those who are coming in daily. Have these officers the time or the power to rehabilitate all those people in that small province ? It is not a physical possibility. I would say to those who are complacent about this problem—I do not refer to any members of this House—that it would be as well to be alert about it. As I said men and women do not leave their homes for any other cause except the compelling force of circumstances. If circumstances forced them to come away and if even then they go back and there the circumstances make them come back again, what is to be done then ? It is no use blaming the Prime Minister of India, because the conditions in East Pakistan have not been set right or because he has not been able by the Pact to prevail on Pakistan to bring about the proper conditions in Pakistan. Mr. Shanker Rao Deo said this morning in this House that when he was in East Bengal he was told by some people "Save us from our friends". I would ask him to see what the Minorities Board of Mymensingh has said. I would ask him if he had seen the statement by Nellie Sen Gupta. She saw me several times. Has he not heard of the treatment of Satin Sen and what Satin Sen has said ? Has he not heard what the Chief Whip of the East Bengal Congress Party has said about it ? Surely you cannot know facts in a fifteen days' tour. Ask these people who had remained behind and are still remaining behind no matter what sufferings they have to undergo in trying to help those who are there. It has been said that the East Bengal leaders have left. I want to say that the majority of East Bengal leaders are in East Bengal. They have not come over. There are false charges even of murder against them but still they have not come over. It was in East Bengal that the fire of nationalism was first kindled. The East Bengalis are not cowards whatever else they may be. I know there are some

[Shrimati Renuka Ray]

people in the country who say that Bengalis are cowards. Why?—because we don't go in for the blood bath as in the Punjab. The Sindhi has come over, the N. W. F. P. man has come over, and the Punjabi has come over through the blood bath. Must the Bengali also come through it?

Shri B. Das. : We learnt revolution from the Bengalis. None in this House or outside has said that Bengalis are cowards. Why this explanation? The Bengali is the father of revolution and Indian freedom.

Shrimati Renuka Ray : It was said not in this House but it has been said outside and I am taking this opportunity to contradict it.

It is quite true that there is a sense of insecurity among the Muslims in West Bengal. But it is not because instance of the type that are still going on in East Bengal take place in West Bengal. As I have said, and as my hon. friend Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar stated in his speech, in West Bengal arrangements are much better and the West Bengal authorities have taken every step to see that the minorities are secure. The position is quite different to that in East Bengal but nonetheless the Muslims have a sense of insecurity and that condition will remain so long as the treatment of minorities in East Bengal continues what it is. If the East Bengal minorities come over then it is a different matter, but so long as they remain there and there is that treatment of them in an isolated way, so long as when the man returns home at night he hears a knock at the door saying, "You have come back, why have you come back?", and next day he is told, "Send one daughter to our house", so long as these things continue, even if they are isolated, there cannot be any sense of security among minorities in West Bengal. No matter that the Muslim knows that the Prime Minister of India is a better friend to him than anyone in Pakistan could ever be, no matter even that he knows that the State Govern-

ment or the Central Government is his best friend, still he cannot be secure so long as he knows that repercussions may again occur. Therefore, I say there is only one solution. We must have a planned rehabilitation for the East Bengal minorities if they seek to come over. I don't ask anyone to come away, but it is a wrong approach to ask them not to come over willy-nilly. If we don't face the problem rightly we shall only play into the hands of those who want other ways.

My hon. friend, Shrimati Kripalani and Pandit Bhargava brought out one or two facts about the question of rehabilitation. They pointed out a fact—which is true, of course—that the Central Government took some time before it decided whether the people who had come after the new influx should be rehabilitated or not. I want to point out to this House that the moment it was brought to the notice of the Prime Minister, it was he who gave the directive that rehabilitation was a prior problem and it must be done.

I must pay a tribute to Orissa and to its Ex-Chief Minister who is now on the Treasury Benches here. He thought in terms of rehabilitation in Orissa even before the Central directive had gone out. I must, however, say that in the last month or two there seems to be some amount of complacency in the neighbouring States. There seems to be the idea that the pact has brought about the desired result—which up till now it has not—that is, it has stopped the inflow of migrants. The migrants come to West Bengal sometimes in larger numbers, sometimes in smaller numbers, but the outflow from Ranaghat to neighbouring States has completely stopped. No refugees are going over to neighbouring States just now. When the Prime Minister was in Calcutta recently, at his instance the new Rehabilitation Minister called a conference and set up a Rehabilitation Board of West Bengal and all the neighbouring States interested in refugee rehabilitation. But I think I am right in saying that up to

now this too has not produced any result.

I would like to tell the House and the country that the problem that faces us is not a problem of West Bengal alone. The Presidential Address has pointed out quite clearly that it is an all-India problem. The Prime Minister has said more than once that it is an all-India problem. But it is not enough for that to be the declared policy unless it is implemented in all the States, unless the people in this country realise how important it is to rehabilitate those who have come and those who may come. It may be that the pact may work in a satisfactory way, but if it does not and they continue to come out, we must have a plan on which to work. In the State of West Bengal they have a plan now for absorbing the cultivators and the artisans through the union boards—ten or fifteen families per union board. Even if this plan is worked out in West Bengal, it will not cover half the refugees that have already come over. Therefore, I would suggest that similar plans should be worked out not only in the neighbouring States but in all the States of India because it is an all-India problem. I do not speak as a Bengali. I speak as an Indian and say that it is an all-India problem and that all India should face it. If we do so then it will not be too great a problem. Scattered in the seven lakh villages of India I think we can absorb all the refugees that have come who are cultivators and artisans. We may have made many mistakes in the past in rehabilitation ; the implementation machinery still remains unchanged not only in the Rehabilitation Department but in all the Departments of Government. We can rectify the mistakes, we can plan in such a way that we can resettle all these people. I am subject to correction, but I think it takes ten years for our population to grow by one crore. Suppose we face this issue now and make arrangements, suppose it is one crore, why should we not arrange for it ?

Is it right then that we should give up all our objectives, all the things we

have stood for, and follow the Pakistan way or the way laid down by the leader of Pakistan rather than the way laid down by Mahatma Gandhi ? Is it not better that even at the risk of some amount of economic deterioration for our country, we follow the better way out ? I wish to sound a note of warning. Our approach must be realistic. We should not forget facts as they are. The stark realities must be faced. I do not wish to enter into descriptive analysis, but I only want to take the facts as they are. We must remember that we have to cope with the problem facing us and if we have to cope with it, if we are to find a solution for it, let us not follow the way of madness and destroy our very freedom. Let us follow the one way out that seems to be right, namely, planning of rehabilitation. By following that way, we will cope with the problem throughout the length and breadth of this land. If we fail to do so it will not be Bengal alone that will suffer and be destroyed but the whole country will feel its effects.

श्रीमती उमा नेहरू : मैं बहुत ही सरल हिन्दी में बोलूंगी, ताकि मेरे मद्रास के भाई उसको अच्छी तरह से समझ सकें। कोशिश तो मेरी यही होगी कि मैं हिन्दुस्तानी बोलूँ, किताबी हिन्दी बोलने का मेरा इरादा नहीं है।

आज कई रोज़ से बराबर हम यह देख रहे हैं कि रात दिन दुख से भरी हुई, मुसीबत-जुदा कहानियाँ, सच्ची कहानियाँ, ऐसी कहानियाँ जो सच्ची हैं, हमारे सामने रखी जा रही हैं। साथ-साथ जिस समय हम अपने मुल्क की दुखदायी कहानियाँ सुनते हैं तो हम सारे संसार की तरफ़ एक नज़र डालते हैं। सारे संसार की तरफ़ जब हम नज़र डालते हैं, तो हमको क्या दिखाई देता है ? कोरिया का नक़शा हमारे सामने है, क्या कोरिया में पैकट हुआ था ? उत्तरी कोरिया और दक्षिणी कोरिया में कोई पैकट नहीं हुआ। हमारा तो ऐसा विश्वास है कि अगर आज उत्तरी और

[श्रीमती उमा नेहरू]

दक्षिणी कोरिया में कोई पैकट हुआ होता तो कोरिया की जो दशा आज हो रही है वह न होती। दूसरी तरफ़ हम देखते हैं कि कोरिया में हमारी कहां शक्ति है कि हम कुछ कर सकते लेकिन दक्षिणी अफ़्रीका की तरफ़ भी हमारी नज़र जाती है, वहां हम देखते हैं कि वहां भी हमारे हिन्दुस्तानी भाई हैं, हम से बहुत दूर हैं और बहुत ज्यादा मुसीबतजदे हैं, उनको सड़कों पर चलने की जगह नहीं है, उनके रहने की जगह नहीं है, हम उनकी क्या मदद कर रहे हैं? जब यह नक़शा हमारे सामने आता है, तो इधर हम देखते हैं कि पाकिस्तान को। वह दूसरा मुल्क है, वह हिन्दुस्तान नहीं है, सब अगर पाकिस्तान में कोई ऐसा अत्याचार हो रहा है जो कि दुखदायी है, तो हमको ताज़्जुब क्यों होता है और क्यों हमको इतना गुस्सा आता है। इन सब कष्टों और दुखदायी बातों से मुक्ति पाने के लिये हमारे देश ने हमारे प्राईम मिनिस्टर ने ऐसा निश्चय किया कि इन तक़लीफ़ों को दूर करने के लिये, इन मुसीबतों को दूर करने के लिये, यह पैकट किया गया है। दोनों देशों के प्राईम मिनिस्टरों ने मिल कर यह पैकट आपस में किया है और उस पैकट का नतीजा यह हुआ कि हम देख रहे हैं कि जितनी मुसीबत इस पैकट के बग़ैर होती, वह इस पैकट ने बिल्कुल ख़त्म कर दी है। साथ साथ सवाल हिन्दुस्तान के सामने यह था कि अगर पैकट नहीं होगा तो फिर क्या होगा, पैकट नहीं होता है, तो क्या युद्ध होगा? क्या हम युद्ध के वास्ते तैयार हैं? क्या हम चाहते हैं कि अपने देश को बिल्कुल ही ख़त्म कर दें? यह साफ़ है कि युद्ध के वास्ते हम कतई तैयार नहीं हैं, और इसी कारण पैकट की सूरत हमारे सामने आई।

अब पैकट के बारे में हम बरारबर सुन रहे हैं और व्याख्यान यहां बहुत सारे हुये, मैं

हर एक व्याख्यान की चर्चा न करते हुये केवल डाक्टर श्यामाप्रसाद मुखर्जी का कल जो व्याख्यान हुआ है उसी की चर्चा करूंगी। व्याख्यान ऐसा था और हमको ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि डाक्टर मुखर्जी बदल गये हैं और उनमें गांधीपने की बातें आ गई हैं और ऐसा मानूँ हुआ कि वह हमारी तरफ़ ख़बर कर रहे हैं, लेकिन साथ ही साथ उन्होंने जो बातें बतलाई जो तीन सुझाव दिये हैं, तो उनको सुन कर मुझे रिफ्यूजी कान्फ़ैन्स की याद आ गई उसके अन्दर भी वही तीन बातें सुझाई गई थीं, जो उन्होंने यहां कल बयान की थीं। केवल चौथी एक नई बात डाक्टर साहित्र ने रखी थी कि आपने प्रधान मन्त्री पण्डित नेहरू और सरदार पटेल से प्रार्थना की थी कि मेहरवानी करके वे बाहर आ जायें, मैदान में आ जायें और खुद आ कर रिफ्यूजीज की हालत देखें, उनके साथ रहे और मिलें जुलें, तब उनको उनकी दर्दनाक हालत का अन्दाज़ा लगेगा। मैं डाक्टर श्यामाप्रसाद मुखर्जी से कहूंगी कि आप बाहर चले गये। हम चाहते हैं कि आप जो बाहर गये हैं तो आप हम लोगों के लिये एक मिसाल बन जायें और मिसाल बन कर आप हमको दिखायें और अगर उन सिद्धान्तों के अनुसार आप चलेंगे और हमारे सामने मिसाल कायम करेंगे, तो हम में से बहुत सारे ऐसे हैं जो आपके क़दमों पर चलेंगे।

अब हमारे सामने जो मुख्य सवाल है वह यह है कि आखिर क्या बात है कि जो पैकट है, उसमें कामयाबी क्यों नहीं होती, क्यों नहीं आगे गाड़ी चलती? तो हम एक दम पाकिस्तान की तरफ़ देखने लगते हैं। पाकिस्तान का विचार हम को नहीं करना चाहिये और कायदा भी यही है कि जो बहादुर होते हैं वह रोते नहीं हैं, वह न तो रोते हैं और न किसी की कोसते हैं, लेकिन वह अपने आपको मजबूत बनाते हैं। हमको यह देखना चाहिये

कि आखिर क्या बजह है जो यह पैक्ट हमारा कामयाब नहीं हो रहा है। क्या हमने सच्चाई से, ईमानदारी से इस पैक्ट को समझा है, क्या हमने अपने अन्दर झाँक कर देखा है, मेरा कहना यह है कि जब आप गौर से अपने अन्दर देखेंगे तो आपको मालूम होगा कि हमारे अन्दर कितनी कमियाँ हैं और इन्हीं कमियों की वजह से यह गाड़ी ठीक तरीके से नहीं चल रही है। श्री साकुर दास भागवत ने अभी जो कहा मुझे उसे सुन कर बड़ी हैरत हुई जब उन्होंने आवादी के अदल-बदल की चर्चा की, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि यह किस प्रकार मुमकिन है। पंजाब की मिसाल हमारे सामने है। जब वहाँ आवादी का अदल-बदल हुआ, उस समय मैं शिमला में थी और मैं ने वह सच्चा नज़ारा अपनी आँखों से देखा कि आवादी के अदल-बदल होने से देश में कल्ले-आम हुआ और आज फिर हम उसी आवादी के अदल-बदल की बात कर रहे हैं। एक्चेंज (Exchange) कितना ही कण्डीशनल (conditional) आप रविये, लेकिन यह याद रखिये कि जिस रोज आपके मुँह से या पाकिस्तान के मुँह से आवादी का अदल-बदल होगा, तो आवादी का अदल-बदल तो दूर रहा, हिन्दू वहाँ पाकिस्तान में खत्म हो जायेंगे और मुसलमान जो यहाँ भारत में हैं, वे यहाँ खत्म हो जायेंगे। तो ऐसी चीज़ सोचना इस वक्त बिल्कुल गलत है। पहली चीज़ यह होनी चाहिये कि हम अपने अपने दिलों को देखें कि कहां कमी है। मैं अपने कांग्रेसी भाईयों के लिये दावे के साथ कह सकती हूँ कि यह पैक्ट, जहां तक मैं देखती हूँ, मैं समझती हूँ, यह पैक्ट उन सिद्धान्तों पर खड़ा है जिन पर कि हमारी कांग्रेस खड़ी है। यह पैक्ट कांग्रेस के उन उच्च सिद्धान्तों पर खड़ा है, जिनके सहारे हमने अपनी स्वाधीनता की लड़ाई अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ लड़ी थी और हिन्दुस्तान को आज़ाद किया था। देखना यह

है कि जब पैक्ट के सिद्धान्त वही हैं जिन पर कांग्रेस आज तक कायम है, तब क्या बजह है कि पैक्ट में कामयाबी नहीं होती, सिद्धान्त वही हैं, लेकिन कांग्रेसवालों में कमजोरी आ गई है, तो जरूर इस में पैक्ट की कोई गलती नहीं है और न सिद्धान्तों की कोई गलती है। यह तो खुद हमारी कमजोरी है, जो हम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते। इस पैक्ट के सिद्धान्त बहुत साफ़ सुथरे हैं, उनमें कोई ऐसी चीज़ नहीं है जिसको हम बुरा कह सकें, लेकिन अगर कमी है तो हम में है। इसके अलावा हमारे कांग्रेसी भाईयों के अलावा देश में जो दूसरी सभायें हैं, नेता हैं, लीडर लोग हैं, वह उसको समझते नहीं हैं और इसको न समझ कर ऐसी ना समझो की बातें करते हैं बजाय इसके कि वह इन सिद्धान्तों को ठीक से समझ कर इसको आगे बढ़ायें, वह पैक्ट की कामयाबी में बाधा डालते हैं और नुकसान पहुंचाते हैं।

छोटी-छोटी बातें इधर उधर गैर-जिम्मेदारी की हो जाती हैं जिस की वजह से बड़ा नुकसान देश में हो जाता है। फिर सब से बड़ी चीज़ यह है कि आखिर यह पैक्ट की गाड़ी आगे क्यों नहीं बढ़ती है; तो मैं देखती हूँ, मुझे माफ़ करें, लेकिन जो मुझे दिखाई पड़ता है वह यह है कि जो हमारे सरकारी मुलाजिम हैं उनको दरअसल इस पैक्ट पर विश्वास नहीं है। उनके दिल में दूसरी बात है और उनकी जी हजूरी दूसरी बात है। वह इस पैक्ट की गाड़ी को ईमानदारी और सच्चाई से आगे नहीं बढ़ाते। हम यह तीनों चीज़ें देखते हैं।

मुझे ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना है केवल इतना कहना है कि जो सिद्धान्त कांग्रेस के थे वही हमारे पैक्ट के हैं, उन सिद्धान्तों से हम हर्गिज़ हट नहीं सकते हैं। वह रहेंगे और हमारी विजय अवश्य होगी, केवल हमको स्वयं अपनी ताकत बढ़ानी है और अपने आपको सुधा-

[श्रीमती उमा नहू]]

रना है। उपाय हमें सोचने हैं। उपाय हमारे बास्ते यही है कि अब भी हम कांग्रेस सिद्धान्तों का पालन करें। उसको सभ्रों और समझ कर उन सिद्धान्तों पर चलें, पैक्ट की विजय अवश्य होगी। साथ ही जो हमारे सरकारी मुलाजिम हैं, उनमें से सच्चे और ईमानदार आदमी लिये जायें। वह अगर सही कदम पर चलेंगे तो वहां भी विजयी होंगे। साथ ही कांग्रेस का भी फ़र्ज है कि ६ महीने के अन्दर पैक्ट को कामयाब बनाने के लिये टोलियां बना कर सहरों और जिलों में बराबर इस पैक्ट की चर्चा करें और प्रेम, मेल और विश्वास इन तीनों चीजों को लेकर चलें तो उसके बाद मैं समझती हूँ कि अगर लोग ईमानदारी और सच्चाई से पैक्ट को समझेंगे और उसको बरतेंगे तो हमारे भारत की तस्वीर हैस्तानियत की हो जायगी।

यह कह कर मुझे इतना ही कहना है कि मैंने जान कर बंगाल की सच्ची कहानियों को बयान नहीं किया क्योंकि वह मेरे लिये बहुत तकलीफ़देह है, लेकिन मैं बयान कर के भी हूँ यह देखना है कि आखिर यह क्या बात है कि यह सब चीजें हो रही हैं। मैंने जो तीन चीजें बताई हैं इनको लेकर हम आगे बढ़ेंगे तो पैक्ट की विजय अवश्य होगी और भारत तमाम तकलीफ़ों से बचेगा और जब हमारे अन्दर यह ताकत पैदा हो जायेगी तो नामुमकिन है कि पाकिस्तान का हृदय न बदल जाये।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shrimati Uma Nehru (Uttar Pradesh): I shall be speaking in very simple Hindi so that my brothers from Madras might also be able to follow me. It will be my endeavour to speak in Hindustani; at any rate I do not intend speaking in classical Hindi.

For the last several days we are continuously being treated to

pathetic tales of woe, tales which are true. While listening to the woeful tales of our own country let us also have a look at the rest of the world. What do we see? Korea stands out before us. Was any pact made in Korea? There was no pact between North Korea and South Korea. It is my belief that had a pact been there between North Korea and South Korea that country would have been spared the suffering it is undergoing today. We also see, on the other hand, that we have not the power to do anything in regard to Korea. Again, when we look to South Africa we find that there too our Indian people who are far away from us, are very miserable. They are not even allowed to walk on roads. They have no places to live in. What help we are giving to them? Pakistan too is a foreign country. It is not India. Now, if any such atrocities which are deplorable are taking place in Pakistan then why should they startle us so much, why should we be so enraged. It was with a view to solve all such difficulties and to relieve all these sufferings that our country, our Prime Minister, entered into this pact. The Prime Ministers of both the countries met and made a mutual pact. The result of this pact, as we have seen, is that all that suffering which would otherwise have resulted has entirely been obviated. There was the question facing India, what would happen if no pact could be arrived at, would there be war, were we ready for the war, were we going to annihilate our country. It is obvious that we are not at all prepared for war and for that very reason the pact came into being.

We have heard a lot of talk about the pact. There have been a number of speeches. I shall not refer to every one of them but confine myself to the one made by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. The speech was such that we felt Dr. Mookerjee has undergone a change and has come round to Gandhism. It seemed as if he was veering round to us. When, however, he announced the conditions and remedies and made his three sugges-

tions I was reminded of the refugee conference. There too the same three suggestions had been made which were suggested here yesterday. The Doctor, however, also made a fourth suggestion and it was that Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel should come out into the field, see the condition of the refugees for themselves and live and mix with them for only then could they form an idea of their pathetic plight. I would say to Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, "Since you have gone out already, we want that you should set us an example, so that, if you are able to act according to your professions, there are many amongst us who would like to follow in your footsteps".

Now, the main question before us is why is the pact not working successfully, why are we not forging ahead? Here we at once start looking towards Pakistan. We should not take Pakistan into consideration. As a rule the brave do not cry. They neither cry nor curse others but rather make themselves strong. We should find out the reason why after all this pact of ours is not proving successful. Have we tried to understand this pact earnestly and honestly? Have we looked into our own minds? What I mean to say is that if you do a bit of careful introspection you will find how numerous our own failings are and that it is on account of these very failings that our plan is not working smoothly. I was very much surprised to hear what Shri Thakur Das Bhargava just now said about the exchange of population. I am unable to follow all that. It is not a practical proposition. The example of the Punjab is before our eyes. When the exchange of population took place there I was at Simla and I saw it all with my own eyes. The exchange of population led to wholesale killing in the country, and today again we are talking of the same exchange of population. You may impose whatever conditions you like on this exchange but you should remember that the day either you or Pakistan were to propose the exchange of population, then what

to say of an exchange the result would be that the Hindus in Pakistan would be finished where they are and the Muslims, who are in Bharat, would meet their doom here. It is utterly wrong to think of any such thing at this time. Our very first endeavour should be to search our own hearts and find out wherein lies our own weakness. So far as the Congressmen are concerned I can assert with confidence that, as far as I can see and understand, this pact is based on the same principles on which the Congress itself stands. This pact stands on those high principles on the strength of which we fought our battle of independence against the British and made India free. Now, we have to see how it is that, although the principles underlying the pact are the same as have sustained the Congress thus far, we have not yet been able to make it a success. The principles are the same but demoralisation has set in among the Congress ranks. Thus, it is not the pact that is to be blamed and there is anything wrong with the principles even. It is because of our own weakness that we cannot go forward. The principles underlying the pact are quite clean and proper. There is nothing in them that we might object to whatever shortcoming there be in us. Moreover, the organisations and leaders other than those of the Congress are unable to understand it and, not being able to understand, talk thoughtlessly. Instead comprehending those principles properly and furthering the objects of the pact they place hurdles in the way of its working and thereby harm the cause. A few irresponsible acts here and there cause a lot of harm to the country. The question is, why is this pact not working? I find, I may be excused for saying, so, that our Government servants in fact, have no faith in this pact. They do show lip-sympathy for it but at heart they do not approve of it. They are not honest and earnest in working this pact. We notice all these three things.

I shall not take much time but I want to submit that this pact is in-

Shrimati Uma Nehru]

pired by the same principles as inspired the Congress and we can never give them up. They will remain and we are sure to win in the end. Only we have to develop our power, improve our faculties and find proper ways and means. The only way open to us is to act upon the principles of the Congress. We should comprehend these principles and follow them and the pact will succeed. Moreover, we should therefore choose sincere and honest Government servants for this purpose. If they would act honestly the pact would be a success. Besides this it is the duty of the Congressmen in order to make this pact a success, to form themselves into groups and to conduct a regular propaganda in its favour in towns and districts. If they would act with love, co-operation and faith and also if people were to understand and act upon the pact honestly and earnestly the shape of our Bharat would take on a more human aspect.

I want to add that I have deliberately avoided the recounting of true stories of Bengal because they are too painful to me. We have all the same to find out why all these things are happening? If we go forward equipped with the three attributes I have just mentioned, the pact is bound to succeed and Bharat would be relieved of all its sufferings. When we would be able to develop so much power in ourselves it would not be impossible to change the attitude of Pakistan in this respect.

Shri S. C. Samanta (West Bengal): Sir, on a point of information. Can we expect our Minister of State for Minority Affairs to throw some light on the problem as a result of the experience he has gained after the survey he has made of the two Bengals?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather fortunate that my colleague Mr. Biswas is here. But he is here accidentally today. That is to say, he was going to Karachi to continue the discussions that we have started, but owing to the failure of the service or some such thing he is still here. I

hardly think we should ask him to speak while he is in the middle of a conversation between Karachi and Delhi.

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal): I join Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar in my profound admiration of the eloquence displayed by Dr. Mookerjee yesterday. As I was listening to him I was reminded of the great speech of that great Anthony in Shakespeare's great drama *Julius Caesar*. He was playing with his subject—dangerous points—just as a cat would play with the mice. He was insinuating war with Pakistan and at the same time correcting himself that he did not want war. He was admiring the Prime Minister—at the same time undermining him. I certainly give him credit for the extreme ability with which he was handling very difficult points.

A great controversy has arisen in this House as to whether the Pact has succeeded. I will not give you a controversial point of view, or a philosopher's point of view, or the official point of view, as it was given by Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, but the man in the street's point of view.

Just a week before the Pact I had to travel in the railway trains of Bengal. A railway compartment in Bengal is a forum where great politics, concrete philosophies and great subjects of the world are discussed. At that time there was only one talk—the complete extermination of the minorities, of course, said in a loose manner. But after the Pact, of which I was slightly sceptical, when I went to Bengal and was travelling in a train, I found the people completely indifferent to the political situation. The Pact has worked magic. The great impetus which had been given to communal bitterness and hatred had largely ceased. When I went to my place I found a profound psychological change. The hon. Ministers were slightly apocryphic in describing the Pact as a partial success. I think it has enormously succeeded. The great killings which were taking place in both

Bengals stopped suddenly. The great preachings which were taking place against the minorities in both places had suddenly come to a halt. And then the argument that it has failed is an argument of despair. It is the argument of those who had determined to see that it failed, who convinced themselves that it would fail and therefore they are glad that it has partly failed.

I submit that the reaction upon the majority community of both Bengals has been tremendous. The little incidents here and there are only exceptions, and exceptions only go to prove the rule. In fact, it is a fact that the refugees in both Bengals are recrossing the border and trying to settle in their native homes. I know it for a fact that in the villages in West Bengal, in some of which I have relations, the position has remarkably changed. With the passage of time and as a result of the changed outlook, we find that the majority and the minority communities in West Bengal regard themselves as mutually interdependent and the one is indispensable to the other. Apart from this, look to the business aspect. Business between the two countries was at a stand-still and as a result of the Pact business relations have improved. Take the case of jute which was cited by Dr. Mookerjee as an example. He cited it for an entirely one-sided purpose. He said jute was selling somewhere at Rs. seven per maund in East Bengal and that we have raised it to Rs. 25. That is true. But it gives only a partial and a very imperfect picture of the situation. Jute from East Bengal was needed by the mills of West Bengal upon which they thrive. A large part of Indian economy is based on Indian jute. The Pact has not only benefited the growers of jute in East Bengal but it has more enormously benefited the mill-owners of West Bengal. In fact jute dominates the entire world trade and in this context it is for the mutual benefit of both. It is the mutuality of these transactions which I am really trying to emphasize before this House.

Then I should like to give the House one or two aspects which have not been touched upon in this House. One under-current which is flowing in East Bengal for a long time which has practically come to a head and of which little is known outside is the relation between the people of East Bengal and West Bengal. That relation is very strained and it has now come to a breaking point. I submit that the antagonism between the people of East Bengal and West Bengal is much greater than the antagonism between the two communities. It has come to my knowledge that Muslims who have gone to East Pakistan have not been received very well and on the other hand the minority communities which have come to West Bengal are not being received by the Hindus of West Bengal. The matter is not really communal; but the far more fundamental thing is that the people range themselves provincewise. This is the kind of division in politics which is well-known and which is troubling our politicians for a long time in Calcutta. They really wanted to make capital out of the troubles of the Hindus in East Bengal but now find themselves in some amount of difficulty. And this I believe is little known outside Bengal. In fact Hindu refugees from East Bengal are not only not welcome in the villages in West Bengal but there is considerable amount of antagonism prevailing against them. I would respectfully submit that it is very easy to ask the East Bengal minorities to leave their homes and come away to West Bengal. It is very easy to do that. The thing started some two years ago when there was a war scare and it again received a renewed impetus about four or five months ago when there was another war scare. The result of these two war scares was logical. The Muslims in West Bengal thought that if there was a war their lives would be insecure and the minorities in East Bengal thought that if there was a war they would be insecure, and each one tried to cross the border before the war started. All this was certainly a huge hoax, but the hoax went so far

[Shri Naziruddin Ahmad]

that it received serious notice in a big newspaper where a Gallup poll was held and it was given out that 80 per cent of its readers wanted India to attack East Bengal. These were some of the psychological impulses which accentuated the situation.

It is easy to create a refugee problem but it is not as easy to solve it. I submit that the refugee problem in Delhi has been insoluble. One popular Minister had to admit that he has failed although morally speaking I submit that he has not failed : the failure lay in the difficulty in dealing with the situation. Another hon. Minister, Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain, who has accepted this Ministry has acted in self-sacrifice because to accept that portfolio almost tantamounts to political suicide. What I wish to emphasize is that the refugee problem in Delhi—where the Indian Government rules, where the great leaders remain, where there is ample money, resources and organisation—could not be tackled. I ask, should you produce another refugee problem in Bengal which would be an insoluble problem ? Dr. Mookerjee has narrated very correctly, very vividly the difficulties in which the refugees are. The point is that it is inherent in a refugee problem. Bengal has not got the money enough to finance it. I do not think the finances of the Government of India are unlimited. In these circumstances to accentuate the refugee problem would be wrong and I think the refugee problem should not be created.

There are difficulties in East Bengal. There are difficulties in West Bengal which it is not necessary for us to discuss here. Those difficulties exist. Some assaults, some crimes are taking place. Some are age-old as the hon. Minister Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar pointed out. They are taking place for a long time. Criminals have no religion and in dacoities the victims are mostly Hindus because they are well-to-do. There are always criminals against the well-to-do class. In

West Bengal there have been dacoities and robberies too. In fact the criminal class, as I submitted, have no distinction of caste and creed. Their only distinction is that the man whom they rob is well-to-do and it would be profitable for him to do so.

Shri Sondhi (Punjab) : Are there no rich Muslims in Dacca ?

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad : Very few, but they would not be spared ! I have dealt with this criminal problem for a long time and I have found that they make no distinctions between one caste and another. In these circumstances I submit that the problem should be tackled on a long-range plan.

I submit that the exchange of population which some people easily talked about would really prove the two-nation theory which was started by the great departed leader of the Muslim League. If we accentuate the situation, create a division and bring about an exchange of population I think Mr. Jinnah would be rather chuckling in his grave that his theory after all has become an accepted fact. I submit the problem must not be looked at by any patriot from this point of view at all.

I should like to make a suggestion. As suggestions have been very free in the House I should make one. It is that a good-will mission as has been hinted by Mr. B. Das should go from India to East Pakistan.

Shri B. Das. : No. To the Pakistan Government at Karachi.

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad : Anyway the destination is not very important. Its leader should not be, as one speaker has suggested, the hon. Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. The leader should be a man who can deliver the goods. I can think of only one person in the House and in the country who can deliver the goods, and it is no other than Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. It is he who can deliver the goods. He should be the leader of this good-will mission. Let him go there, spot the trouble, put his finger in the

trouble, and try to create the situation, create a public opinion and then solve it. Then I believe I shall be ready to follow him.

An Hon. Member : He will be disposed of.

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad : Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has enough wits about him and he cannot be disposed of very quickly. He can take care of himself. In fact he was a Minister in Bengal in the Coalition Ministry and he discharged his functions quite ably. He knows the art of pacifying people as he knows the art of the other virtue. I submit that it is he alone who can step into the situation. It is very easy from outside to criticize the Government, as it is easy to support the Government from inside the Government. Dr. Mookerjee has succeeded in both. He supported his Department ably, strongly, without a word from the House : he is criticizing the Government with equal ability and force. I submit that criticism is extremely easy. But it would be far better, more useful and far more patriotic—and what is needed in the country at the time is—for him to step into the gap and try to evolve a solution. If you create a refugee problem, which has already been created, you cannot blame any government, any people for failure to solve it. The best thing would be to cure it from the beginning and to create an atmosphere by which the refugees from West Bengal should be induced to return to East Bengal. There should be a planned organization led by some unofficial leaders for rehabilitating persons who have once left their country. People from West Bengal should be asked to go back and inhabit their own lands. It is not a fact that the refugee problem is all one-sided. The difficulties which the Hindus of East Bengal are feeling, namely, that their houses are occupied by others is equally felt by West Bengal Muslims.....

✓ **Shri Syamnandan Sahaya :** Are you sure ? Do you say "equally" as a responsible Member of this House ?

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad : Not quantitatively. The problem is there. It is not in quantity but in quality. I never made any secret of that. In fact there are problems in West Bengal of which remarkably there is no attempt and no reference made in the eloquent speeches and writings of Dr. Mookerjee. The press in West Bengal is entirely silent as to what took place during the great killings in both Bengals. I believe the hon. the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister who, as it appears from their speeches, were fully aware of it but they are not publicised. They have no press ; they have no platform. All that I wished to say was not to minimize the great difficulties in East Bengal ; they are insuperable. They are much greater in comparison with what happened in West Bengal. I was emphasizing a point ; I was merely emphasizing a qualitative comparison, that is all.

I submit that this is the way you should tackle the problem. You must not accentuate it but rather retrace your steps and try to mend matters and ask the people to go to their own homes and create conditions unofficially by creating public opinion and other means of publicity, constructively to create that atmosphere, to create a sense of security and induce them to return to their own homes. These are some of the little suggestions I have to make.

Hon. Members : We can go on up to 5.30 today.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker :—The hon. the Prime Minister is unable to be here owing to a Cabinet meeting.

An Hon. Member : There are so many other Ministers.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Order, order. The Hon. President is also giving us a party at six o'clock.

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh) : Mr. Biswas can represent the Government.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : The House will sit till five thirty today. Order, order, hon. Members must note that the debate will conclude today and the

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

hon. the Prime Minister will reply tomorrow, as at present fixed.

There has been a request made earlier in the day that the Question Hour, that is, all the questions tabled for tomorrow may be taken up on Monday the 14th, when the House is likely to sit.

Shri Kamath : The questions may remain for tomorrow. That will not make any difference.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : There is a lot of other work and therefore the other work may begin as early as possible. It does not make any difference between tomorrow and the 14th. As suggested earlier in the day the questions tabled for tomorrow will be taken on the 14th.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi) : The problem has already been dealt with from different points of view and I do not propose to cover the ground which has been covered by other hon. Members of the House. It is admitted on all hands that the issues involved are grave and are of tremendous importance to both countries and that they do not admit of easy solution. I am one of those who did not expect any miracles to be performed by this Pact and I have been a keen supporter of the same from the very beginning. It is common knowledge that soon after this Pact was concluded, the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference lent its wholehearted support to it and that it was the first big organization to do so. They went to the extent of inviting the All Pakistan Newspapers Editors Conference Standing Committee to Delhi with a view to chalk out a common code and a common line which should be followed by papers of both India and Pakistan to secure an implementation of the Pact by the masses. It is a matter of no small satisfaction that generally speaking the Press of India, and I must say most of the papers of Pakistan also, tried their level best to achieve the object in view and lent their moral support to the Pact. On behalf of the Editors Conference, it was my privilege to

visit East Bengal about six weeks back. I went with some of my colleagues one of whom was also a Member of this House, I mean Shri B. Shiva Rao. It was thus in all sincerity and in a spirit of finding evidence in support of the Pact that we went to Dacca and I must admit that we had a very cordial reception there so far as the Government was concerned. They looked after us very well and tried to make us feel that we were quite at home there. During our short stay we tried to find such evidence of the successful working of the Pact as could be placed by us before our countrymen on our return. No doubt, there were things which we saw and could be described as encouraging. The fact that there had not been many communal incidents since the Pact was concluded was one which deserved special mention and it did give us some satisfaction but I must say I and my colleagues were greatly disappointed on one score. We were anxious to meet some Hindu families which had actually returned from West Bengal as a result of this Pact, but unfortunately with the best of efforts, we could not meet any such family. We went round Dacca and also visited some suburbs of Dacca but did not come across any such family. Dacca was once a town, which had a large majority of Hindus and perhaps 80 to 90 per cent. of the trade and business of this capital of East Bengal was in the hands of Hindus. We were sorely disappointed to see that even in this great city there were no signs of return of sense of security amongst the Hindus. On the contrary we saw some very tragic things which made us feel that in spite of the fact that more than two months had passed, a sense of security had not returned. To be very frank, things were pretty bad except for the fact that there were no riots, there were no communal incidents and that there was a slightly better feeling amongst the Muslims towards the minorities. We did not see any evidence of the fact that the minorities were willing to stay there. It was clear that those who could afford to leave East Pakistan were not at all keen to prolong their stay there.

As it is almost an admitted fact, and the hon. the Prime Minister has himself admitted it, that the Pact had failed in so far as it was expected to give a sense of security to the minorities in East Bengal, I would not like to fire illustrations of misbehaviour of the majority community or give instances which had come to our notice. But, to one thing I must make a passing reference. We were able to see in Dacca not more than a dozen Hindus actually working in their shops and some of them were seen going about in *lungis* which was not usual with them. It was out of fear and they did admit that fact. But perhaps it would not be right to generalise things from that instance and I leave it to the House to draw its own conclusions.

5 P.M.

There is one aspect of the question which has not yet been discussed in the House nor a reference to which has been made by any hon. Member and which struck me and my colleagues in the talks we had with some Muslims friends there. That is, that generally speaking the East Bengal Muslims did not really like that the Bengali Hindus should leave their homes. On the contrary I can say from personal knowledge and from my talks with these friends, that they were quite keen to retain the Hindus of East Bengal. But, most of them were finding themselves rather helpless in the matter. One interesting thing in this connection which I would like to mention is that some of the Editors of East Bengal Muslim papers, who are leaders of public opinion there, went to the extent of saying, in confidence of course, but as it is public knowledge now, I think I am not betraying that confidence, that they were keen that the Bengalee language should not be interfered with. They did not like Urdu being imposed upon them and it was a major issue so far as they were concerned. They still have the highest regard for Rabindranath Tagore and other celebrated Bengalee writers and they miss on the East Bengal Radio items from Tagore or songs from other Bengalee writers. I can say that some of them were quite

impatient to see the situation improved but they were feeling helpless. That was the silver lining that came to our notice and we realised that left to themselves, perhaps, things would have taken a different form. But the situation was such that it seemed to be beyond their control and they could not help it. Today it was the Punjabi administrator or the Bihari administrator who was ruling East Bengal. It appeared that in this matter the East Bengalee Muslims were as helpless as anybody else could be. I would like this fact to be taken note of so that when we draw any conclusions our conclusions are correct. But if things go on as they have done so far, the Hindus in East Bengal can not feel secure, and left to themselves, if they could manage, they would like to leave East Bengal and come over to India. But, if somehow it could be managed in a manner that the East Bengal Muslims has a voice in the administration and is the master of his province or of his country, then, perhaps, I am sure things would shape even now differently. I do not know what my hon. friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee or my other friends who come from that part of the country think about it. So far as I am concerned, it struck me that it was due perhaps to the failure of leadership in East Bengal that such things have been allowed to take place. And matters have come to such a pass, that even the strong tie which bound East and West Bengals has been broken or become feeble. It will be interesting for the House to know that even today in East Bengal the most widely circulated paper is published in Bengalee; it is the *Azad*, and all other Urdu papers which were started of late, have practically no circulation.

Then, as I have said at the very beginning, it was in a spirit of friendliness that we went there to find evidence in support of the Pact which we could place before this country, but we were disappointed. My first disappointment was that in the Indo-Pakistan Editors' Conference in Delhi, a solemn assurance was given by the

[Shri Deshbandhu Gupta]

Home Minister of Pakistan that the ban against West Bengal papers would be withdrawn. That assurance was given after consultation with the East Bengal Government. That is at least what we were given to understand. In view of this we had hoped that this assurance would be translated into action immediately and that the effect of this on West Bengal Press would be that they would support or give, at least agree to give, a fair trial to the Pact. But, it took the Pakistan Government more than six weeks, or two months to implement that assurance. In fact it was after a lot of argument that we were able to persuade the East Pakistan Government to do it. They pleaded all ignorance of the assurance and it was the greatest shock we got when the Chief Secretary of East Bengal told me and Shri Shiva Rao that it was only the day before that he had come to know that such an assurance was given by the Home Minister of Pakistan. We were simply amazed at it and did not know how to deal with such people. An assurance was given by no less a person than the Home Minister of Pakistan and it was a public assurance. After two months of the assurance when the Chief Secretary told us that he came to know of that fact only the previous day, I and my colleagues felt very much disappointed.

Then, came some of the unfortunate speeches delivered by the Prime Minister of Pakistan in the U.S.A. They created quite a problem for us. The Editors of both the countries, were in all sincerity, trying to do our little bit to contribute towards the smooth working of the Pact and any thing which created difficulties in the way of the implementation of the Pact embarrassed us. As we had no good explanation to give for these speeches, our friends of the Pakistan Press were more embarrassed than we were. They too had no explanation to offer. They were themselves at a loss to understand as to why such speeches were delivered by the Prime Minister after he had signed a solemn pact in Delhi. Our Prime Minister has emphasised that the importance of the Pact lay

in the approach behind it. I agree with him and feel that it is from that angle that we should judge things and draw conclusions. My conclusion unfortunately is that the approach which our Prime Minister recently valued was not there. I do not think there can be any two opinions about it. I am sure if *vice versa* had been the case, and our Prime Minister had made any such speeches as Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had done in the United States of America, the Pact would have been torn then and there. It is highly creditable for us that in spite of the unfortunate speeches delivered by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, we did give a patient trial to this Pact and we are still giving it.

To my mind the real value of this Pact lies in the fact that we wish to solve the indo-Pakistan problems by negotiation. War, which is the other alternative, is too serious to consider. But, it certainly requires two to play the game. My one question to the hon. Prime Minister is, that does he really believe that Pakistan has played the game with us so far. If he thinks so, then it is not for us to suggest any other solution. The Pact is there and has done some definite good; it has already brought relief to lakhs of people and there is no doubt about that. No one in India would say that this Pact which has saved so much human misery should not be given a further trial. But, the question is whether the right approach which the Prime Minister values so much, is there, looking at that from the human point of view, from the political point of view, from the communal point of view. I feel that the things which we saw there with our own eyes lead to a different conclusion I may also add that this, came as a shock to us. To quote another example, may I refer to the appointment of the minorities Minister by the Government of East Bengal. We read an announcement about the appointment of the Minorities Minister while we were in East Bengal. There was general disappointment against the choice and no less a person than Mr. Mandal who is by no means unfriendly towards

Pakistan, and who is a Cabinet Minister in Pakistan, has criticised in very strong terms this appointment. This appointment showed the real mentality of East Bengal Govt. in such matters. It is clear that it was not the spirit of the Pact that Pakistan was trying to follow; it was merely the letter of the Pact that they were adhering to. These things lead to one conclusion and one conclusion only that is that although the Pact was signed solemnly, by both Governments after the full realisation, that it was to the advantage of both countries so far as Pakistan was concerned it has not yet played the game by India. I would very much like this Pact to be given a further trial. But further trial can bear fruit only if there is a suitable atmosphere for that and the responsibility for creating that atmosphere to-day, I must say, lies more on Pakistan than on us. There have been lapses here, I admit. There have been incidents here which we must deplore, and the Prime Minister has rightly made reference to that. But it would be very wrong to infer that things are as bad here, as in Pakistan. It is common knowledge that irrespective of the Pact we have been treating Muslims here as our equals; our Constitution also provides that no one can deny that and we can raise our head before the world with pride and claim that India is a secular State not only in name; that the Fundamental Rights are the same both for the Hindus and the Muslims. We have appointed Muslims as our envoys. We have Muslims as judges of the Supreme Court, we have them as High Court Judges, as District and session judges, and we also have a large number of Muslims working in our Police. In India the highest places of trust and responsibility are open to them and no one can say that Muslims are in any way being differently treated here. But is it not disappointing to find that even after the Pact, in East Pakistan, the very first appointment which they made, and which was an obligation under the Pact, I mean of the Minority Minister, they appointed a man who does not enjoy the confidence of minorities? That being the spirit, I

must submit very humbly to the Prime Minister that he has got to take note of this fact.

There were several social functions held in our honour; and I must admit that we received lavish hospitality from our hosts but it was significant that even in receptions which were attended by as many as 200 guests we did come across more than a dozen Hindus. In a place like Dacca which had a majority of Hindus at one time we found this aspect of the situation hard to ignore. Therefore, my humble submission to the hon. Prime Minister is that it is admitted on all hands that the Pact has done some good. It would also be correct to assume that no one wants war, much less India. Indeed, I am one of those who would go even further and say that if both Dominions wish to prosper we will have to have common defence, a common foreign policy and a common system of communications. Unless we do at, I do not think there is any salvation for these two countries. But India cannot do that alone. Unless Pakistan leaders also realise that it is to their advantage we cannot achieve that object. The pact has to be implemented not merely in letter but in spirit otherwise I do not think by pursuing this Pact we can save the situation in any way. I repeat that I am for giving this pact a further trial. I attach much importance to the regard which the East Bengal Muslims still have for the Bengalee Hindus. That aspect of the question should not be dismissed lightly. I think it is a factor which must be taken note of. But things can improve only if the Prime Minister is able to convince the Prime Minister of Pakistan and make him realise that the consequences of the failure of the Pact would be very serious. He should know what has happened after the Pact, and should be told that unless there is some satisfactory assurance for the future, I do not think we can hope for anything better, howsoever much we may work for the pact.

I do not want to take more time of the House, though I can go on quoting

[Shri Deshbandhu Gupta]

instance after instance to show that the pact has not been worked satisfactorily in East Bengal. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and other friends have already cited before the House many instances which go to show that confidence or a sense security is not in any way returning to the minorities in East Bengal. That being the case, I would like to make a suggestion to the Prime Minister and that is this. Let the Prime Minister talk it out with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, let him lay all these things before him and have a full and frank discussion in the light of the facts brought to his notice. He must be told that there can be no shilly-shallying hereafter. India means business this time and if Pakistan too means business, then and then alone we are prepared to give the Pact a further trial. If that be not the case then we will have to think of something else ; what that something else can be, it is not for me to suggest. It is for the Prime Minister and the leaders of the country who are in possession of the full facts of the situation to think out and take a decision. I only want that they should not ignore these hard facts, and unless and until they are satisfied that Pakistan wants to play the game, this time it will not serve any useful purpose to persist one-sidedly in implementing the Pact.

Shri Kamath : The Prime Minister's speech of yesterday did not offer any solace to the millions who have been uprooted from East Pakistan. It did not assuage their sorrows, it brought no balm to their gapping wounds. His speech lacked the genuine ring and the determination of the Prime Minister of a State whose responsibility for the material rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons is absolute and undeniable. His speech could not wipe away the tears of the widows and orphans thousands of whom I have seen in Sealdah and other places in Bengal, shivering in the cold peace of the April Pact. The situation demanded the way of Gandhiji the touch of the Mahatma, his sympathy his understanding, his compassion, and not the

angry exhortation the pique and the petulance of Pandit Nehru.

The situation is summed up in the Prime Minister's own words which I will read out from the note circulated by the External Affairs Ministry. He has summed up the situation in one sentence and it is this:

“ I think it is true to say that there is no sense of security in the minds of the minority community in East Bengal.”

“ So far as India is concerned in rural areas lands and houses are being restored to the owners except in cases where the owners do not return by the commencement of the sowing season and the lands were therefore temporarily settled with migrants ”.

As regards East Bengal the note says :

“ No exact information is available as to what percentage of migrants, who have returned to East Bengal have got back their properties or otherwise have been rehabilitated ”.

I do not want to waste the time of the House by reading more from the note. My hon. colleagues have no doubt copies and they would have studied the note very carefully. Wherever information is required as regards property restored or other relief measures given to the returning migrants in East Bengal we find that no information is available. That is the negative aspect of Pakistan's policy in this regard. Either they have not done anything or they have not supplied any information, while we have been implementing the Pact in spirit and in letter.

Listening to the Prime Minister's speech, I for one felt that he was making a fetish of secularism,—Secularism, may I say, with a vengeance, secularism run riot. Recently one of the office-bearers of the Congress Organisation, the General Secretary himself, Mr. Shanker Rao Deo, exhibited this type of secularism in Nagpur when he refused to garland a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi. He declined to garland the Mahatma's portrait on the ground

that he was a votary of a secular State. That is the pass to which we in India are reducing ourselves. We worship an imaginary secular State and try to draw from it the conclusions that we want to be drawn, about which we have already made up our minds. The Hindus and Sikhs and other citizens of India are lumped together as non-Muslims. There are only two communities of people in India—the Muslims and non-Muslims. That is again secularism with a vengeance. That, I think is at the root of many of the troubles that face us today and many of the conclusions that are being drawn today by Government. But I find that Pakistan is not afraid of proclaiming itself an Islamic State. The other day one of their big wigs a big gun in Pakistan said that the delay in formulating or in drafting the constitution of Pakistan is because they were so careful about its being an Islamic constitution that they could not proceed hastily. They have to consult many of their religious heads before they could make up their minds about it. That is to say they are not afraid nor ashamed of proclaiming their State as an Islamic State, while we—I do not say that we must be a religious State, not for a moment—can be a democratic and thus a truly secular State but not a secular State as some of our leaders wish it to be.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in one of his speeches in America said that the only aggressor of which he was afraid or the only quarter from which he was afraid aggression might come was India. That was within a month after the pact was signed in Delhi. That was the attitude of the head of the Pakistan Government within a month of the signing of the Pact. I do not refer to the other speeches, because Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta has dealt with those speeches made by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan in Pakistan. But I would like to refer to the conclusions that we are reduced to because of our pathetic faith in secularism. May I bring to your notice, Sir, and also to the notice of the House that European States which have been secular wholly secular ; have not been averse

to the exchange of populations. Turkey which under Kemal Ataturk became a secular State, freely agreed to exchange^a her Greek population for the Turkish population inulreece. Here I have got the League of Nations publication about the exchange of population in Europe. My friend Dr. Mookerjee yesterday referred to this very exchange of population during the war years, that is from 1939 to 1945. This book which I have got in my hands deals with the same exchange of population during the inter-war years, that is, 1919 to 1939. That is to say, during the last quarter of a century in Europe this process of exchange of population has been going on and no one would say for a moment that any State in Europe is a theocratic or a religious State. The conclusions and observations made in this regard in this book are extremely interesting. These relate to the inter-war years in the various States of Europe. One of the healthy results of the exchange of population was that the relations between the States became smoother and more cordial, and the source of friction was removed to a large extent. But here we refuse even to consider this proposition of an exchange of populations. It does not mean that if we accept this proposition we cease to be a secular State. It does not mean that we ask all the Muslims or for the matter of that all non-Hindus to quit India. It only means, so as to balance or to maintain the political and economic stability of our State—not from the point of view of religion or communalism but mainly from the point of view of the political and economic stability of our State we so agree to exchange populations, so that the economy in both the States—Pakistan and India—may not be disturbed. And the same applies to the exchange of properties at governmental level, if necessary on an all-India or regional basis. This is a suggestion that must be seriously considered by both the States.

I come now to the point that the Government cannot rehabilitate the refugees that came in millions and are still coming in hundreds of thousands to India from Eastern Pakistan. Here

[Shri Kamath]

again it pains me to say that the attitude of Government, the policy of Government in this regard has been lacking in genuine sympathy towards the displaced persons. To take only one instance, when the refugee problem was pressing hard, pressing very heavily on our economy, when we had the resources to help them we did not approach the problem in the proper manner. I will quote only one instance and that is, we had in Disposals textile goods worth about Rs. five crores and coats were disposed of for Rs. three and Rs. 7/8/- each to non-refugees. The refugees were left to find whatever they could buy in the open or black market. I am sure they could not buy such coats for less than Rs. 25, 50 or 100.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Are they woollen or cotton clothing ?

Shri Kamath : They are woollen.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava : New clothes or worn out clothes ?

Shri Kamath : New clothes. Out of Rupees five crores textile disposals I believe the refugees were not given even half a crore of the property.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava : Where are they lying ?

✓ **Shri Syamnandan Sahaya :** How many more things have you got in the basket ?

Shri Kamath : I have not got any in my basket but the disposals basket will show you many more things.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Is the short coat three rupees, or the long one ?

Shri Kamath : The short coat is Rupees three and the long coat is Rs. 7/8/-. I am sure this long coat cannot be had for less than Rs. 70 or Rs. 80.

Shri J. R. Kapoor (Uttar Pradesh) : Will the hon. Member put on the long coat ?

Shri Kamath : Then, there are instances of refugees coming over from Eastern Pakistan and finding no accommodation. The Prime Minister's

note referred to requisitioning of houses in East Bengal even after the pact and even after the migrants have returned to East Bengal. But, in our case, on India's side, we have turned out the refugees who occupied Muslim evacuee houses, while on the other side they are requisitioning houses in spite of the fact that the migrants have returned. In Agra, the other day it was reported in the papers, it happened that in one of the *mohallas* the Hindu refugees asked for the lease of some of the Muslim shops which had fallen vacant, but the other Muslim shopkeepers in that *mohalla* protested against the lease of such shops to Hindu refugees and went to the length of saying that if Government leased these shops to the Hindu refugees they would be creating conditions when they would be compelled to leave India for Pakistan. The lease of these shops to Hindu refugees was thus prevented, and the shops were allowed to remain vacant rather than be given to these refugees.

Shri J. R. Kapoor : That has been a very unhappy story there. I would request my hon. friend not to mention it.

Shri Kamath : That is the attitude of Government towards solving the problem of the refugees and their rehabilitation.

Now, various remedies have been suggested for dealing with the problem. There is the proposition of capital levy and the proposition of liberty tax. I think all these suggestions must be seriously considered by Government to see how far they can raise money for financing rehabilitation of refugees. I would even go so far as to say that as an emergency measure we might even put an end to or do away with prohibition at this moment and finance the rehabilitation measures through the income that will accrue to us by the step taken. I would not shirk even that.

In conclusion, I will only say this thing, that this problem is assuming tremendous proportions, terrible proportions, and if Government does

not proceeo to deal with it in a planned manner, there is before us either revolution or worse than revolution. that is chaos. None of us in this House, and I am sure none outside, will for a moment be happy at chaos or bloody revolution supervening in this country. It is no good for Government to lathi-charge or tear-gas the refugees who rise in protest againt their sufferings. Government should deal with this problem in a more humane manner. If Government does not act wisely and act before it is too late, I am afraid that our Government also, our rulers also, God forbid it—will go the way of Burbons of France and the Romanovs of Russia. I for one am not happy over the happenings today in the country, but if the Government does not act betimes, that is the only prospect that faces our country. Therefore I would earnestly implore Government to give top priority to this problem. The conditions today in the country—the refugee problem, the food problem—are reminiscent of the conditions that prevailed in France on the eve of the French Revolution, the picture of which was drawn, I believe by Lord Chesterfield in a letter to his son. That is a thing, a prospect at which none of us will be happy. That is a condition a state of affairs which all of us would like to avert. And therefore, I plead again with this House and the Government that it is impossible for us, for the Government, to rehabilitate the millions who have come from Pakistan, let us at least say that the pact and other measures have failed, are going to fail. Then

Government will have to set aside this fetish of secularism and will have to tackle this problem in another manner, and we will have to seriously consider the proposal of exchange of population on a planned basis, either on an all-India scale or on a regional scale. Mr. Shankarrao Deo said that some Members had referred to the failure or success of the pact, and that that is not the proposition before us. But the proposition is that the Bengal situation be taken into consideration, and if the Bengal situation be taken into consideration we cannot but consider the success or the failure of the pact in this regard. Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar in his speech referred to certain settlements, certain agreements certain documents, but as Sardar Patel has often been saying in this House, nothing is permanent in this transitory world. Nothing even the Bengal partition of 1905, a settled fact, was unsettled later on by other way. But here, as Dr. Mookerjee suggested, if by agreement, common consent, the settlement of partition of Bengal could be unsettled even today, and if the two Bengals could unite, or at least if they can agree upon this exchange of populations why should Government not consider the problem in this light? I therefore, in conclusion, would request the Government to wake up betimes and take early action. Otherwise, if chaos and revolution supervene, God save India!

The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 9th August, 1950.