

INFLUX FROM PAKISTAN (CONTROL) REPEALING BILL—Contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, further consideration of the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Repealing Bill, will be resumed.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): Sir, this piece of legislation will be a melancholy epitaph on the ignoble Delhi pact concluded between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan. Though Pakistan had been systematically flouting that pact and making its principles nugatory, our Government has been labouring under the delusion that that is a wonderful pact and trying to implement it. Really there has been one-sided implementation of the Delhi Pact and that has resulted in considerable misery and hardship to the poor refugees who came from East Bengal, whether to West Bengal or to India. Today Pakistan has the audacity to promulgate the passport system simply because our Government has pursued its weak policy of appeasement of Pakistan. What better can we expect of this Government which has the hardihood of vilifying and slandering the Hindu Mahasabha day in and day out but at the same time, cowers to the Muslim League and Pakistan although they embody the most ferocious anti-Hindu and anti-Indian communalism. It is nothing but self-deception or self-delusion to think that in spite of the introduction of passport and visa system there will really be no hardship to the Hindus of East Bengal who want to come out. In fact, Sir, there has been considerable hardship. I do not know how far the hon. Ministers are aware of it. The latest report is that in Kaimganj which is the Indian part of Sylhet, a part of Assam which is in India, 534 passports have been issued but the Pakistan Government has not allowed any visa. The result has been.....

The Minister of Law and Minority Affairs (Shri Biswas): On a point of order, Sir. This Bill has nothing to do with East Bengal. This Bill is being presented here only for the purpose of repealing the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act, 1949. Movements between West Pakistan and India were so long being controlled by a permit system. With the introduction of the passport system, the permit system has ceased to be in force. It is only for that purpose that this Bill is being enacted. It is in order to repeal the law under which the permit system was operating. It has nothing to do with the eastern zone at all.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Sir, the hon. Law Minister will appreciate this much that this will be a parliamentary ratification of the position that the passport system has come and is going to stay. We are strongly opposed to it. We are saying that the passport system ought to be repealed. Another Minister of the Cabinet, who knows something about this, hon. Dr. Katju has gone to Calcutta and has been to Agartala and he has delivered a speech appealing to the common man in both India and Pakistan, both East Bengal and West Bengal and Tripura to do their best to have this passport system nullified. I am pressing upon the Ministers that they should also do their best to see that this passport system is nullified and abrogated in the interests of the common man, and in the interests of the.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is the passport system prevalent only in East Pakistan, between East Pakistan and India or between West Pakistan and India also?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Sir, this problem becomes.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: A point of order was raised. I want, as a matter of fact, to know whether this passport system is prevalent in the eastern side or on the western side also.

Shri Biswas: On both sides.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it a fact that the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act, 1949, affects only Western Pakistan?

Shri Biswas: It affects only West Pakistan.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is a reference to the permit system here in clause 3. The passport system is both for Western and Eastern Pakistan superseding the present system?

Shri Biswas: The passport system supersedes the permit system so far as Western Pakistan is concerned but it will apply to both Pakistans.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): The freedom of movement envisaged in the Nehru-Liaquat Pact has been nullified by this passport system, which supersedes it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I cannot say that this kind of reference by the hon. Member to suppression by the passport system and this ratification is not relevant, but that is not the main purpose of the Bill. So far as East

Pakistan is concerned, it does not affect and therefore, in so far as it is relevant to East Pakistan the observations may be confined to them.

Sardar Hukam Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): Sir, when it is a question of India and Pakistan we cannot separate one part from the other part.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is why I am allowing it.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I may say, that in spite of the Ministerial declarations on the floor of this House, the introduction of the passport system, has, in fact, resulted in great hardship to the Hindus who want to go to East Bengal and also to the common man in both countries and, therefore it is desirable that this Government should do their best to have this passport system nullified and abrogated at the earliest possible moment. This Bill seems to accept the position that the passport system has come into force and the permit system of the old days has gone, and therefore the position should be regularised on the basis of recognition of the passport system. What I want to mention is that although people have been getting passports from our Government they cannot enter East Bengal, because they cannot get visas. There is a report in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* that 435 men have got passports from India, but they cannot enter East Bengal because visas are not being granted to them. Now, a responsible Minister of this Government has gone to Agartala and he has heard the people there. He has recognised the disabilities which have been imposed on them. He has told the people that they should agitate, so as to put pressure upon the two Governments for the purpose of seeing that this passport system is immediately nullified or radically revised. I do not know why the common man should put pressure upon our Government. We are here as representatives of the people and irrespective of party affiliations, we are pressing our Government to take steps. Why should the common man exert himself? We are the representatives of the people duly elected to this House. The House of the People demands that our Government should not acquiesce in or accept whatever Pakistan says. Pakistan should be told that she has deliberately violated the fundamental principle of the Delhi Pact and that she is doing something which is most improper. She is really introducing some kind

of economic sanction against us. Her attitude makes impossible all commercial intercourse between the two countries, and the people on both sides of the frontier are suffering. Is that right and proper? Is it in the interests of the refugees who want to go to the other side or want to come out and migrate to India?

The other day a man was bounded out of the office of the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan in Calcutta. He has not yet got a visa, although he has been trying his best to obtain one. He was told that they were seeing that 'undesirables' did not get into East Bengal. Now, who are undesirables? They are the poor Hindus who have still got property in East Bengal. Yet it is they who are treated as undesirables and they are being kept out. Their family members are still there in East Bengal. I want to say that God had made Bengal one and through the wisdom of no one can the two artificial Bengals be permanently severed from each other. They are integrally connected and are inter-related. It is therefore necessary that something should be done to have this passport system nullified. If our Government is strong, it should say that it is not going to tolerate this kind of violation or repudiation of the Delhi Pact. It should tell the Pakistan Government that it must implement that Pact; otherwise, we will not continue our one-sided implementation of the Pact. If that is done, Pakistan can be brought to her senses. It is no good witness for the Prime Minister or any other Minister standing up here and trying to appease Pakistan. In order to pacify Pakistan, the Prime Minister said the other day that "the condition of minorities in India is not wholly satisfactory". This is how our Government still tries to appease Pakistan. This hopeless and senseless policy of appeasement will not work. I have got in front of me the paper *Dawn*. Editorially it has complimented the Prime Minister of India on his confession that "the condition of minorities in India is not wholly satisfactory." And yet it adds: "Though this admission shows a greater sense of realism in the Indian Prime Minister, his observations still remain an under-estimate of a situation which is very grave." You cannot appease these people by making these statements. They do not observe the Pact but their actions are a distortion of the Pact. The great Muslim League paper, the Pakistani paper, the organ of Pakistan which Pandit Nehru is anxious to appease and is so proud of appeasing, has added that Pandit

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Nehru's admissions are nevertheless significant in that "they overthrow his pet thesis—advanced year in and year out—that the Muslim minority is a happy and contented basket in the sunshine of Bharati democracy and secularism." No good will be done to this country by appeasing these people. The people who are still in East Bengal are very unhappy. While trotting out these things which are not true and which have been repudiated so far as West Bengal is concerned, our Government still says that the condition of the minorities here is unsatisfactory. I say that our Government has done its best to implement the Delhi Pact even at the cost of throwing out the refugees who have come from East Bengal and who had been actually settled on land which had been left vacant by people who had gone over to Pakistan. In spite of this, our Government spokesmen are pampering and pandering to Pakistan by saying that the condition of minorities in India is not satisfactory and that our hands are not clean. This kind of statement should be repudiated. It degrades India in the estimation of the world. I am very sorry that the Prime Minister has made this statement. He did it possibly with a view to placate Pakistan, but you cannot placate Pakistan by this kind of pernicious attitude. This is a very deplorable attitude and it should be given up. That is all I have to say.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani (New Delhi): I do not want to take much time of the House over this small Bill. As you have pointed out, this Bill has a limited scope. It is really a consequential measure. Our Government have acceded to Pakistan's demand for the introduction of the Passport System and we have by an Ordinance already introduced this system. This Bill merely seeks to regularise the step taken by Government. Therefore, we have not much to say on the Bill itself. But we want to criticise the policy underlying this Bill.

As my hon. friend Mr. N. C. Chatterjee pointed out just now, the introduction of this passport system is injuring the interests of people both in Pakistan and India. What has been the result of the introduction of this system? In this country we were told that two and a half lakhs of people have come from East Bengal. A few days ago, another statement appeared in the *Statesman* and if I may speak on the basis of the figures that were published therein—of course, if they are incorrect, I may be corrected—the position is

that after the introduction of this passport system one and a quarter lakhs of refugees have come into Assam; Seventy five thousand have come into Tripura and two and a half lakhs have come into West Bengal. This means that nearly five lakhs of people have come into India due to the introduction of the passport system.

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): Two lakhs and eighty thousand have come and your figure about Assam is incorrect.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: I am only referring to the report that appeared in the *Statesman* and if those figures are incorrect, then the Rehabilitation Minister may correct them. Anyway, even if the number is round about three lakhs, it is not a small number. It is a huge number. We oppose this Bill because we consider this to be a flagrant violation of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. In that Pact, it was specifically laid down that there should be freedom of travel between East and West Bengal. Why was that done? Because, at that time the Government took a realistic view. Government realised that by introducing a rigid barrier between East and West Bengal they would be harming the interests of the common people in both East and West Bengal. This partition is artificial. Calcutta was the capital of Bengal. People from all over Bengal used to come there and work there and earn their living. People from both sides of Bengal, irrespective of the zones, came there and worked there. Therefore, Bengalees had work and interests spread out both in East and West Bengal. By introducing all on a sudden a rigid barrier between the two sides of Bengal, a great hardship would have been caused to the people. Therefore, realising the difficulties of the situation, the eastern zone of Pakistan, namely, East Bengal, was placed on a different footing from the western zone. We ourselves did not introduce the Evacuee Property Act in respect of the eastern zone, as we did in respect of the western zone. We did so, because of the peculiar situation obtaining in the eastern zone. I may illustrate the point by giving an example, although I am sure it is well known. When I went to Tripura, I learnt that there were certain parts in Tripura where the communication was so difficult that people belonging to these parts, if they wanted to go to another part of Tripura, had to go there via Pakistan. In such a situation, it is necessary that there should

be freedom of movement. Therefore, this was laid down clearly in the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. Now when this passport system has come into force people who were living on the other side have had to come over—poor peasants and ordinary people—it has created tremendous difficulties for them. In case the representatives of our Government think that I am speaking only for the Hindus, I would like to point out that this great difficulty is being experienced by Muslims also. In Calcutta it is well known that a large bulk of such people live who have constantly to cross the border. They have got their homes in East Bengal. They work here, and their families are there. They want to go from one side to another every now and then. In the same manner, there are small traders and businessmen who have dealings on both sides of the border. Considering all these difficulties, at the time of the Pact we did not want any rigid barrier to be introduced. The agitation against the passport system is not confined in India alone. That people in Pakistan also are against it has been well demonstrated. If I am to depend upon newspaper reports, demonstrations were held in Sylhet by Muslim women and demonstrations have been held by Muslims in other parts of Pakistan. In India too Muslims have protested against the introduction of the passport system. Therefore, I do not understand how we agreed to the insistence—the unreasonable insistence—of the Pakistan Government. Our Government thought it to be an unwise decision. So, first of all, they pleaded against it, and then they tried to persuade Pakistan. But when they did not succeed, as usual, they again conceded Pakistan's unreasonable demand and agreed to accept the passport system. The result is that untold hardship has been inflicted on the common people. A few days ago when I had an opportunity to talk with our hon. Prime Minister he told me that he appreciated the difficulty. In order to mitigate the hardship of East Bengal Hindus, he said our Government was going to be rather liberal regarding giving migration facilities to people coming from East Bengal to West Bengal. They could come he said with migration certificates. I would like to ask you what is the great difference between a migration certificate and a passport. Even to obtain a migration certificate people from the villages in East Bengal have to go to Dacca. For that also there is an elaborate procedure like supplying three copies of passport size photograph, etc. Only yes-

terday Dr. Mookerjee was showing me a number of wires that he has received from people in East Bengal. One man has wired that he had gone to the High Commissioner's office for the thirty-ninth time and yet did not succeed in obtaining the necessary papers allowing him to migrate. Crowds have gathered in front of the High Commissioner's office in Dacca. Days and days they spend there without getting the necessary facilities to come over to India.

The same difficulties are being faced by the Muslims here, which is very obvious from a letter that has been published in the *Hindustan Standard* of yesterday by one Abdul Majid. It is somewhat long. So I do not wish to read the whole of it. But I would like to read a few lines just to give the House an idea of how this passport system is creating harassment to our people. This is what he says:

"Pakistanis who are living in West Bengal carrying on various vocations are estimated to be several lakhs. The arrangement that has been made for the issue of passport from the Office of the Deputy High Commissioner, Pakistan, Calcutta, is absolutely inadequate. The Pakistan Government introduced the passport system on the 17th October last, but till now only a few thousand passports have been issued against lakhs to be issued. Hundreds of people go every day to present applications for passports, but the office accepts only 50 applications daily. People are suffering untold hardships. Fourteenth of January, 1953, the dead line after which no Pakistani will be allowed to live in India is fast approaching. If matters go on in this way we think only ten per cent. of the Pakistanis living in West Bengal will get their passport. We cannot imagine what will be the fate of those huge numbers of Pakistanis who will not get their passports in time. * * * * *

I would just like to read the last few lines to show what Muslims in India feel about the introduction of the passport system. Here he says:

"We must remember that it is the Pakistan Government who are the sponsors of this system. The India Government again and again argued for the non-introduction of the passport system, but the Pakistan Government insisted and then India agreed. In short, Pakistan Government must

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make immediate arrangements, so that Pakistanis living in India can get their passports within a short time."

So the passport system has created untold hardships to the Hindus in Pakistan and Muslims in India. Therefore, for whose benefit have we done this?—I would like to know. Our Prime Minister always reminds us that we should always think of the human aspect—we must use the healing touch. I want to know what human aspect is there in this move? This is absolutely contrary to all healing touch, to all human considerations. We have put untold hardships on the poor suffering people who have no facilities. And what will be the result as far as East Bengal is concerned? The result will be that in the face of all these difficulties, only the richer people will be able, after some time to come to India. The poor people will remain there. We do want that Hindus should remain there. Now they will remain there, but without any leadership. The leadership will gradually come away, with the result that they will be in a worse plight. Our object, no doubt, is to try to keep them there, therefore we should do everything that we can to induce the Pakistan Government to protect them and keep them there. By introducing the passport system we have merely created a situation by which after much difficulty the rich will come away and the poor will remain there without leadership to be harassed more and more by the Pakistan Government. Therefore, I would appeal to the Government to reconsider their decision regarding the introduction of the passport system: I would appeal to the House not to support this Bill, but to press their demand for the withdrawal of the passport system. It has been amply proved by demonstrations held all over India that the people of the country are not behind the Government in the policy that Government is following in this matter.

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Pratapgarh Distt.—West cum Rae Bareilly Distt.—East): On a point of information, I would like the hon. Minister to clarify a point which Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani has raised. As far as I know if Pakistani citizens who are residing in this country—whether in service or doing business—want to go back to Pakistan, no passport is necessary. They are subjects of Pakistan and can return to Pakistan.

Shri Biswas: They are required to take out repatriation certificates or migration certificates.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: There is a lot of confusion in the public mind about this matter. As far as I know, in the case of citizens of Pakistan who want to return to their country, no passport is necessary, just as in the case of any Indian, who may be anywhere, can enter India without an Indian passport.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister.

श्री श्री० एन० राजभोज (शोलापुर—
रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियाँ) : मुझे कृपा
करके कुछ बोलने के लिये पांच मिनट
का टाइम दीजिये ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : जी , हाँ दूंगा,
लेकिन अभी नहीं ।

Shri A. P. Jain: As the hon. Member who just preceded me said, the scope of this Bill is a limited one. Throughout the debate that has been going on in this House more emphasis has been laid on the incidental things and very little has been said about the Bill itself. In fact, there has been a lot of confusion and quite a bit of misrepresentation about the provisions of this small Bill.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Others have not been allowed an opportunity to speak so far. There is no confusion. One or two Members have spoken and they have expressed their views.

Shri A. P. Jain: If the Members who have spoken have gone off the mark, I can certainly say that there has been confusion. I do not say that the hon. Member who bratted in shares that confusion. It will be seen when he speaks whether he shares that confusion or not.

Sardar Hukam Singh: I will not be tempted by it.

Shri A. P. Jain: So far as this Bill is concerned, its object is to repeal the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act. Now that Act was applicable only to travel between West Pakistan and India. That Act was not applicable to travels between East Bengal and West Bengal. People could come and go from East Bengal to West Bengal freely. Therefore, all the arguments that have been advanced by my friends with regard to what is happening in East Bengal are totally irrelevant to the purpose of this Bill.

So far as the West is concerned, it is true that the traffic in the West has been so far controlled by the permit system. This House has already debated for one whole day the East Bengal situation. This House is fully aware that the passport system has been adopted. It is also aware that we on this side, that is, the Government of India, did not want to impose the passport system. We were strongly of the opinion that the traffic between East Bengal and West Bengal should remain free as before.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: Why did you give in then?

Shri A. P. Jain: Every country is at liberty to make its own laws and to take the consequent administrative action to implement it. Pakistan without any reference to us decided to impose a passport system not only for the West Pakistan, but also for East Pakistan. What were the alternatives before us? We told Pakistan that we did not like it; we tried to persuade them not to impose the passport system. But they would not agree. The only alternative left to us was that while Pakistan imposed the passport system we may not do it. Is there a Member in the House who would say 'let Pakistan have passport, we shall not have it'? Again, Pakistan was imposing both passport and visa, and whatever steps we may have taken would have been totally ineffective. Therefore, the next best course left to us was to persuade Pakistan to liberalise the passport system as much as possible. As a result of negotiations we succeeded to a very large extent, because we could persuade them to have three types of passports: a passport available for the whole of India; a passport available for the Eastern Region; and a border passport.

3 P.M.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani has referred to the inconvenience which is being caused to certain type of persons who carry on trade in fish, vegetables etc. on the border. As far as that class is concerned the passports are issued by the district magistrates and the movement there, at least in theory, has been agreed to be a rather free movement. If there have been any difficulties, at least we, on our side, have not created them.

Several questions have been raised and it was said that such and such person has been twice, thrice, four times or thirty times (Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: Thirtynine times.) or thirtynine times or even ninety-nine times (Dr. N. B. Khare: 99.9 recurring.) to the Pakistan Commissioner and he has not been able to get a pass-

port. We regret it. But nonetheless we cannot control it, because all entry into Pakistan is controlled by Pakistan and not by us. Therefore, while a certain amount of reference to the passport system may be relevant to the discussion here, yet to base the whole argument on what is happening with regard to the passport system is, I submit with all respect, not relevant to the discussion of this Bill. This Bill has resulted from the imposition of the passport system; it has not caused the imposition of the passport system.

Assuming that we do not repeal this Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act, what will be the position? In fact my friend Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani went to the length of saying that we must drop this Bill. Now, the result would be that anybody coming to India will have to obtain not only a passport but he will have to obtain a permit also.....

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: If I may interrupt the hon. Minister, I did not say 'Drop this Bill'. I said this is a consequential Bill as a result of our agreeing to the passport system, and we are opposed to the basic policy which has led to the introduction of the passport system, and we stand here to criticise the basic policy which has given rise to this Bill.

Shri A. P. Jain: She will do well to read her speech because she definitely said that we should drop this Bill. By dropping this Bill are we providing any greater convenience to persons who go from one country to the other, from here to Pakistan or from Pakistan to India? In fact we will be adding one more hurdle. Therefore, whatever may be one's own views about the passport system, this Bill for the repeal of the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act has become a necessity, even with a view to facilitate the travel between the two countries. I have said that the Government of India did not like the passport system. We resisted it. But it was beyond our control, because it was for Pakistan to make any laws or to take any administrative or executive action with regard to Pakistan. And we were left with no alternative except to impose the passport system when they would not agree to giving up their determination to introduce the passport system in Pakistan.

In fact, it has become a fashion in this House that whenever anything connected with Pakistan comes in, the whole history is repeated from the time of partition up to this day. Things relevant and irrelevant are said by persons from whom one expects

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much better. The whole of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact is discussed, although so far as this Bill is concerned it has nothing to do with it. (Dr. N. B. Khare: Sins committed cannot be forgotten). So I submit that the scope of the Bill is very limited. It is a Bill which has become inevitable on account of certain actions that have already been taken, and unless we repeal the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act we will be adding to the difficulties in the travel between the two countries rather than helping free travel.

Sardar Hukam Singh: I had no mind to participate in the debate in the first instance, but I found that I had some urge to intervene and place my submissions also.

It has been just now said that whenever anything between Pakistan and India comes up Members stand up and begin to mention things that are relevant or irrelevant. We are sorry that this subject is really such a serious one, and we regret also the attitude of the Ministers who are so sensitive. Whenever this discussion is taken up they feel somewhat restless. (Dr. N. B. Khare: Guilty conscience). It is not our fault. It is very unfortunate. I can say that because it is only persons who have been displaced that can appreciate what sufferings they have undergone and what are being experienced by those that are coming just now from East Bengal. It is very difficult for others to know the depth of their feelings. I do not say they have no sympathy with us, but if on some occasions we refer to this subject again and again they should not feel so sensitive as they have done so far.

It has been admitted that the introduction of this passport system was beyond their control. We do not doubt the intentions of the Government. Always they come up and say that it was not their intention. They say: we did not want it, Pakistan forced it upon us, and we had no other option. Quite so. We have not complained about their intentions. They are very good-intentioned people, so far as the Ministers are concerned. But what we bewail of is their helplessness, their impotence. We do not say that they do not have good intentions. Certainly, we praise them for that. But ultimately we hear: we are helpless, what can we do, that is a sovereign power, we cannot take up any fight with them. That is the attitude that is being complained of.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: What is your suggestion for that?

Sardar Hukam Singh: If you come up to me I will give you. Then it has been said that this only relates to West Pakistan. It has been admitted that this is the direct result of the introduction of the passport system. When this Bill is the direct result of the introduction of the passport system, how are we irrelevant when we discuss the passport system? A perfectly legitimate question arises, namely, why this passport system was introduced, what effect it has got.

I admit that both these questions are separate so far as the East and the West are concerned. I am reminded of what happened when our people were driven out from Western Pakistan and certain legislative measures and regulations were being discussed here. Our Bengal friends certainly had very great sympathy with us. We were warning them that the same fate was coming for them but they did not care then. They sympathised with us but asked us to leave them alone. I should not say I am glad. I pity their conditions. I think that the time has come for them to stand up and take up our cause as well.

So far as this Bill is concerned and so far as West Pakistan is concerned, I think it is a necessity. I have no objection to the Bill but all these things—when it is going to replace the permit system by the passport system, the way in which that passport system is being worked, the hardship it causes to our citizens, should be discussed in this House. One example I might cite. The immediate effect of this passport system was that 100 Sikhs applied to visit Nankana Sahib, the birth place of their founder, and at the eleventh hour they were refused permission. They could not go. I do not know whether the Members of the Government sitting on that side can gauge the resentment of the Sikhs at that time. Even now we find that Pakistanis have been given every facility to visit all their religious places. We welcome them. We support that. We do not say it should be refused. Is the Government so helpless? Is their helplessness expressed here in this House sufficient to soothe us that they cannot do anything and we should continue to suffer? Is it only the placating of Pakistan that would satisfy us? Is it only the Mahatma spirit—I do not mean Mahatma Gandhi's—only the sanctuary spirit? That might be very good so far as these expressions are concerned. But when a Government has to deal with a Government.

it should have certain principles on which they should act and so far, our Government has failed to achieve anything in this respect. The passport system we did not want it. They introduced it. We were helpless. We had to take it. In every case it was like this. Whenever an opportunity arose, this has been our attitude and we fear that if we go on like this, I should say we are doomed.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat): We have heard the hon. Minister for Rehabilitation's legalistic arguments but we feel that although he says that this is only referring to West Pakistan, actually the entire question of passports has to be covered because without that this Bill would not have been necessary. It seeks a formal sanction for the introduction of the passport system. It is true that many people feel that this is a *fait accompli* which we have got to accept and we cannot do anything more about it. But during the East Bengal debate which took place on the 15th November, 1952, Mr. Nehru said that he was quite prepared to reopen the whole question and we were heartened by it for the very simple reason that the ordinary people are undergoing tremendous sufferings which you have heard repeated over and over again. Coming from East Bengal, naturally we feel that this passport system cannot regulate and stop traffic between the two countries especially since there is no border region and there is no natural boundary. You have a house on this side of the border and probably the outer house on the other side of the border. You have your relations on the other side of the border. They have to cross a field and then you come across to Hindustan. You have the natural economic ties which have been repeated over and over again. We have heard how mills and industries are closing down in Pakistan because the labourers cannot go from India. We have heard how our growers of oranges are facing a crisis because oranges cannot go over to Pakistan. So, we are bound by a thousand links and it is necessary to re-open the question again and therefore, I think it is quite right that we again voice our feelings about passport and demand that the question must be reopened and that no such measure as the one that has been brought forward here is necessary.

It is also necessary to reiterate again the volume of opinion which is growing not only on our side of the border but also in Pakistan. We have heard that already in the Pakistan Parliament the question has been raised not

only by the Hindu minority representatives but also by people like Mian Iftikaruddin. On the 25th November, during a debate on the passport system, he made a protest against the introduction of the passport system. Not only he was loud in his denunciation of the Pakistan Government's inability to protect the minorities but also he showed how they had been treated and how the Pakistan had not lived up to its responsibilities and it was only right not only that they should protect the minorities but also that this pernicious system of passport should be withdrawn.

We know Mr. Suhrawaddy's arch-communalism in the past days. But whatever he was above all he was a realist. On the 21st of November at Dacca he openly and strongly criticised the Kashmir issue and the passport policy of his Government. He said:

"I request the Pakistan Government to examine this serious situation that has arisen as a result of the passport and if they find that it is not in the interests of Pakistan they must abjure it".

Besides, we find the movement among individuals is growing. The Pakistan Youth League had declared 21st November as "Pakistan-Hindustan Friendship Day" and we find also that the Pakistan Peace Congress has declared that the rising tide of the democratic movement should take upon itself the task of ensuring the security of the minorities. I will quote another newspaper from Pakistan "Nao-Belal": It writes under the headline "Defeat Imperialist Conspiracy" and says:

"Let us stand by squarely against any communal instigations. Let us build up a huge movement behind the demand of Pakistan-Hindustan friendship so that the diabolical conspiracy being hatched by the imperialist agents in both the countries may be defeated, so that the reactionaries of both countries may not use the religious sentiments of the minorities of the two countries to advance their own ends and bring further deterioration in the relations between Pakistan and India."

On the same day at Karachi 10,000 men and women gathered to demand that Pakistan should come out of Commonwealth and for the revocation of all repressive laws. At Dacca, on the Pakistan day—21st November—under the auspices of the East Bengal Students' Union a big meeting was held and they demanded withdrawal of the passport system. There are some people in Pakistan who like some other people here, do not like this friendship between Pakistan and India. They

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laugh at it. On 26th of November, Janab Mahmud Ali, the convener of the Democratic League reported how the people of Pakistan sincerely hoped for the withdrawal of the passport system. In their opinion it has created more harm than good. Therefore since the volume of opinion both there and here is growing against the passport system, since the economies of the two countries are being shattered by this passport system, since we see that people stand in interminable queues, and are subjected to such harassment and hardship, since the people who are already poverty-stricken are again asked to pay money and hope to face a thousand difficulties, we should remove these difficulties, and we should do away with the passport system. Let us try again so that we can put an end to the unbearable sufferings of the people. Therefore, I would say, let us try again so that we do not need to bring in this Bill so that we would be able to help our people.

Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior): I had not the slightest intention to open my lips on this Bill. But, the speech of the hon. Rehabilitation Minister.....

Some Hon. Members: Rashtrabhasha, please.

Dr. N. B. Khare: It is my sweet will. (Interruptions.)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order order.

Dr. N. B. Khare:.....the speech of the hon. Rehabilitation Minister has provoked me to make a short speech.

He was in great pains to show to us step by step how the Pakistan Government compelled the Government of India to agree to the passport system in spite of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. He gave us every single detail of how the Government approached the Government of Pakistan, how they refused and so on and so forth. Every little detail he gave us. At that time he looked pathetic.

But, I must say that this measure, as the one passed previously about evacuee property, and even the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, shows the utmost solicitude for the welfare of Pakistan, and in fact, they are against the interests of India. I am constrained to say that the Treasury Benches are occupied by the enemies of India and lovers of Pakistan. I cannot refrain from passing that remark. It may be rather exaggerated or somebody may not like that.

But, that is my innermost feeling and I cannot help expressing it. Every time the Ministers become very sensitive over this matter, because as I said in an interruption it is only a guilty conscience and nothing else. They complain that every time this matter was discussed, they referred to past history. How can the sins of history be forgotten? Sins pursue people from generation to generation. It is impossible to forget them. I know the reasons for their solicitude for the welfare of Pakistan. Because, fortunately or unfortunately, I was in a position from where I could observe very minutely the political activities of the Congress, the Muslim League and the British Government. From there, I know as a matter of personal knowledge,—nobody can separate it from me—what manoeuvres were made, and what games were played. From that it appears to me that this Congress had developed clandestine relations with British imperialism and the offspring is Pakistan. It is natural, therefore, that the Congress Government should show enormous love for its offspring, Pakistan. I do not blame them, because it is the right of every mother, every woman. I am not surprised.

But, to me, it is just a tragedy of history that such measures are brought before this House by a person who bears the honoured name of our hallowed hero, the great Shivaji Bhonsle. For this I am very sorry and I feel mortified that a person of such a name should bring this Bill. After all, we cannot help it. It is going to be passed. But, I may tell you, Sir, and tell everybody that in politics and history, nothing is final; there are no settled facts. There was the great Bengal partition which was regarded as a settled fact by the British. It was annulled. There is another partition also, unwanted by anybody. I may tell you, Sir, that history will repeat itself. In spite of all these wretched measures of influx and deflux, I may tell you that history will repeat itself and I am sure, ultimately, these two Bengals, which are divided, are bound to come together and there will be a united Bengal, in spite of all that my friends opposite may do with their great love towards Pakistan. I have nothing more to say.

Shri Barman (North Bengal—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I have nothing to say about the merits of the passport system.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Why do hon. Members start by saying that they have nothing to say and then go on

*Arranged as ordered by the Chair.

speaking? If they have anything to say, they may contribute; otherwise they need not.

Shri Barman: I said, Sir, that I had nothing to say on the merits or demerits of the passport system, which has been sufficiently discussed several times on the floor of this House. Of course, I also join with the previous speakers in their wish that the sooner this passport system goes—it could only go with the consent of both the parties—the better it is for both Bengalis, both for Hindus and Muslims.

I stand here to encroach upon the time of the House to ask the hon. Minister, specially the hon. Minister for Minority affairs whether he has forgotten in the hurry, in the turmoil of the introduction of this passport system, the fate of the few thousands of Indian nationals who are entrapped today in Pakistan. I am just mentioning the circumstances. In the former State of Cooch-Bihar, there were *chitmahal* lands which were entirely in the district of Rangpur which is now in Eastern Pakistan. Similarly, Rangpur district had some *chitmahals* which were within the former Cooch-Bihar State. After the introduction of the passport system, both the Indian nationals in Rangpur that is Eastern Pakistan and Pakistan nationals inside India in the district of Cooch-Bihar are now suffering miserably. They cannot get out because it is a small piece of land and all round there is foreign territory. Without passport they cannot get out. It is not possible for them to apply for passport because there is no photographer there. Nor can they come to the main district and apply to the district magistrate. Before the introduction of the passport system, I was approached by those people and here I tabled a question. I think it will come towards the end of December. In the meantime, I had written a letter to the district magistrate of Cooch-Bihar whether he knew anything about the condition of these people. They cannot go out for marketing; they cannot sell their agricultural produce. They are surrounded by Pakistan. If any kind of offence is committed there, there is no police help. Consider the fate of these people. The reply of the district magistrate is:

“The difficulties of the people residing in *chitmahals* have already been brought to the notice of the State Government and Government orders are being awaited.”

I understand from the newspaper of my district—I am reading from *Uttara Banga*:

“Nothing has been done as yet and the people there are suffering to the extreme.”

Similar must be the case of Pakistanis who are entrapped in the district of Cooch-Bihar. I do not know whether by this time the Government of India have sent any instructions to the State Government. I have tabled a question. And I would like to know on behalf of the unfortunate people as to what is their position, and whether Government is going to do anything to relieve their conditions. That is all.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): The previous speakers have already spoken about the difficulties which have been created out of the introduction of the passport system. My hon. friend Mrs. Chakravartty urged upon the Government of India to take all possible steps to have the passport system abandoned. But it is well known that our Government did not want the introduction of the passport system, and if there is any possibility of the Government of Pakistan reconsidering the matter, I am sure, there will be no hesitation on the part of the Government of India.....

Shri A. P. Jain: That is correct.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:.....to respond to such a decision and have the passport system completely withdrawn.

But here, the matter goes a little deeper than that. My complaint against the Government is that in all these important matters, somehow we have allowed the initiative to pass from out of our hands. Pakistan creates a situation and we are helpless to check it. And then we come forward and suggest some palliatives which do not go to remedy the situation at all.

Now, here some of us, had suggested the imposition of economic sanctions. Well, obviously, the Prime Minister was very sarcastic about it and said that it would not produce any results, but actually, economic sanctions—undeclared economic sanctions—have already been resorted to by Pakistan, and all sorts of discriminatory action is being taken by East Pakistan, and we are completely helpless in the matter. I will give you one or two illustrations just now.

One matter which has been brought to my notice is with regard to the precarious position with which the people in Assam—in some parts of Assam—and in Tripura are faced for want of supply of rice. Many of these people used to get their rice from within the Pakistan zone. Now, Pakistan is not allowing such rice to come to our territory. Similarly, there were quite a

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good number of Muslims who used to get rice from within the lands situated in the Indian border. And the report which came to me yesterday from Calcutta was that our Government, exercising its usual generosity, has permitted ten lakh pounds of paddy to be taken away from within the Indian territory to Pakistan on the ground that such paddy was being grown by Pakistani citizens who had land within the Indian border. Now, our people are starving. They cannot get their supply, and we want to be so just and generous that we are allowing rice to be taken out of our territory to Pakistan. If we really wanted to be very fair, we might have even offered to sell this rice, and not allow the quantity to go out of our control because actually the people who are directly and immediately suffering are our own men. This is one glaring example of misplaced generosity of the healing touch in which our Government have become proficient which really is creating a disastrous position so far as these sufferers are concerned.

So far as this passport system is concerned, as I have said previously, this has been done deliberately with certain motives by the Pakistan Government. Undoubtedly, a large number of Muslims also are suffering, and my hon. friend Mrs. Kripalani has read out a letter which has been written by a Pakistani Muslim who is now in Calcutta and who is finding it difficult to get the passport for going back to East Bengal. But there is ample evidence before us to show that a discriminatory policy is being pursued by Pakistan in granting visa and repatriation certificates. The question which is now invariably put to these people who are in West Bengal or in Assam and who would like to go to East Bengal, is this: "What evidence is there to show that you are a *bona fide* Pakistani citizen and you want to go back to East Bengal for *bona fide* purposes?" Many of them have been asked to produce certificates and documents countersigned by Pakistani officers. Naturally, it is impossible for them to do so because they are now in India. From many of them money has been demanded, and all sorts of pressure are being directly and indirectly, day in and day out, put upon them. Only in yesterday's *Jugantar*, a leading Bengali daily newspaper published from Calcutta, you will see photographs have been printed—the enormous crowds which have now gathered in front of the office of the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan in Calcutta, and the way in which people are being subjected to all sorts of harassment and

humiliation. It is stated in that article which is written by an eye-witness that:

"It takes nearly about 72 hours to reach the counter which is about 100 yards away from the main gate and in which there is a queue of about 150 men or women."

72 hours to reach the counter, and then only the application received. After the application is received, the applicant is asked to come a fortnight later. And when he comes there a fortnight later, he is again asked to come a few days later. And there, examples have been given, names have been cited, how people who had submitted their original application on 16th, 18th and 20th October last have not yet got their visas. Mind you, Sir, they got the passport from our Government's office within 24 hours, but then, they have to get the visa and the repatriation certificates, and all these harassments are being forced upon these individuals. Some of the questions which have been put to some people who knew some officers in the office of the Deputy High Commissioner have also been published in newspapers. They are being openly told that they are people who are not trusted by Pakistan and they are not wanted to go back. (An Hon. Member: Undesirables?)

I received yesterday a letter from one Shri Kumud Nath Sarkar which is copy of a letter which has been sent to the Prime Minister with another copy which has been sent to my friend Mr. Biswas. This gentleman was for 30 years a member of the Congress, and he decided to stay in East Bengal after partition. He was appointed a member—he belonged to the District of Pabna—of the District Minority Board. His appointment was gazetted by the East Pakistan Government itself. He was given about three months' time to serve as such a member. During this period he acted independently. He brought to the notice of the authorities in East Pakistan cases of violation of the Delhi Pact, and how the minority was being oppressed. The result was that in 1949 he was arrested suddenly. He came to Calcutta in connection with his daughter's marriage. He went back after a few weeks, and the day after his arrival, he was served with an order and arrested in Pabna,—a member of the District Minority Board arrested under the East Bengal Public Safety Ordinance. He was dragged from his house to the Police Station. The next day he was transferred to the Rajshahi

Central Jail with handcuff and rope on, though he was an old man of 64 years. Six repeated orders of detention were served on him. He was kept in detention for 32 months—21 months in the Rajshahi Central Jail and eleven months in Pabna District Jail—without any trial or legal order as such. There were two applications of *habeas corpus* before the East Bengal High Court, and twice he was ordered to be released by the Dacca High Court, and as soon as he was released, he was put under arrest again and taken back to the jail. Later on, a few months ago, after he had signed a bond, he was released.

He came back to Calcutta in October last. He has written to me.....

An Hon. Member: What was the charge against him?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: An undesirable person! He was arrested under the Public Safety Ordinance.

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): Was it not the reason that he was a Hindu?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: The main charge was that he was a Hindu obviously, but of course that could not be written.

Now he is attempting to go back to Pabna for the purpose of selling some of his properties. Some of his properties have been sold already, for so called inability to pay revenues, but he has still a house left in Pabna, and he wants to make some settlement in respect thereof, and for the last three months he has been trying to get a visa to go back. Some of the members of his family are there. He has written to me a letter enclosing the copy of the letters which he has written to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Minority Affairs, asking whether there is any possibility of any relief coming from any quarter. This is not an isolated example. We have a large number of such cases. I have got at the moment three telegrams which I got yesterday. The wordings in the telegrams are as follows:

"Our sufferings for acquiring passport visa repatriation papers intolerable solicit relief anyhow"

This telegram is signed by 32 persons. Another telegram reads:

"Thirty-ninth day attended Pakistan office for passport visa fruitlessly our affairs in Pakistan ruined pray do something"

The third telegram reads:

"Getting Pak-Bharat travel papers almost impossible pray move

last day for the month January three months to save us from disaster."

As you know, Sir, 13th January, 1953 has been fixed as the dead line—I have not got the cuttings here, but only last night I got a telephonic message from Calcutta that Pakistani newspapers are publishing and circulating this as widely as possible that if by 13th January, the inhabitants who are living there are not in a position to fulfil the terms of the new regulations, then their properties will be confiscated or that they will be put under arrest. It is true that the Government is not doing it.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: What are the new regulations?

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: The new regulations are that they must make their declarations before the authorities concerned whether they are Pakistani or Indian citizens. Threats are being held out that unless they fulfil these conditions, their properties will be confiscated or they may be put under arrest. This is not done by Government as such but this is the sort of atmosphere, the panic which is sought to be created there by the authorities of East Bengal so as to harass the minorities and push them out. But what is it that we are doing? The point which I mentioned at the very beginning was this. How is the Government here going to react to it? I can understand my own friend's point of view that "If the East Pakistan Government does not withdraw the passport system, what can the Government of India do?" I quite understand it, because it must be a bilateral act, and it cannot be done by the Government of India as such. But the Government of India can put pressure in various ways. The Government of India by its dealings with Pakistan Government can make it realise that this procedure which Pakistan is following will not be tolerated by Government in India and may in various ways react on Pakistan.

How is it that we are getting such treatment from Pakistan? I would like to give you a few instances. From East Bengal to West Bengal, there are dues to the tune of about Rs. 25 crores, being loans taken by Central Co-operative Banks, when the two Bengals were one province, and under the Indo-Pak Pact, this amount of Rs. 25 crores—and mind you, it represents the money mostly of poor people or of people belonging to middle class families—is to be repaid to the West Bengal Government. But it appeared

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in the Calcutta papers recently that the East Bengal Government has informed the West Bengal Government that it is not going to make the payment, and that if it is desired, the matter can be settled between the two Central Governments at Karachi and New Delhi. Day before yesterday Mr. Tyagi in the Council of States announced that although 15th August was the date from which repayment of the loan taken by Pakistan from India was to have started, four months have passed and yet no payment has been made, and that the Government is awaiting for the next conference to be held between the two Finance Ministers of Pakistan and India. We have heard of the deplorable condition of our own people in Indian pockets within Pakistan.

So far as the Khasi and Jaintia bills in Assam are concerned, East Bengal has stopped the export of oranges, potatoes, spices etc. which were previously exported to sylhet in large quantities. Day before yesterday there was a telegram from Assam indicating that about 7000 boats in one area in the subdivision of Karimganj alone are sitting idle, thereby putting practically 14000 persons out of work. Does it mean that East Bengal is not taking anything from us? Far from it. It is making its choice. It wants a sufficient quantity of limestone to be sent to East Bengal, and it is being sent from Assam for their cement factory. Pakistan has stopped the export of betel leaves but we are taking their betelnuts. My charge against Government is that there is no attempt whatsoever at putting some pressure on Pakistan. If Pakistan wants limestone to get its cement factory going on in East Bengal, well, obviously the Government of India can say: 'Well, look here, this will not do. You cannot take whatever you need, when you refuse to take things that we could supply to you and which we have been supplying to you for the last so many years.' The Chief Minister and the Governor of Assam visited these areas about a week or ten days ago, and I was reading from an Assam paper an extract from the speeches which they delivered, full of soft words, full of sympathy, and full of assurances. What are the assurances given? "We have big plans for making roads, so that these areas will not be dependent on supplies to and from Pakistan." Then the Chief Minister of Assam said in an expansive mood: "Why worry about a few lakhs in East Bengal? We have 36 crores of people in the whole of India. Your oranges will run from one part of India to another. Why are you

worrying about East Bengal people?" He held out before them fanciful projects of cottage industries, that jam will be manufactured, jelly will be manufactured, and that marmalade will be manufactured, that all sorts of help for cottage industries will come etc. Poor people, unfortunate illiterate spokesmen humbly ask, "What about our immediate present? If we can manage to live for the next one or two years, then we will see about this jam, jelly and marmalade. What about the next twelve months? What are you going to do to save us from immediate destruction?" Of course, to that, there is no reply.

I have given you an instance already with regard to supply of paddy. As you know, timber comes from that area. And about 5000 pieces were dealt with last year—I am taking this from published reports where some indications have been given as to how East Bengal is virtually carrying on a policy of economic sanction only suited to its own needs, the discriminatory policy of economic sanction which has already been pursued by the East Bengal Government. This year, the number removed to East Bengal during the last few months, is even less than 60. The normal price for oranges last year was Rs. fifty, but now it has dropped to Rs. nine.

So far as the number of persons who have been given passport by our Indian office is concerned, in Karimganj alone, 534 persons have been given passports. But not one single visa has been given by East Bengal authorities sitting in Assam. In Agartala, 355 passports have been given by our authorities, and only one visa has been given up till now by the East Bengal authorities. The question that I would like to put to Government is this: Are you really so helpless? Are you so imbecile and so powerless as to do nothing in such a matter? We are receiving kicks from every side, and yet we are going on giving them all supplies that they may want. Obviously at some stage, the Government must move. My friend Mrs. Chakravarty referred to the movement going on in East Bengal against the passport system. That is all right, we do not dislike it, we shall give support to such movements, by all means, let this be continued. But my friend will be living in a paradise of her own if she thinks that there is enough scope for carrying on agitation within East Bengal so as to be able to alter the deliberate policy which is now being pursued by the East Pakistan Government. We are not against peace. She referred, I believe, to the Communist party, when she said

that there were reactionaries in West Bengal, and also in East Bengal, but that it is not a question of reactionaries alone. It is a question of the mentality of the powers that be. She referred to Janab Suhrawardy a friend of mine. I know how Janab Suhrawardy saved himself nearabout 15th August, 1947 by wearing a torn lungi and a torn *genji*. I cannot forget that sight when I saw him in that state with Gandhiji in Calcutta in August, 1947. Of course he then showed that he had changed his mind, that he believed partition was wrong, and so he wanted to devote his whole time to peaceful work. Later, he ran away to Pakistan, and I wish him good luck. But it is not a question of what Janab Suhrawardy can do. What we are discussing in this Parliament is this. What can our Government do? We cannot pass any resolution, or make any suggestion compelling the East Pakistan Government as such to take any action.

I do believe, that if the Pakistan Government is determined to follow a policy of economic sanctions of a discriminatory character which hits us extremely, then we can also devise means to counteract this: there are a number of important commodities without which the East Bengal Government cannot carry on for more than a few weeks. Our Government should take up this attitude: 'Very well, if you proceed in this way, then we also can go along and impose bans and make it impossible for certain things to go to East Bengal or pass through India which are of an essential character.' But that requires courage, that requires certain strength of mind, that requires certain determination to do the right thing. I know that there is no solution with regard to this problem unless and until East Bengal comes into the Indian Union. There is really no other solution. We shall be tinkering with the problem until and unless conditions are created—I hope with the willing cooperation of the mass of the people—whereby either these two provinces become one or East Bengal remains a separate unit but becomes part and parcel of the Indian Union or has some treaty with the Indian Union.

Dr. N. B. Khare: Just like Kashmir.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: I will not quote Kashmir. We can have a better arrangement. But so far as the ultimate solution is concerned, that is the only solution.

I would only remind the Government that the present policy of drift which they are pursuing is disastrous. We do

not find Government moving in the matter at all. All these complaints which are coming to us must obviously have come to the Ministers in the various departments in Delhi. I know the Ministries in Calcutta are flooded with such protests. We have to put our heads together and find out some way out of the present impasse. And if we fail to do so, from the way in which public feelings have been roused, I do not know which way exactly this movement will go. We have witnessed during the last few weeks an India-wide agitation. There were protests made by the Congress that such an agitation might take a communal turn. As the House knows this 'East Bengal Day' which was observed throughout the country passed of extremely smoothly. There was no communal disturbance, in fact, and the speeches which were delivered from every platform throughout the length and breadth of the country made no communal references at all. It is a first-class political problem. It is a situation which is being created out of the deliberate obstinacy of a Government which today our own Government due to weakness and timidity has helped to keep in its own position of strength and stability. Therefore, it is essential that before it is too late our Government must suggest in what way it will proceed to avoid a catastrophe.

I like the amendment which my friend, Lala Achint Ram has proposed. It is a practical proposition. Let us at least make this declaration that members of the minority community who wish to come out to India from East Bengal either to West Bengal or to Assam will not be harassed for want of the necessary legal documents which we may otherwise require such migrants to produce according to the normal law of the land. I am hoping that the spirit of the amendment will be accepted by Government, because I know that many of the people who are in East Bengal have failed to produce the necessary documents. Some members of their families are here in West Bengal or in Assam; others are in East Bengal. And persons have written to us most pathetically. Some members of their families have fallen seriously ill; they are being detained in East Bengal and for the last six weeks their people are being prevented from going from West Bengal to East Bengal.

Now the remedy which can be found out must obviously be found out by the Government. I do not want that a situation should arise when the people will take the law into their own hands. That should be the last thing

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that people should do. But if our Government goes on in the present manner, I do not know how matters will develop. And then it will recoil not only on the head of the Pakistan Government but it will recoil very heavily on the head of our own Government which we are all anxious to avoid.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : स्पीकर महोदय, मुझे बहुत दुःख होता है कि जबभी हमारी रिफ्यूजी प्रॉब्लेम (Refugee problem) के बारे में कोई बहस हाउस में होती है तो जो हमारे अड्डा भाई हैं, जिन को आप शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट (Scheduled Caste) कहते हैं उन का कोई स्थान नहीं किया जाता है। अब भी मैं यहां पर बोलने के लिये खड़ा होता हूँ तो लोगों को ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि राजभोज माह्र खड़े हैं और कुछ न कुछ अड्डों के बारे में कहेंगे। क्या कल, हमारे देश में जो अड्डों का मामला है, अब तक जो उन की कथन कहानी रही है, उस को देखने हुए मेरा फंड हो जाता है कि उन की बात हाउस के सामने ला कर कुछ न कुछ मुझाऊं। उन लोगों को किक करना मेरा फंड है।

[SRI PATASKAR in the Chair]

एक माननीय सदस्य : लेकिन आप की टाइम ही नहीं मिलता :

श्री० पी० एन० राजभोज : टाइम तो नहीं मिलता है, स्पीकर महोदय की मेहरबानी रहती है।

पुनर्वास मंत्रो श्री ए० पी० जैन : तो जब मौका मिले तभी कह दीजिये।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज : पूर्वी बंगाल में जो हमारे करीब करीब ६०, ७० की सदी शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग हैं

उन लोगों के यहां आने के लिये जो परमिट सिस्टम (Permit system) और पासपोर्ट सिस्टम (Passport system) लगाया गया है वह बहुत जरूरी है। हमारे कई भाई पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान के समझने की लम्बी चौड़ी बात करते हैं, लेकिन वह उस की अमल में नहीं लाते हैं। हमारी पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट इतनी मन्म है कि वह तो हमारी बात सुनना ही नहीं चाहती है। मिस में जो हमारे शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोगों की कथन कहानी है वह सब से खराब है। वहां जिनने मेहरार हैं उन की वहां जबरन रखा जा रहा है और वह वहां से बाहर आने की कोशिश तक नहीं कर सकते क्यों कि आखिर उन को काम तो करना ही है। मानों उन लोगों ने ही ठेका ले लिया है कि उन को ही करना है। आज कल तो पुराना जमाना बदल रहा है। हमारी सरकार को कुछ काम करना चाहिये क्यों कि यह सरकार की ड्यूटी है उन की रक्षा करे। लेकिन माय ही मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारे पूर्वी बंगाल और मिस के लोग हैं उन की बहुत कथन कहानी है और बड़े दुःख की है। मैं गवर्नमेंट से अपील करूंगा कि उन लोगों का वहां से यहां लाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये उन की खराब हालत के बारे में मेरे पास पत्र आये हैं, श्री इशामा प्रसाद मुकजी ने भी कई बार मुझ से कहा कि तुम मेरे साथ चलो और अपनी आंखों से सारी हालत देखो। मैं कहकते गया और मझे माह्रन हुआ कि उन लोगों को आने की बड़ी तकलीफ है। बारीसाल, फरीदपुर, खुलना डिबोडन में हम लोगों की उपाश तादाद है। मुझे डर है कि उन लोगों को आने का मौका नहीं मिलेगा और ऐसा मालूम हो रहा है कि उनको जबरदस्ती धर्मांतर करना पड़ेगा। मैं ने

मुना है कि उन का मुसलमान बनना लाजमी कर दिया गया है। वह तो बेचारे गरीब हैं, इनने पड़े लिये नहीं है कि पामपोट के लिये डिप्टी कमिश्नर या कलेक्टर के पास जा कर खड़े हों। हमारी गवर्नमेंट में भी आज बड़े बड़े लोग हैं मैं उन का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता। लेकिन मैं उन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि पूर्वी बंगाल के जो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग हैं उन की हालत बहुत खराब है। श्री मंडल, जो हमारी पार्टी के, यानी शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट फंडेरेगन की तरफ से वहाँ मिनिस्टर बन गये थे, उन की हालत इतनी खराब हो गई कि यहां आने पर फिर उस के बाद उन्होंने सोचा कि चलो मिनिस्टर नहीं बने तो नहीं मही, लेकिन फिर पाकिस्तान लौट कर नहीं गये, और यहां से ही इस्तीफा भेज दिया। ऐसी परिस्थिति में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग हैं। हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई दोस्ती के बचन बहुत बोलते हैं, कहते हैं कि पीएम (p.m.) होनी चाहिये, पीएम तो हम भी चाहते हैं, लेकिन आप किम की ओर से चुन कर आये हैं जो लोग पब्लिक की तरफ से चुन कर आये हैं उन को कभी कभी जनता के लिये आवाज तो उठानी ही चाहिये।

4 P. M.

अभी श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती ने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान ने ठीक नहीं किया पाकिस्तान ने ठीक नहीं किया। वह कभी कांग्रेस को सपोर्ट (support) करती हैं कभी अपोज (oppose) करती हैं। वह उन की पालिसी ठीक नहीं है। जो कुछ उन को सच्चा दिखता है वही बोलना चाहिये। वह बात ठीक नहीं है कि कभी सपोर्ट कर दिया और कभी नहीं किया। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि चाहे वह किसी धर्म के खिलाफ बोलें, पर जो वह चाहती है वही हम भी चाहते हैं। हम भी इक्वालिटी (equality) चाहते हैं

पर मिलती नहीं। मैं हाउस से और मिनिस्टर साइड से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट रिपब्लिक की तरफ खाम तौर से ध्यान दें और यह कोशिश करें कि वह लोग ज्यादा से ज्यादा मरुया में यहां आ सकें, क्यों कि उन के पास पैसा नहीं है। हमारे और दूसरे बड़े बड़े लोगों के पास फंड (fund) है, कमेंटियां उन की सहायता करती हैं और इस तरह उन को हर प्रकार की सहायता मिलती है, लेकिन हम लोगों के पास पैसा नहीं है और इस लिये शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों को बहुत तकलीफ हो रही है। इस लिये मेरा पहला सवाल यह है कि जो पूर्वी बंगाल से ईश्वर आना चाहते हैं उन को इस की पूरी सुविधा दी जाये। हम को पामपोट का जगड़ा पसन्द नहीं है। इस की वजह से हमारे लोग नहीं आ सकते। वह यहां आना चाहते हैं। मैं नहीं चाहता कि कभी दोनों देशों में जगड़ा हो, लेकिन अगर कभी जगड़ा हो गया तो आप कहेंगे कि राजभोज तुम हम को मिलिटरी के लिये आदमी दो। तो लड़ने को तो हम हैं और खाने को आप है। हमारा महान बटालियन काश्मीर बार्डर के पास काम कर रहा है। यहां न हिन्दू महामाका बटालियन है और न कम्युनिस्टों का बटालियन है। हमारे भौमले साहब जो हैं वह एक मार्शियल कम्युनिटी (martial community) के हैं, वह छत्रपति शिवाजी के वंशज हैं। वह यह कंसा बिल लाये हैं। आप के ऊपर बहुत जिम्मेदारी है। मैं दूसरे लोगों की तरह यह बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैं तो आप से यही अपील करता हूँ कि आप इन लोगों की ज्यादा से ज्यादा मदद करें। अगर आप इन की मदद नहीं करेंगे तो वह इस देश के लिये बहुत अच्छा नहीं होगा। हमारे जो पूर्वी बंगाल के शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के भाई यहां बंटे हुए हैं, वह कुछ नहीं बोलें हैं। लेकिन मैं ने जो इस रिपब्लिक की हालत

(श्री पी० एन० राजभोज)
 देखी उम से मुझे तो रोना आ गया। उन के रद्दने के लिये जगह नहीं है। रिफ्यूजीज के लिये गवर्नमेंट ने करोड़ों रुपया खर्च किया है लेकिन यह सबाल अभी पूरी तरह तक नहीं हुआ है। मैं हिरोशिमा गया था जहाँ बमबारी हुई थी। लेकिन थोड़े ही दिनों में हिरोशिमा में मकान बन गये और वहाँ रिहैबिलिटेशन हो गया। लेकिन हमारे देश को आबादी मिले इतने दिन हो गये, अभी तक रिफ्यूजीज का सबाल भी पूरा नहीं हुआ है। इसी वास्ते मैं कहना हूँ कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट हम नरक ध्यान दे। जब कोई तप करता है तो उस को राज्य मिलता है, पर जब कोई अच्छा राज्य नहीं करता है तो उस को नक़्सी मिलता है। तो यह सबाल अपने देश का है। यह देश हमारा और आप का सब का है। लेकिन जब हम बोलते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि गाली देने हैं। हो सकता है कि खरे माहब ने जो कुछ कहा वह भी इसी कारण कि उन को भी चोट लगी होगी। जिन लोगों में मैं पंदा हुआ हूँ उन की मदद करना आप का मुख्य कार्य है। हमारे जो नेता लोग हैं उन को यहाँ आना चाहिये। भंगी लोगों ने एक ही काम करने का कोई ठंका तो नहीं ले रखा है।

चटगांव में जो हमारे बुद्धिस्ट लोग हैं उन पर भी बुरा हो रहे हैं। हमारी गवर्नमेंट को उन की मदद करनी चाहिये। अगर आप हमारे सबाल को उठायेंगे तो हम में आप जितनी मदद चाहेंगे हम देंगे। मगर आप का दिल साफ़ होना चाहिये। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि पेट में तो कुछ और बात है और ऊपर सफ़ाई है। हम जब गवर्नमेंट की गलती बनाते हैं तो उस को बुरा नहीं मानना चाहिये क्यों कि हम भी अपनी गवर्नमेंट को अच्छा बनाना चाहते हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय ने जो मुझे समय दिया है उस के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि जो मुझाब मैंने दिये हैं हमारे मिनिस्टर माहब उन को अमल में लायेंगे।

Shri Tek Chand (Ambala-Simla):
 That the passport system is pernicious in the extreme admits of no doubt. It requires no debate. It has been realised by our Government as much as by the people of this country that it is full of difficulties and it has created a considerable number of complications. But, is this the matter in issue, is this the subject-matter of the debate this afternoon? My contention before you is that if there was an appropriate occasion when we could air our views, when we could let loose our bottled-up feelings as to the conduct meted out to us by Pakistan, perhaps that would be the proper occasion when we can give vent to our feelings and sentiments and, in all probability, when the opportunity arises, a large number of hon. Members will be more or less of one voice. But, so far as the amendment before the House is concerned, to my mind, it is just a logical issue of what has to follow. The acceptance or rejection of this amendment does not mean that our Government is wedded to the passport system for all time to come or even for a single day if the Pakistan Government were to relent and realise their errors. The passport system is a painful necessity—I do not say it is a retaliatory measure—but such a system is absolutely necessary when one Government in the exercise of the powers that it, no doubt, possesses, but with a view to commit hardships on others, imposes such a system. Not as a retaliatory measure, as I said, but as a defensive measure the introduction of the passport system in this country as well, becomes imperative. That it involves rigours admits of no doubt; but those hardships may be ameliorated. And, my suggestion to the Government is that the hardships that are to be visualised may, for the sake of convenience, be put into two categories. Firstly there are hardships on those members of the minority community in Pakistan who are desirous of entering this country of ours finally and for all time to come but are driven back by the lawless laws, and by the unkindness of those people. So far as those people are concerned who wish to migrate to this country, they should have free access, without any hindrance, without any difficulty, and without any legalistic formalities. They

should not have any difficulty on the ground that Pakistan has not given them any passport and therefore our doors are banged against them. We may be over-crowded, we may be elbowed out, but that does not mean that we should not receive them with open arms. If we have not got sufficient food to give, we will prefer to go on half rations. We are not going to raise this legalistic wall in the way of their entering this country if they so wish to. Therefore, I utilise this occasion to press upon the Government that in the way of those entrants into our country there should be no bar or hindrance.

In the second category are those Hindus, members of the minority community who are in that country or who from our country wish to enter Pakistan. No doubt, any Government in the exercise of its sovereign rights can create laws and impose difficulties and there is nothing to stop them. But we have to remember the definition of citizenship as laid down in our Constitution. I have no doubt whatsoever that if you were logically to accept the definition of citizenship as laid down in our Constitution, the vast majority of the members of the minority community in East Pakistan are entitled to the citizenship of our country, and if I may say so, and to our national status if they wish to acquire it. Therefore any difficulties visited upon them are difficulties visited upon our citizens, and as Dr. S. P. Mookerjee said, there may be occasion or occasions to impose economic sanctions. But one thing has to be realised by our Government, and I have no doubt that the Government is cognisant of the feeling of national ire that is seething all over the country as a result of the treatment which is being meted out by the Pakistan Government to our nationals. The cup of our patience is almost full and if some active measure is not taken in hand quickly, the cup of our patience will soon overflow. Therefore, it is high time to bring diplomatic pressure. We need not necessarily adopt a pugilistic or pugacious attitude. We need not show the mailed fist, but at the same time, the fact that we possess a mailed fist should not admit of any doubt. If and when the occasion arises, that mailed fist should be available for the defence of our citizens and for the protection of their rights.

So, this occasion may be utilised by our Government for assessing and gauging the feelings and the apprehensions in our minds. They should re-

member that our countrymen voice with one feeling the resentment that we as a nation feel against the conduct and attitude of the Pakistan Government. So long as the passport restrictions are imposed by the other side, we shall have to adopt similar measures, but we should relax them as far as we can in order to see that no hardship is caused to the people who want to come to our country, and they are people who have the right to come to our country. Therefore, I may be excused for deviating a little from the subject matter of the amendment, but taking the cue from the other Members who have spoken about their feelings on this subject, although they are not strictly germane to the issue, I am also utilising this opportunity to suggest to Government that they should take note of the feelings in our country and see that while this amendment is necessary and ought to be passed, the day it becomes feasible they should tighten the thumb screws, and there are plenty of thumb screws. They should twist the tail of Pakistan and make their Government realise that we can, if necessary, retaliate. So far, if we have erred, we have erred on the side of generosity. If we have committed mistakes, we have committed mistakes on the side of justice. But if the Pakistan Government adopts this type of course, and persists in it, then the time will not be far off when we would be driven to the position of retaliation and returning the compliment with our mailed fist.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह (हजारीबाग पश्चिम) : सभापति महोदय, यह ऐसा विषय है, जिस पर कुछ बोलने बिना नहीं रहा जाता। इस विषय में अधिक तो बोलना नहीं है, एक ही दो बात बोल कर मैं बंठ जाऊंगा। मैं इस लोक सभा के प्रत्येक सदस्य से प्रार्थना करता हूँ, बिनय करता हूँ, कि भाई कम से कम इस विषय को दलबन्दी का विषय नहीं रखा जाये। याद रखना चाहिये कि एक तो दलबन्दी हमेशा के लिये खराब है और दूसरे में यह कह देता हूँ कि आज हो या पचास वर्ष के बाद, यदि देश में शांति और मुक्त हम चाहेंगे तो दलबन्दी खत्म करनी पड़ेगी। आज कौन नहीं जानता कि पूर्वी बंगाल या पश्चिमी पंजाब मिला कर यह सब हमारा

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

एक भारतवर्ष देश था। हम लोग करीब ४०-४३ करोड़ भारतवासी एक भारत माना की मन्तान थी। आज दुर्भाग्यवश, संयोगवश, देश बंट गया। पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान का जहां तक हिस्सा है, बहुत से लोग मारे गये, काटे गये, बहुत से आ गये। अब प्रश्न है पूर्वी बंगाल का। अभी भी वहां करीब १.० लाख हिन्दू हैं। मभापति महोदय, जितने हम लोग यहां पर बैठे हैं, उन लोगों को जरा इस तरह से विचार करना होगा कि हम लोगों में से किसी व्यक्ति को, हमारे भीमसे माहब को, बाहेर अजीब प्रसाद जैन जी को, दुश्मनों के बीच में रख दिया जाये या किसी शेर के सामने इन लोगों को रख दिया जाये, तो इन की भावना कसौ होगी। इस में कोई शक नहीं कि आज १.० लाख के करीब हिन्दू उसी तरह अपने को समझ रहे हैं। आज आप ने जो आजादी पाई है वह उन लोगों को बलिदान कर के ही पाई है। यह मान लेना होगा। यदि हम भले व्यक्ति हैं और यदि हम लोग कृत्ज हैं तो इतना मान लेना पड़ेगा कि हम लोगों ने उन की बदौलत, उन का बलिदान दे कर, आजादी पाई है। यह मान लेना होगा कि वे हमारे भाई हैं। यिफं इतना ही नहीं है। यह भी मान्य होना चाहिये कि हमारे देश में इस तरह की परम्परा खली जाती है कि दुनिया के किसी कोने से भी कोई व्यक्ति भारत के शासक के पास पत्र लिखता था कि मैं तुम्हारी शरण हूँ तो उस की रक्षा के लिये वह अपना सर्वस्व त्याग कर देता था। तो मैं सब भाइयों से कह सकता हूँ, सारे हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वालों से कह सकता हूँ, हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार से भी कह सकता हूँ कि वे १.० लाख भारतवासी आप के अपने हैं, आप उन के हैं, वे आप की शरण में हैं, और अपनी रक्षा के लिये वे आप की तरफ देख रहे हैं।

मभापति महोदय, यह मानवता का नफाजा है कि भारतवासी जितने हम ३५ करोड़ लोग हैं वे उन की रक्षा के लिये हम में जो बन पड़े वह करें। और जो बन पड़े के माने यहां तक है कि यदि भारतवर्ष का उन की रक्षा के कार्य में नाश भी हो जाये तो भी उस के लिये हमें तैयार होना चाहिये, यदि हम लोग मनुष्य हैं, यदि हम उन को अपना समझते हैं। जहां में यहां इस विषय में किसी तरह का मतभेद देखता हूँ तो बहुत कष्ट होता है। अभी हमारे एक मित्र श्री फीरोज़ गांधी ने प्रश्न किया था जब मुंबेना कृपलानी बोल रही थी कि क्या उपाय हैं? अजीमाहब, यों तो हिन्दी में भी बहुत सी ऐसी कहावतें हैं, लेकिन जब अंग्रेजी पढ़ना शुरू किया था तो आप ने पढ़ा होगा, बंपर देयर इज ए बिल, देयर इज ए वैं, जब आप काम करना चाहेंगे तो उपाय मिल जाते हैं। लेकिन सब में बहुत ज्यादा कष्ट की बात यह आती है कि लोग कहते हैं कि क्या करें।

मभापति महोदय, ३५ करोड़ भारतवासीयों की यह सरकार है और इस के हाथ में सारे देश भर की शक्ति और सम्पत्ति है, यह सरकार क्या नहीं कर सकती? करने के लिए हृदय और संकल्प होना चाहिये। मैं कहना हूँ कि यदि आप करना चाहेंगे तो बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं, करने के लिये दिल होना चाहिये, संकल्प होना चाहिये, बिना संकल्प के कोई काम नहीं हो सकता और जब मैं आप को असहाय की तरह यह कहने सुनता हूँ कि भाई हम क्या करें, तो मुझे बड़ा दुख होता है। मैं आप से कहूंगा कि अगर आप चाहें तो सब कुछ कर सकते हैं। इधर से जब कोई बोलता है और हम लोग बात करते हैं तो उधर वाले ऐसा समझते हैं कि हम लोग जो भी बात करते हैं वह हमेशा यही ही बात करते हैं। लेकिन यह

बात नहीं है, हम युद्ध की बात नहीं करते हैं, और न हम युद्ध चाहते हैं। मेरी इतनी उम्मीद हो गई है और मैं यह अच्छी तरह जानता हूँ कि युद्ध से क्या क्या कष्ट होते हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि युद्ध का क्या परिणाम होता है, लेकिन साथ ही यह भी जानता हूँ कि जो देश समाज और जाति युद्ध के लिये तैयार नहीं रहती है उस राष्ट्र, देश व जाति को दुनिया में रहने का कोई हक नहीं है। लेकिन मेरा ऐसा कहने का अभिप्राय यह नहीं है कि युद्ध के लिये तैयार हो जाओ। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि जैसे यहाँ उधर से असहायों की तरह बात की जाती है नामदों की तरह कि क्या करें वह नहीं होना चाहिये। आप समर्थ हैं, करना चाहेंगे तो सब कुछ कर सकते हैं।

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मैं सभापति जी जो कह रहा था वह यह था कि जब मैं उन के मुँह से यह सुनता हूँ और जैसा हमारे फीरोज भाई ने कहा कि बालो हम क्या कर सकते तो मुझे बड़ा दुःख और तकलीफ होती है। करने के बारे में तो मुझे कहना है कि वह बहुत कुछ कर सकते हैं अगर करने का दिल और संकल्प हो।

जैसे अभी श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी साहब ने कहा था कि उधर से तो लोग कुछ लाने नहीं पाते, लेकिन पाकिस्तान को यहाँ से चीजें भेजी जाती हैं। ऐसी ऐसी बातें सुन कर लोगों के दिल में कमी भावना उठेगी? कहते हैं कि हम को उधर से कोई मदद नहीं मिलती, और इधर से हर तरह की मदद दिये जा रहे हैं। इस प्रकार का बर्ताव हो तो लोग क्या कहेंगे? लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि जो कुछ करना है और जो हमारे और भाइयों ने भी कहा है, मुझे इस विषय में दुःख होता है। जैसा मैं ने शुरू में कहा था कि इस मामले में

पार्टी का सबाल नहीं लाना चाहिये। सब को अपने मन की बात बोलनी चाहिये। मैं जानता हूँ कि बहुतों के दिलों में, प्रायः सभी के दिलों में एक ही बात है, लेकिन पार्टी की वजह से बोलते नहीं हैं। लेकिन इस के लिये कई प्रकार के उपाय काम में लाये जा सकते हैं जिन से जो हमारा मकसद है अर्थात् जो लोगों के कष्ट हम दूर करना चाहते हैं वह कर सकते हैं। जैसा हमारे श्यामा बाबू ने भी कहा था कि सब बातों में तरीके निकल सकते हैं। हम लोग तो सत्य-अनुयाई लोगों की तरह कुछ बात कह देते हैं। तो जैसे और लोग भी कहते हैं कि एकनामिक संश्लान्त (Economic sanctions) लागू करो, अर्थात् रोजगार पाकिस्तान के साथ बंद करो। तो, सभापति महोदय, मैं सब भाइयों से निवेदन करूँगा और सब से अर्ज करूँगा, और जो सरकार में काम कर रहे हैं उन से भी कहूँगा कि भाई अगर तुम्हें कुछ करना ही है तो संसार में उपाय की कमी नहीं है। ऐसा कभी न कहो कि "क्या कहें"। मैं, सभापति महोदय, आप से कहता हूँ कि कई बार पाकिस्तान से सुलह हुई, अनेक शर्तें हुई और यहाँ पर आ कर वे लोग ऐसा बोलते हैं कि हम लोगों ने तो शर्तों के मुताबिक काम किया, लेकिन पाकिस्तान वाले नहीं करते। इस के क्या माने? इस का क्या मतलब है? सभापति महोदय, मैं कड़ी बात नहीं बोलना चाहता लेकिन शास्त्र के वचन हैं :

“हितं मनोहारि च दुर्लभं वचः”

अर्थात् हित की बात मीठी होना कठिन है। मैं कहता हूँ कि दो आदमियों में बात होती है और कुछ तय होता है एक आदमी उस बात को मानता है और दूसरा नहीं मानता तो वह किस मुँह से पहले के साथ बात करेगा। पाकिस्तान के साथ बार बार सुलह हुई है और वह बार बार तोड़ते

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

हैं तो वह किस मुंह से, किस माहस से, किस अक्स से यह बात करते हैं। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि एकानामिक संरक्षण कर सकते हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहना चाहता कि यूँ कर सकते हैं, लेकिन कम से कम महात्मा गांधी के रास्ते पर चल कर पाकिस्तान से सम्बन्ध तो तोड़ सकते हैं कि पाकिस्तान में कोई न जाने का सम्बन्ध न कोई जाने का सम्बन्ध। वह तो कर सकते हैं। अगर मनुष्य कुछ करना चाहेगा तो उन के लिये रास्ते की कमी नहीं रहती है, हाँ, अगर वह मनुष्य पत्थर हो गये हैं, तो इस का कोई उपाय ही नहीं है। मैं कहूँगा कि हम लोग जो अनुभवों का लोम हैं उन की बात पर एक दफा तो जमल करो। किसी ने कहा कि मैं बड़े शब्द बोलता हूँ। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप ने २५ करोड़ भारतवासियों का भार अपने ऊपर लिया है। यह आसान काम नहीं है। आप का इतना बड़ा हृदय होना चाहिये, कलेजा होना चाहिये, अकल होनी चाहिये कि हमारे ऐसे आदिमियों की आलोचना में आप अपना कल्याण देखें। यह नहीं कि कड़ी बात मुन कर आप लोग क्रोध कीजिये। यह अकल की बात नहीं है। अगर आप को कुछ करना है तो अवश्य कीजिये। और ऐसी बात न बोलें कि कोई अगर ठीक रास्ता नहीं चलता तो हम क्या करें। जिस को यह बात बोलना है वह इस के बोलने से पहले ही यहाँ से इस्तीफा दे दे। यही धर्म का तकाजा है। यह नहीं कि करेंगे भी कुछ नहीं और बैठे भी रहेंगे।

इसलिये यह सब कहते हुए मैं इस बिल का विरोध करता हूँ और सभी भाइयों से कहता हूँ, खास कर मंत्री लोगों से कि अगर कुछ भी करो तो उस लक्ष्य से काम चल जायेगा। इसी तरह सब का कल्याण होगा आप का

कल्याण होगा और हम लोगों का भी कल्याण होगा। और अगर ऐसा नहीं कर सकते तो इस पद से हट जाओ।

Dr. M. M. Das (Burdwan—Reserved—Sch. Castes): My hon. friend Mr. Rajabhoj ventilated some grievances of the Scheduled Castes before this House. His speech gave an occasion to this House for light entertainment. In the midst of the dull and drab proceedings of this House his speech provided this House with an opportunity to laugh. But as a member of the Scheduled Castes myself, coming from Bengal, I stand by, and I think my other friends of the Scheduled Castes should also stand by every word that he spoke. Although it was taken by this House in a jovial manner, what he said is the true word that every Member belonging to the scheduled castes in this House wants to speak before you, Sir, and this august House.

They say that history repeats itself. Eastern Bengal, now Eastern Pakistan, was not always a Muslim-majority province. The largest number among its population were the Scheduled Caste people. It is the Scheduled Caste people who made that province a Hindu-majority province. And when these Scheduled Castes, for some reason or the other better known to this House, embraced Islam the province became a Muslim-majority one. I do not want to place before you and this House the reasons why large numbers of Scheduled Caste people in Eastern Bengal embraced another religion. Perhaps it will suffice to say that just before partition the treatment accorded to these unfortunate people was worse than that given to the Muslims. The treatment that a Muslim could get from our big brothers (I mean the caste Hindus), the Scheduled Caste people could not expect even now in that part of the country. We, the Scheduled Caste people are suffering much worse than perhaps the other classes of the Hindus. We are suffering in the same manner and we cannot but think that perhaps it is the atonement of the sin committed by our society in the past.

I do not want to dwell upon this particular point because it is the bleeding wound in the heart of every Scheduled Caste Member—not only Member but every Scheduled Caste person who has been educated and who has gathered some

amount of education, learning and reasoning. I had no intention to intervene in this debate, but I thought it my duty to utter a few words to voice forth the grievances of the hundreds of millions of my Scheduled Caste brethren who are still living in Eastern Pakistan. They are illiterate people; most of them are agriculturists; they do not know the intricacies of laws. Today they are the worst victims of communal frenzy.

I appeal to my own Government, only to do this much that the gates of India may remain ever open to these people whenever they find an opportunity to come here. This much I want from the hon. Minister who is piloting the Bill. And if by accepting the amendment, about which my hon. friend Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has spoken just now, it will be possible to keep open the gates of India for those unfortunate sons of the Indian Union, the Minister may kindly do it. No question of prestige should stand in the way when the life and honour of hundreds and thousands of our people are involved.

Shri K. P. Tripathi (Darrang): I have listened to this debate and one point which I want to emphasise is that certain remarks made by Dr. Mookerjee in this House have evoked considerable response and I feel that I should oppose one of them and support the other. Dr. Mookerjee in the course of his speech said that the solution of this problem will lie only in the merger of East Bengal with India. I think this is an unfortunate statement to be made in the Parliament. The chances of merger of East Bengal with India do not exist and therefore any man with any sense of responsibility should not make such statements. I remember before Hyderabad was attacked, Sardar Patel did not speak of this question at all. One never knew that Hyderabad was going to be attacked and it was attacked and the police action took place.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: If you advocate that, I shall withdraw my suggestion.

An. Hon. Member: On a point of order, Sir. He has made a statement that Hyderabad was attacked. It was merely a police action.

Shri K. P. Tripathi: No point of order is involved. I should proceed. Certain facts are such that they cannot be washed away. We should be more careful when speaking, particularly those things which we do not want to do. And here is a fact

which has already been consummated. Therefore making such statements does not lead us anywhere. It has lead us nowhere. It leads to unfortunate consequences in East Bengal because this statement will be published in bold headlines in East Bengal and it will be held before the people of Pakistan and they will.....

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: The hon. Member has perhaps forgotten that what I emphasised was that I hoped that with the willing co-operation of people of both the areas, there will be a union in that area. There is nothing objectionable in that. The Prime Minister made such a statement.

Shri K. P. Tripathi: If there is a question of a willing union, it is another matter. So the emphasis should be on the willing union. If that is the statement, I have nothing to say in the matter but whenever such a statement is made, we must be very careful to qualify it completely. It must not be an unqualified statement.

The second statement which Dr. Mookerjee made and which I want to underline strongly is with regard to the situation in border areas. Dr. Mookerjee has tried to emphasise one point which I feel Government often forgets. That is the treatment of people living in border areas by Pakistan. What has happened in Assam? You will realise that there are tribal areas, the Garo Hills, the Khasi Hills and Lushai Hills. These people are tribal. They were having trade relations with areas in Pakistan. Now what has happened? The Pakistani police has been placed there. The merchandise—potatoes, oranges, etc., which used to go to Pakistan have been completely blocked. The other day when a question was put here to the Commerce and Industries Minister whether there were economic sanctions applied by Pakistan with regard to the movement of these commodities, he said "No" but at that very time, we know as a full fact that all these things were not allowed to move into the Pakistan territory although from the same place limestone was being taken because it is necessary for the purpose of running cement factory there. Limestones should go, but oranges shall not go because they do not want them!

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: Oranges do not make cement.

Shri K. P. Tripathi: My friend, Dr. Mookerjee, in his marmalade and jelly speech has very rightly emphasised this point but he has unfortunately cast a reflection upon the Chief Minister of Assam but I may tell you that the Chief Minister of

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Assam, in his own way, has tried to help the problem in Lushai Hills. The movement there is very difficult. Rice has to be carried on backs of men and by the time it comes to the extremity, it costs Rs. 100 per maund and this is being sold at the controlled rate and Assam is subsidising this. Formerly rice used to come from Sylhet area to these areas. Now Sylhet has gone. The result is people there are on the point of starvation.

Now, Dr. Mookerjee tried to emphasise one point, namely, that Government should behave with Pakistan as a gentleman but it must continue to feel and realise that Pakistan may not behave as a gentleman. Therefore they should have a policy in advance that if Pakistan behaves in a certain way in the border areas, we should have ready plans to divert our trade. This is the point which he tried to emphasise and I will, with all the emphasis at my command, underline this. I tell you, Sir, that Government has not been fully aware of this problem. Until the last October session, when this question was raised from the point of view of Assam, Government did not consider it worthwhile to enquire into this. Then they sent an Expert Committee. The committee enquired and have submitted a report to Government. In the meantime these people are starving. The other day, my friend, Mrs. Khongmen was writing a letter to the hon. Prime Minister. She was drafting it. I saw it. It was a pathetic letter. She was describing in most harrowing terms the conditions of the people living in these border areas. They had cultivated certain paddy on the border. Up comes Pakistan police and fires upon them. These poor fellows run away. I put a short notice question. This was not allowed. Up till now no statement has been made by the Prime Minister. The result is paddy lies unraped. What will happen to it? This is a situation which is most unfortunate and Government should have taken it into account. It has not shown sufficient awareness of the seriousness. Therefore this question has arisen. You know, these people cultivate oranges and betelnut which are their commodities for exchange by which they live. I think question was put this morning about betelnut. Here is the betelnut grower. If this is not allowed to be exported, all the betelnuts go in waste. How shall these people live? Therefore, I say that Government should have a policy.

Sir, I tell you this cordoning by Pakistan is not an economic blockade

merely as Dr. Mookerjee has stated. It is a deep-seated policy because Pakistan thinks that the tribal people of Assam are not completely Indianised. You will realise, that there was a constant attempt by the British people to keep these tribal areas as a hinterland for themselves. As a matter of fact, a great civilian of England wrote a book in which he advocated that these hill areas should be cordoned off and along with Northern Burma they should be made into a separate territory. That propaganda was there and that propaganda is still continuing. I know of one gentleman from Europe who is still continuing in the Digboi area. He is a great friend of the Naga people who are not joining your elections. He is carrying on nefarious propaganda there. But, Government is unaware of this. It is most unfortunate.

Some Hon. Members: Who is that?

Shri K. P. Tripathi: Now, the policy behind this is this. If economic pressure can be put upon the people of Garo hills, Khasi hills and Lushai hills, what will be the result? The result will be that these hill people will try to go out of India. They will think that it is better to be in Pakistan than in India. It is with this political motive that economic pressure is put. The same economic pressure is not put on the West Bengal side. Therefore the Government thinks that everything is 'OK' there. But, unfortunately in these areas about which people do not know at all, this most insidious and continuous economic pressure is being put so that the people of these hills may be alienated from Indian loyalty and made to go over to Pakistan. Therefore, I completely underline this statement of Dr. Mookerjee that Government should have a policy, a forward policy, that so far as Pakistan is concerned, we will be cent per cent. gentlemen; but, we must have the policy that if Pakistan is not behaving as a gentleman, then our people on the border areas should not suffer and they should have their normal trade and there should be a ready method by which their produce and merchandise could immediately be switched over to other areas. It was said that roads are being built. You will realise, Sir, that road-building in these areas is very difficult. Two years ago, Government of India gave a lot of money. Then, Mr. Santhanam came out with the statement that Assam was wasting public funds, because it is so difficult to build roads there. Therefore, Sir, even if you sanction enough money it

will not be easy to build roads there. Therefore, some quick method has to be devised in order to save these people, to keep their loyalty intact. No quick method is devised. Of course, rice is being distributed. That is the only saving feature. I feel, Sir, that sufficient attention from the Government of India will help to solve this problem, and our nationals will not be tampered with in point of loyalty.

I learn further that in the Khasi hill border, there were mile posts, demarcation posts which have been uprooted and thrown into our territory and a lot of land which belonged to India has been encroached upon by Pakistan. Nothing has been done. How long shall this continue? Therefore, from this point of view, on the border areas, Government of India should have a policy. They should find out what are the border areas in which there are chances of conflict, chances of a trade blockade. These border areas should get a strategic priority if that is possible, and a military priority if it could be given. Otherwise, you would not be able to keep these people with you. I say there are many things which cannot be spoken in this way. They have to be realised and felt and thought in advance. That is what is called policy. What the people expect from the Government is policy, a definite policy of running the country; not in so many words and legislation. Here is an amendment of Lala Achint Ram. This amendment we should not have at all. In legislation, we should be on par with Pakistan, in the same way as one nation should be with another. These are matters to be carried out through policy. If the Government of India were resourceful enough and thoughtful enough, and had a policy, such questions would not arise.

Shri Gidwani (Thana): That is our regret from this side.

Shri K. P. Tripathi: I think the Government of India will, hereafter, find out what those areas are in which such a danger exists, the danger to put our people under economic crisis, and thereby tampering with their loyalty. I think these areas will be determined and adequate measures taken.

Mr. Chairman: May I make a suggestion to the House without trying to curtail legitimate discussion in any way? This Bill relates to the repeal of the *Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act*, necessitated by the fact that the permit system has been

abolished by Pakistan. Therefore, so far as the question of repealing that Act is concerned, I do not think there is much of opposition. The opposition is to the effect that because Pakistan has done certain things several courses have been suggested to the Government to follow. But, I think, if we carry on that discussion, though relevant, only on that basis, and repeat arguments more or less the same, it would not be proper from the point of view of any side of the House. Though no closure motion has been moved, I thought that hon. Members of this House may feel convinced that, after all, they have made almost all possible suggestions that could be made. Although that is not directly in issue so far as this Bill is concerned. Therefore, it would be better and there will be saving of money and time of the House—I do realise that the question is a very important one; but by making all these suggestions and repeating them, this problem is not going to be solved by this measure obviously if hon. Members agree, I would like to call upon the hon. Minister. I do not want to stifle discussion.

Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack): I only have a few words to say, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: I believe the suggestion probably is not acceptable to the House.

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Chairman: Unless there is a closure motion, I will allow. All the same, I would make one suggestion. Of course, the time at my disposal is very short. I will have to be particular that the same arguments are not repeated and the same suggestions made.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: I may assure you, Sir, that I am not in the habit of repeating arguments and I always try to finish in five or ten minutes. I am always unfortunate not to get more than ten minutes. I do not have to go over the same field again as Dr. Mookerjee has very eminently given all the facts. There are one or two points about Government's being firm.

One is, there are Pakistan pockets in India and Pakistanis are given all the advantages, by our Government, while there are Indian pockets in Pakistan where the Indian citizens do not get equal advantages from the Government of Pakistan. This is one thing in addition to what Dr. Mookerjee and the other speakers have given. I was surprised at what Mr. K P

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Tripathi said just now about the tribal areas, and that Government does not take any action in those strategic areas. We know from the British times that the British officers who administered these areas, had carried on propaganda and induced particularly the Nagas to ask for independence and they are demanding it now. If there is an Englishman doing any missionary work in that area, I cannot understand how this Government is allowing that man to carry on such disruptive propaganda as was detailed by Mr. Tripathi. This must be stopped. The third point that I want to press is the strengthening of the Assam Railway link, which alone can help the people in Assam to carry on their trade direct with India. After these few additions, I want to say that I feel very sorry that in this House

every time when there is a discussion of the Bengal question, there is no seriousness displayed by the Members of the House, particularly in the Government benches, and all kinds of obstruction are put in. I believe most of the Members of the House know that I come from Orissa. I am not a Bengali, but coming from.....

Mr. Chairman: Is the hon. Member likely to take some time?

Shri Sarangadhar Das: Yes.

Mr. Chairman: Then, the House will stand adjourned till 10-45 a.m. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 6th December, 1952.