

THE  
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA  
(LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

Official Report

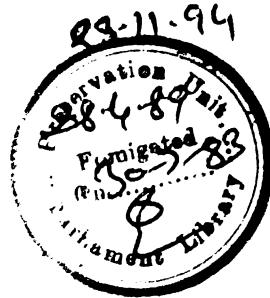
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Volume II, 1947

(29th November to 10th December, 1947)

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First Session  
OF THE  
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)  
1947



**DOMINION LEGISLATURE**  
**CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)**

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*The Speaker:*

**The Honourable Mr. G. V. MAVALANKAR.**

*Panel of Chairmen:*

**Pandit THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA, M.C.A.**

**Mr. HUSSAIN IMAM, M.C.A.**

**Shri M. ANANTHABAYANAM AYYANGAR, M.C.A.**

**Shrimati G. DURGABAI, M.C.A.**

*Secretary:*

**Mr. M. N. KAUL, Barrister-at-Law.**

*Assistants of the Secretary:*

**Mr. A. J. M. ATKINSON.**

**Mr. N. C. NANDI.**

**Mr. C. V. NARAYANA RAO.**

*Committee on Petitions:*

**Pandit THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA, M.C.A.**

**Shrimati G. DURGABAI, M.C.A.**

**Shri ARUN CHANDRA GUHA, M.C.A.**

**Shri MOHAN LAL SAKSENA, M.C.A.**

**Pandit MUKUT BIHARI LAL BHARGAVA, M.C.A.**

# CONTENTS

Volume II—29th November to 10th December, 1947.

## SATURDAY, 29TH NOVEMBER, 1947—

	Pages
Suspension of Question Hour . . . . .	835
Starred Questions and Answers . . . . .	835—54
Election to Central Advisory Board of Education . . . . .	854
Election to Standing Committee for Ministry of Law . . . . .	855
Income-tax and Business Profits Tax (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	855
Indian Army and Indian Air Force (Amendment) Bill— Extension of Time for Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	855
Motion <i>re</i> Relief and Rehabilitation of Refugees . . . . .	855—86, 891—923
Panel of Chairmen . . . . .	886—87
Standstill Agreement with H. E. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad . . . . .	887—91

## MONDAY, 1ST DECEMBER, 1947—

Starred Questions and Answers . . . . .	925—80
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> Announcement to decontrol sugar and consequent rise in prices—Disallowed . . . . .	981
Election to the Standing Committee for Ministries of Relief and Rehabilitation and Works, Mines and Power . . . . .	981—82
General Discussion of General Budget . . . . .	982—94, 995—1024
Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara Rent Control (Amendment) Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee . . . . .	994
Delhi Premises (Requisition and Eviction) Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee . . . . .	995

## TUESDAY, 2ND DECEMBER, 1947—

Starred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1025—56
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> Agreement between the Dominion of India and Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar—Disallowed . . . . .	1056
Elections to Standing Committees for the Ministry of States ; Ministry of Transport ; Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore ; Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association; and Standing Committee for Roads . . . . .	1056—58
Resolution <i>re</i> —	
Amelioration of condition of Scheduled Castes—Adopted as amended . . . . .	1058—99
Appointment of Statutory Law Revision Committee—Withdrawn . . . . .	1100—08
Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act—Not moved . . . . .	1108
Scientific Research into Ayurveda System of Medicine —Withdrawn . . . . .	1108—10
Training of Personnel for a National Mercantile Marine—Not moved . . . . .	1110—13

## WEDNESDAY, 3RD DECEMBER, 1947—

Declaration by Members . . . . .	1115
Starred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1115—60
Election to Court of University of Delhi . . . . .	1160
Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill—continued . . . . .	1161
Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—circulated . . . . .	1161—83
Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1184
Indian Bar Councils and the Legal Practitioners (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1184
Criminal Tribes (Repeal) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1184
Insurance (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1184
Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1184
Provincial Insolvency (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1185
Prevention of Forcible and Fraudulent Conversion of Hindu Women Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1185
Indian Cattle Preservation Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1185
Indian Companies (Amendment) Bill—Amendment of Section 86-F—Introduced . . . . .	1185
Indian Companies (Amendment) Bill—Amendment of Sections 25, 31, etc.—Introduced . . . . .	1185—86
Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1186
Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1186
Criminal Tribes (Repeal) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1186

## WEDNESDAY, 3RD DECEMBER, 1947—Contd.

	Pages
Hindu Inter Caste Marriage Regulating and Validating Bill—Introduced	1187
Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Amendment of Sections 161 and 162—Introduced	1187—88
Factories Bill—Introduced	1188
Damodar Valley Corporation Bill—Introduced	1188
Income Tax and Business Profits Tax (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended	1188—97
Extra Provincial Jurisdiction Bill—Referred to Select Committee	1197—98
Indian Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Bill—Passed	1198—1200

## THURSDAY, 4TH DECEMBER, 1947—

Starred Questions and Answers	1201—28
Elections to Central Advisory Boards of Archaeology and Education	1229
General Budget—List of Demands—	1229—71
✓ Demand No. 20—Ministry of Finance— Economy in Central Administration	1230—42
Demand No. 19—Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations— Position of India in International Affairs and of Indians in Commonwealth countries	1242—65
Demand No. 29—Ministry of Industry and Supply— Removal of control over cloth, yarn and commodities other than Food— Discussion not concluded	1265—71

## FRIDAY, 5TH DECEMBER, 1947—

Starred Questions and Answers	1273—88
Report of the Indian Government Delegates to 29th Session of International Labour Conference, Montreal—laid on the table	1288
Conventions and Recommendations adopted at 28th Session of International Labour Conference Seattle—laid on the table	1288—89
✓ General Budget—List of Demands—	1289—1316
Demand No. 29—Ministry of Industry and Supply— Removal of control over cloth, yarn and commodities other than Food	1289—1316
Demand No. 21—Ministry of Commerce— Corruption in working of Import and Export Licensing	1315
Demand No. 10—Cabinet— Corruption in Government Departments	1315—40
Planning and Development Programme for India	1340—43
Demands Nos. 1—18 and 20—103	1343—51

## SATURDAY, 6TH DECEMBER, 1947—

Declaration by Members	1353
Starred Questions and Answers	1353—79
Extra Provincial Jurisdiction Bill—Presentation of the Report of Select Committee	1379
Repealing and Amending Bill—Introduced	1380
Indian Tariff (Second Amendment) Bill—Introduced	1380
Armed Forces (Special Powers) Bill—Introduced	1380
Armed Forces (Emergency Duties) Amendment Bill—Introduced	1380
Indian Finance (Supplementary) Bill—Passed	1381—96
✓ Electricity (Supply) Bill—Discussion on the Motion to refer to Select Committee not concluded	1396—1422

## MONDAY, 8TH DECEMBER, 1947—

Starred Questions and Answers	1423—63
Motion for Adjournment re Failure of Government to stop Tribal Raids from Pakistan—Disallowed	1463
Committee on Petitions	1463
✓ Electricity (Supply) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	1464—67
✓ Indian Nursing Council Bill—Passed as amended	1467—68
✓ Delhi Premises (Requisition and Eviction) Bill—Passed as amended	1488—1506
Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara Rent Control (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended	1506—09

## TUESDAY, 9TH DECEMBER, 1947—

Starred Questions and Answers	1511—41
Death of Bhai Parmanand	1541
Short Notice Question and Answer	1542—43



TUESDAY, 9TH DECEMBER, 1947—Contd.

	Pages
Motion for Adjournment <i>re Zulum</i> on Harijans in Pakistan—Not moved . . . . .	1543
Election to All India Council for Technical Education . . . . .	1543—46
Indian Cotton Cess (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1546
Salaries of Ministers Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1546
Ajmer-Merwara (Extension of Laws) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1546
Federal Court (Enlargement of Jurisdiction) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1546
Extra Provincial Jurisdiction Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	1547—57, 1559—82
Statement <i>re</i> Negotiations between the Dominions of India and Pakistan on the question of division of Assets and Liabilities etc. . . . .	1558—59

WEDNESDAY, 10TH DECEMBER, 1947—

Suspension of Question Hour . . . . .	1583
Starred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1583—1622
Unstarred Questions and Answers . . . . .	1623—24
Short Notice Question and Answer . . . . .	1624—25
Statement <i>re</i> Employment of Gurkha Troops under the Government of India and His Majesty's Government . . . . .	1625—26
Election to Standing Committee for Ministry of Information and Broadcasting . . . . .	1626
Election to Standing Committee for Ministry of Commerce . . . . .	1626—27
Motion <i>re</i> Food Policy of Government of India—Talked out . . . . .	1627—77

# CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)

Saturday, 29th November, 1947.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

## SUSPENSION OF QUESTION HOUR

**Mr. Speaker:** In view of the importance of the subject of today's motion and the desire of a large number of Honourable Members to participate in the debate a request has been made to me to suspend the Question Hour so that the House may get one more hour for discussion of the motion. The practice, as I said on the last occasion, has been that the Question Hour is suspended by me only if the House is unanimous on that—not that the Chair has not got the power otherwise; but generally the power is not exercised, if there is a single dissentient voice. It appeared to me that the request was a very reasonable one in view of the importance of the subject; and in view of the very small number of questions we are able to put through everyday the Question Hour may as well be suspended. Honourable Members should know that the effect of the suspension is that the questions will be treated as unstarred questions and will find a place, along with their answers, in the proceedings, so that there is not much of a loss by suspending the Question Hour. Are Honourable Members agreeable for the suspension?

**Several Honourable Members:** Yes, yes.

**Mr. Speaker:** Then the Question Hour is suspended.

**Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth:** What will be the time-limit for speeches Sir?

**Mr. Speaker:** I thought I would mention that after the Honourable Minister has made his motion. So far as he is concerned I do not want to prescribe any time limit. Before I call upon the Honourable Minister to make his motion there are some formal motions to be made which we shall take up first.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

### (a) ORAL ANSWERS.

#### EXPENDITURE AND NUMBER OF GENERAL HOSPITALS IN INDIA

407. **\*Shri S. Nagappa:** Will the Honourable Minister of Health be pleased to state:

(a) the number of general Hospitals with the number of beds in each of the following categories of hospitals (i) tuberculosis hospitals (ii) ophthalmic hospitals (iii) maternity hospitals (iv) sanatoria and (v) mental hospitals throughout the Indian Union—province wise and State wise;

(b) the number of specialists in the different categories;

(c) the number of candidates that are sent abroad for specialisation in different medical subjects; and

(d) the amount of money spent on the training of each specialist?

**The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** (a) Attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the tables given on pages 41 and 42 of Volume I of the

\* Answers to these questions laid on the table, the question hour having been dispensed with.

Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, a copy of which is available in the Library of the House. The figures relate to India as a whole, excluding the Indian States, before partition. Particulars regarding the Indian States are not available.

(b) Accurate figures regarding the number of specialists in different categories are not available. A statement is laid on the table showing the membership of certain specialist Associations.

(c) A statement showing the number of candidates so far selected for study abroad in medical and allied subjects is laid on the table.

(d) The amount of expenditure varies in individual cases according to the duration of the course. Ordinarily a two years' course costs approximately Rs. 16,000 per student.

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*Statement showing the Membership of Certain Specialist Associations*

ASSOCIATION	Membership
Association of Surgeons of India . . . . .	339
Association of Physicians of India . . . . .	140
Radiologists . . . . .	150
Obstetricians & Gynaecologists . . . . .	261 (Excluding Punjab).
Dermatologists and Venereologists . . . . .	26 (This relates only to the province of Bombay).
Ophthalmologists . . . . .	200
Specialists in mental diseases . . . . .	52

*Leprosy*

Number of doctors who have received special training in leprosy under the auspices of British Empire Leprosy Relief Association . . . . . 1,121

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*Statement showing the number of students selected for study abroad in medical and allied Subjects.*

Subject	<i>Number of Candidates selected in each year</i>								
	1945			1946			1947		
	Can.	Prov.	States	Can.	Prov.	States	Can.	Prov.	States
Biochemistry . . . . .	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Pharmacy . . . . .	4	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
P. H. Engineering . . . . .	2	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Medical Librarian . . . . .	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
Medicine & its Branches . . . . .	..	..	..	..	8	..	5	9	2
Public Health . . . . .	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	1	..
Surgery . . . . .	..	..	..	4	5	..	4	6	1

Subject	Number of candidates selected in each year.								
	1945			1946			1947		
	Gen.	Prov.	States	Gen.	Prov.	States	Gen.	Prov.	States
Obstetrics & Gynaecology and Maternity & child welfare.	..	..	..	2	5	..	7	1	1
Maternity & child welfare .	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	3	..
Anatomy .	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..
Physiology . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Pathology . . . . .	..	..	..	1	2	..	1	..	..
Pharmacology . . . . .	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Industrial Health . . . . .	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	..
Tuberculosis . . . . .	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..
Veneral Diseases . . . . .	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..
Ear, Nose & Throat . . . . .	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..
Radiology . . . . .	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	2	2
Anaesthesia . . . . .	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	..
Epidemiology . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Orthopedes . . . . .	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
Ophthalmology . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	..
Medical Statistics . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Psychiatry . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Dentistry . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	3	..
Nutrition . . . . .	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	6	..

**PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES**

408 \*Shri S. Nagappa: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Health be pleased to state what percentage of the population of India can be looked after medically with the present technically trained medical staff?

(b) Is there any scheme under the contemplation of Government to re-organise present public health and medical services?

(c) If so, when do Government propose to give effect to the scheme and if not, why not?

The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: (a) The Health Survey and Development Committee in their report submitted in 1945 calculated that there was one doctor for every 6800 persons in British India.

(b) and (c). The Health Survey and Development Committee made comprehensive recommendations for the reorganisation of the present medical and public health systems in India. The Provincial Governments have these recommendations in view while framing their post-war medical and public health reconstruction schemes. The implementation of these schemes is being undertaken.

### MANUFACTURE OF AEROPLANES IN INDIA.

409. \*Shri S. Nagappa: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state the number of aeroplanes owned by the Royal Indian Air Force?

(b) Have Government any scheme or proposal under contemplation for manufacturing aeroplanes in India?

(c) If so, when will it be given effect to?

(d) If not, why not?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) It would not be in the public interest to disclose this information.

(b) and (c). Arrangements have been made for the assembly and manufacture of Percival Prentice Elementary Trainer Aircraft by the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. with the assistance of the Percival Aircraft Company, Ltd., England, but work will commence only when the proto-type which is now undergoing tests in England has been approved. In due course manufacture of other types of aircrafts will be undertaken.

(d) Does not arise.

### LOSS OF LIFE AND PROPERTY DUE TO COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES

410. \*Shri S. Nagappa: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state the names of the places where communal disturbances broke out during the last 2 years?

(b) What is the estimated loss of property and life?

(c) How do Government propose to prevent such disturbances and safeguard the lives, property and honour of the people?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a) and (b). The information is not readily available and the special effort involved in collecting it will not be commensurate with the result achieved.

(c) Government are taking all appropriate steps.

### BRITISH PERSONNEL IN SERVICE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

411. \*Mr. B. K. Sidhwa: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state how many British personnel were in service of the Government of India upto the end of October 1947, giving separate figures for each Department?

(b) Is there any period of service agreed upon in the case of those who are still in service?

(c) If so, what are the conditions and period of their service?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a) The number of British personnel in service on the 31st October 1947 under the Government of India (excluding the Armed Forces Personnel) is 2032. A statement giving separate figures for each Ministry is placed on the table of the House.

(b) and (c). The Government of India have guaranteed to all their employees including Europeans that they will be continued in service on the same conditions of service as before the Transfer of Power.

*Number of British personnel in service under the Government of India on the 31st October 1947 (excluding Armed forces personnel).*

Name of Ministry	No. of British personnel employed		
	Permanent	Contract for a specified period	Temporary
1. Ministry of Agriculture	23	2	2
2. Ministry of Commerce	10	5	4
3. Ministry of Communications	45	7	10
4. Ministry of Defence	209	22	135
5. Ministry of Education	1	3	2
6. Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations	395	6	296
7. Ministry of Finance	57	8	3
8. Ministry of Food	2	1	5
9. Ministry of Health	2	6	1
10. Ministry of Home Affairs	2		
11. Ministry of Industry and Supply	7	7	93
12. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting		2	11
13. Ministry of Labour	1	22	2
14. Ministry of Railways	562	2	10
15. Ministry of States	4		1
16. Ministry of Transport	24		7
17. Ministry of Works, Mines and Power	7	3	2
18. Cabinet Secretariat			1
Total	1,351	96	585
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,032</b>		

**UNAUTHORISED POSSESSION OF MODERN WEAPONS SURREPTITIOUSLY OBTAINED FROM BRITISH AND AMERICAN FORCES**

412. \*Mr. E. K. Sidhwa: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state the sources through which unauthorized, but most modern type of guns, rifles, ammunition, were obtained by some persons who have been responsible for using them during the recent disturbances in certain parts of India?

(b) Is it a fact that these modern weapons have been surreptitiously obtained from the American and British armed forces in India during and after the last War?

(c) What is the number of such weapons obtained from those forces?

(d) Do Government propose to make thorough searches for all such concealed weapons, in different parts of India?

(e) What is the number of such weapons found in the possession of unauthorized persons and confiscated?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a) and (b). As far as Government of India are aware illicit arms of modern type have been obtained from various sources including some members of the American and British forces operating in India during the war. But I regret any detailed disclosure of these sources would not be in the public interests.

(c) and (e). Special effort would be necessary to collect this information all over India and I do not consider that the time and labour involved would be justified by the utility of the information.

(d) If the Honourable Member has carefully followed Press reports he will realise that large scale searches are being made all over the country.

#### CLOSING OF SUPREME COMMAND HEAD QUARTERS

413. **\*Mr. R. K. Sidhwa:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence please state whether it is a fact that the Supreme Command Headquarters will be closed before the date originally fixed?

(b) If so, what is the date now fixed for its being closed?

(c) What are the reasons for closing this headquarters?

(d) What are the views of the Dominion of Pakistan in this matter?

(e) Is it a fact that the closing of this headquarters is the result of the disagreement between the Supreme Command and the Dominion of India?

(f) If not, what is the relationship which so far existed with regard to their functions between the Supreme Command and the Dominion of India?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) 30th November, 1947.

(c) to (f). I would refer the Honourable Member to the Press Communique on this subject published on the 18th November, 1947.

#### BROADCASTING OF THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT NEWS BY B. B. C

414. **\*Seth Govinddas:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state whether Government are aware of the facilities given by All-India Radio to B.B.C. authorities for broadcasting news of the Pakistan Government to foreign countries?

(b) Are Government aware that the B.B.C. has been using these facilities for doing anti-Indian propoganda?

(c) If the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, what action Government of India propose to take in the matter?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a) No, Sir.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

#### DIRECT COMMISSION IN THE I. A. O. C.

415. **\*Seth Govinddas:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state whether Government are aware that under Army Instruction (India) No. 23'S of 1947 fresh University Graduates are eligible for direct commission in the I.A.O.C.?

(b) Do Government propose to consider Ordnance Civilian Gazetted Officers' claims in this respect?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) and (b). Yes.

#### REGULAR COMMISSION FOR ORDNANCE CIVILIAN GAZETTED OFFICERS IN THE I.A.O.C.

416. **\*Seth Govinddas:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state whether Government are aware that in a recent press communique of the Government of India, it has been stated that owing to the

shortage of Indian Officers in the Army, some direct Regular Commissions will be granted to V.C.Os and also to Emergency Commissioned Officers who were graded in category VI and VII?

(b) Do Government propose to consider the cases of well-educated and technically experienced Ordnance Civilian Gazetted Officers of the I.A.O.C. also for such direct Commissions in the I.A.O.C.?

(c) In case it is not found possible to grant direct commissions, do Government propose to utilise their services in their present cadre on a permanent basis, or to find suitable posts in other departments for those not required in the I.A.O.C.?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). These suggestions will be considered.

#### DIVISION OF LOAN BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

417. \***Mr. R. K. Sidhwa:** Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) the total value of Government loans of various denominations, in both the Dominions, India and Pakistan;

(b) how these loans will be divided between these two Dominions; and

(c) whether a holder of a loan in the Dominion of Pakistan can cash it or transact it in the Dominion of India and *vice versa*; if so, under what terms and conditions?

**The Honourable Shri R. K. Shaamakhani Chetty:** (a) The outstanding rupee loans on the 31st May, 1947, the latest date for which figures are available, amounted to Rs. 1,781 crores roundly.

(b) Under the Indian Independence (Rights, Property and Liabilities) Order, 1947, the liability for the outstanding loans of the late Central Government has been placed on the Indian Dominion subject to Pakistan making an equitable contribution. The amount of this contribution has not yet been determined.

(c) If the Honourable Member desires to know whether a Pakistan holder can transfer his holding to the Indian Dominion for drawing interest or encashment when the loan falls due, the answer is in the affirmative. Such transfers can be made at any time. Drawal of interest and encashment in Pakistan will need special arrangements with the Pakistan Government and it is therefore contemplated that the privilege should be limited to present holdings and any encashments transferred on or before the 31st December 1947. No transfers of encashments to Pakistan will be made after that date.

#### RADIO STATION FOR ANDHRA PROVINCE

418. \***Prof. N. G. Ranga:** Will the Honourable Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to open a separate Radio Station for the Andhra Province; and

(b) if so, whether Government propose to consider the advisability of opening the radio station in Rayalaseema (Ceded Districts) either at Guntakal or any other central place in Rayalaseema?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Station for Andhra area is proposed to be established at Bezvada on the recommendations of the Government of Madras.

#### SUBSIDY TO ORISSA FOR DEALING WITH LEPROSY

419. \***Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Health be pleased to state the number of cases of leprosy in the different Provinces of India?



(b) Are Government aware that out of every 70 cases, one belongs to Orissa?

(c) Do Government propose to give larger subsidies to Orissa for dealing with leprosy?

**The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** (a) Government have no information beyond what is stated on pages 186-188 of the Health Survey and Development Committee's Report, Vol. II.

(b) It is estimated that the number of people suffering from Leprosy in Orissa Province is about 120,000. The Special Committee on Leprosy appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Health in 1941 estimated that the total number of cases of leprosy in the whole of India was probably about one million.

(c) It should be possible for the expenditure on their anti-leprosy schemes to be adjusted by the Orissa Government from the Central Government's over all contribution towards their general development programmes.

#### RECOMMENDATION re CONTROL OF LEPROSY BY ALL INDIA LEPROSY WORKERS CONFERENCE HELD AT WARDHA

**420. \*Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Health be pleased to state whether Government are aware that the All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference at Wardha in their recommendation relating to the control of leprosy has stated that isolation is the only sure-way of controlling leprosy and that agricultural or occupational colonies for lepers are the most suitable methods of applying isolation?

(b) What action Government propose to take in this direction?

**The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** (a) Government have not so far received the recommendations of the All India Leprosy Workers' Conference held at Wardha, but it is understood that one of the recommendations of that Conference is on the lines indicated by the Honourable Member in his question.

(b) Government propose to bring the recommendations of the Wardha Conference to the notice of the Provincial Governments, if and when received from the authorities of the Conference.

#### TRANSFER OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES FROM PAKISTAN TO INDIA

**421. \*Mr. B. K. Sidhwa:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state the expenditure incurred on transfer of Central Government employees from the Dominion of Pakistan to the Dominion of India?

(b) Have travelling allowance and other expenses of their families been paid to the employees? If so, how much?

(c) Does the total cost include the expenditure on travelling of their families?

(d) Do Government propose to pay their full salary from the date of their being relieved by the Dominion of Pakistan until their joining the service of the Dominion of India?

**The Honourable Shri B. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a), (b), (c) and (d). Staff of the Central Government serving in the Dominion of Pakistan and opting service in India are on transfer entitled to travelling allowance under the rules for themselves and their families. Such staff on transfer will also be entitled to joining time pay. In the circumstances in which evacuation from Pakistan has taken place it is not possible to say whether all India opted staff have drawn advances towards their travelling expenses. In some cases as personnel have been evacuated in Government transport the exact expenditure incurred on their account is not ascertainable. The exact figure of cost on account of the transfer or evacuation of Government personnel and their families is not

available and unlikely to be available for a considerable time even after the transfer of personnel is completed. The collection of the information will in the present circumstances involve time, labour and expense, which Government would like to avoid.

#### LOAN FROM INTER-NATIONAL BANK

**422. \*Seth Govinddas:** Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Inter-National Bank is chiefly concentrating on investments to be made for the speedy recovery of Europe;

(b) whether Government are aware that such preoccupation is likely to detract attention from the rehabilitation of the Far East and industrial expansion of India;

(c) whether the Government of India propose to press for proper help by the Bank to the countries of the East; and

(d) do Government propose to apply to the Inter-National Bank for a loan in order to implement many schemes of India's post-war reconstruction which require immediate investment for the good of the people of India?

**The Honourable Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a) and (b). Under Article III Section I of the Articles of Agreement of the Bank for Reconstruction and Development the resources and facilities of the Bank shall be used exclusively for the benefit of members. The number of members of the Bank in the Far East is small compared with those in Europe; and, among the latter, a considerable number have made applications for loans, while, among the former, none has up to date. As the Bank can grant a loan only on application made by a member, and not *suo moto*, the present position can only be remedied by action on the part of the member-countries themselves. The Bank is, however, fully aware of the position and I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the Second Annual Report of the Bank, a copy of which is available in the Library of the House, where it is stated that it should not be very long before the financing of development projects in other areas, including Asia, will tend to become its primary concern.

(c) India's representatives on the Bank will use their best endeavours to ensure that, when applications from member-countries in the East are under examination, and consistent with the Rules and Regulations of the Bank, such requests for financial assistance are examined with sympathy.

(d) Government will consider this matter at the appropriate time as necessity arises.

#### EXPENDITURE re GUN CARRIAGE FACTORY, JUBBULPORE

**423. \*Seth Govinddas:** Will the Honourable Minister of Defence please state:

(a) the articles manufactured in the Gun Carriage Factory, Jubbulpore during the period from 1st October 1946 to 1st October 1947;

(b) the total cost of maintaining the Establishment of the Gun Carriage Factory, Jubbulpore, during the above period; and

(c) the cost of production of the articles referred to in part (a) above with their market value?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a), (b) and (c). The information is being collected and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

## CIRCUIT HIGH COURT AT DELHI

424. \*Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Will the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware of the fact that great inconvenience is being caused to the people of Delhi on account of the location of the High Court of the East Punjab at a place like Simla;

(b) whether Government have considered the desirability of asking the Government of the East Punjab to make immediate arrangement for providing a Circuit High Court at Delhi; and

(c) if not, whether Government propose to do so now?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a) I appreciate that the location of the High Court at Simla has caused inconvenience to the litigants but I am sure Honourable Members realise as also the general public, that it is a comparatively minor part of the general dislocation and consequent manifold major inconveniences that have attended partition.

(b) and (c). The question of a Circuit High Court in Delhi has been engaging the attention of Government independent of the point made by the Honourable Member but it is obvious that a matter of this kind must await until conditions settle down.

## RECOVERY OF UNLICENSED ARMS FROM MUSLIMS

425. \*Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Will the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) the number and description of fire arms and other unlicensed arms and the quantity of ammunition that has been recovered during the last two months by police from the possession of Muslims in the province of Delhi;

(b) how many persons have been arrested and are being prosecuted in that connection; and

(c) why timely steps were not taken to prevent this accumulation of unauthorised arms?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a) A statement is laid on the table.

(b) 110 persons were arrested and 112 are being prosecuted.

(c) The accumulations appear to have been made over a long period when communal tension was at its highest and when the so-called coalition Government was in office. I am sure the Honourable Member will appreciate the difficulty of instituting large-scale searches under such conditions and without such searches it would have been impossible to unearth these accumulations. Moreover the Honourable Member must bear in mind the communal composition of the Police during this period.

*Statement of Fire arms, ammunition, bombs, acid, lethal weapons etc., recovered with a very few exceptions from Muslims in September and October, 1947 in the Delhi Province*

<i>Description</i>	<i>Unauthorised</i>
Guns D.B.B.L.	41
Shot Guns	10
Rifles	21
Pistols or Revolvers	32
Cartridges rifle	1950
Stengun Cartridges	243
Ammunition	3 boxes
Swords and Kirpans	63
Qupdis (Sword sticks and gun sticks)	14
Mortars etc.	45
Bombs	154
Wireless Transmitter Sets	13
Petrol	Gallons .. 15
Kerosine Oil	" 14
Spears	32
Empty Cartridges	869
Khukhris	3
Mould for the preparation of cartridges	13
Sulphur	9 seer and 15 chhataks
Gun Powder	8 seers
Lead Shots	4 Maunds

#### DIVISION OF DELHI PROVINCE IN FOUR DISTRICTS

**426. \*Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** Will the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Government propose to divide the Delhi Province in four districts and appoint a separate I.C.S. Officer as District Magistrate and a separate Superintendent of Police for each such District for the maintenance of law and order?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** The answer is in the negative.

#### SCHOLARS SENT TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

**427. \*Shri Jadubans Sahay:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state the number of scholars who have been sent by the Government of India to foreign countries for receiving training or higher Education during the period from January, 1946 to April 1947?

(b) What is their number province-wise and is there any disparity in selecting candidates from the Provinces?

(c) If so, what steps Government propose to take to create parity in selecting candidates from the Provinces?

**The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad:** (a) A statement showing the number of scholars sent by the Government of India to foreign countries during the period from January, 1946 to April, 1947, arranged province-wise, is placed on the table of the House.

(b) No, Sir. The Selection Board, Overseas Scholarships, selects Central scholars who are drawn from Provinces also on consideration of merit on an All-India competition basis, though attention is paid to the rights of minority communities in accordance with the communal ratio prescribed by the Ministry of Home Affairs for purposes of recruitment to services.

(c) For provincial scholarships for which selections are recommended by Provincial Governments, every province is allocated a definite quota in accordance with the requirements of the province and the question of disparity does not arise.

Statement showing the number of Scholars sent by the Government of India to foreign countries for Training or higher education during the period January, 1946 to April, 1947 and the Province (or State) to which they belong

S. No.	Province (or state)	Govt. of India Overseas scholarships Scheme			Scheduled Caste Scholarships Scheme	Central States Scholarships Scheme	Scheme for promotion of Cultural contacts with China	Total for all Schemes
		Central	Provi.	Total				
1	Assam . . . . .	3	5	8	Nil	Nil	Nil	8
2	Bengal . . . . .	43	20	63	2	Nil	Nil	65
3	Bihar . . . . .	2	7	9	Nil	Nil	Nil	9
4	Bombay . . . . .	6	27	33	1	Nil	Nil	34
5	C.P. & Berar . . . . .	2	14	16	Nil	Nil	Nil	16
6	Delhi . . . . .	1	1	1	Nil	2	Nil	3
7	Madras . . . . .	36	28	64	1	Nil	Nil	65
8	N.W.F.P. . . . .	2	1	3	Nil	Nil	Nil	3
9	Orissa . . . . .	2	16	18	Nil	Nil	Nil	18
10	Punjab . . . . .	26	29	55	1	Nil	Nil	56
11	U. P. . . . .	19	23	42	Nil	Nil	Nil	42
12	Sind . . . . .	Nil	5	5	Nil	Nil	Nil	5
13	Cochin State . . . . .	2		2	Nil	Nil	Nil	2
14	C. I. Agency . . . . .	1		1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
15	Hyderabad State . . . . .	1		1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
16	Indore State . . . . .	1		1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
17	Kashmere State . . . . .	1		1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
18	Jaipur State . . . . .	1		1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
19	Travancore State . . . . .	7		7	Nil	Nil	Nil	7
20	Mysore State . . . . .	16		16	Nil	Nil	Nil	16
	TOTAL . . . . .	172	176	347	5	2	Nil	354

#### MAINTENANCE OF AERODROMES CONSTRUCTED DURING WAR

423. \*Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether any steps are being taken to keep in working order all the aerodromes and landing places which were constructed during the war, in view of the prevailing uncertain conditions of world security;

(b) what will be the maintenance cost of these places; and

(c) whether the Defence and the Communications Ministries of the Government of India have come to any agreement as to their respective shares in their maintenance?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) No, Sir. Only those aerodromes and landing grounds are maintained which are required by the Government of India in the post-war organisation.

(b) Expenditure incurred on the maintenance of airfields by the Defence Services is as follows:—

1946-47	Rs. 1,68,31,000
(actual)	
1947-48	Rs. 99,68,000
(estimated)	

Expenditure incurred on the maintenance of airfields transferred to the Director-General of Civil Aviation is as follows:—

1946-47	Not available.
1947-48	Rs. 23,00,000
(estimated)	

(c) Yes, Sir. The Ministry of Defence has transferred to the Director-General of Civil Aviation such aerodromes and landing grounds constructed by the Defence Services during the war as were considered to be necessary for the implementation of post-war plans for the development of Civil-Aviation in India.

#### NILGIRIS ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM FOR VULKERKUNDO, BERLIN.

**429. \*Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state whether Government are aware that there is an excellent collection of antiquities in the Museum for Vulkerkundo, Berlin, from the megaliths of the Nilgiris of South India?

(b) Can the Museum authorities at Stersman Strasse, Berlin, be approached for information regarding literature or photographs about these?

(c) Are Government aware that the scholars in India working on this subject of megaliths are greatly handicapped for want of the above-mentioned literature or photographs?

**The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad:** (a) It is understood that there is or at least was a collection of antiquities from South India in the Museum for Vulkerkundo at Berlin, but the character and extent of the material is not known.

(b) Government have under their consideration a proposal to depute a small delegation of experts to the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other countries of Europe to gather all information regarding the existence of antiquities and other material of cultural interest to India. If the proposal materialises the Berlin Museum will also be visited in due course.

(c) As megalithic material is very abundant in South India and Indian scholars working upon the subject are not seriously handicapped by the temporary absence of the information referred to.

#### TRAINING OF HOME GUARDS.

**430. \*Pandit Hriday Nath Kunru:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state whether Government propose to train Home Guards on the lines on which Home Guards were trained in England during the War?

(b) If so, do Government propose to give full information regarding the scheme?

(c) What is the number of Home Guards proposed to be trained?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a), (b) and (c). Most of the Provincial Governments have already passed necessary legislation to raise and

train forces known as Home Guards to augment the police. The question of raising similar forces in the Centrally administered areas is under consideration. The question of raising an auxiliary force to serve as a second line of defence is being examined.

#### EXPANSION OF ARMED FORCES BY PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT.

481. \*Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the decision of the Government of Pakistan to raise National Guards under the control of the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army?

(b) Are Government aware that this decision is tantamount to a breach of Agreement with the Government of India in so far as the Partition Council had agreed that during the period of reorganisation of the Army neither Dominion would directly or indirectly increase its Armed Forces?

(c) If the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, what steps have Government taken to combat this open breach of the Agreement?

(d) Are Government aware of the danger to the safety of India if large scale militarisation of Pakistan is allowed to proceed unchecked in this manner?

(e) What measures, if any, have Government taken or propose to take to counteract this menace?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes, but the Pakistan Government do not accept this contention.

(c) Government have made their own views known to the Pakistan Government.

(d) The Honourable Member will appreciate that it is not within the power of this Government to foster or restrict the scale of militarisation in Pakistan.

(e) Government have in view dangers which may arise. It will not be in the public interest to disclose further details.

#### RELEASE OF STERLING ASSETS.

482. \*Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that out of the £85 million released to India under Clause 1, Article IV, of the Interim Agreement on Sterling Assets concluded between the Government of India and the British Government in August last, £15 million was spent between 15th July and 14th August of this year;

(b) whether the balance available to India up to the end of December this year would be only £20 million; and

(c) whether any portion of the working balance of £20 million under Article V of the Interim Agreement on Sterling Assets, would be available for normal commercial transactions, in view of the condition that the "balance may be drawn upon, from time to time, to meet any temporary shortage in India's available means of payment abroad"?

The Honourable Shri B. K. Shanmukham Chetty: (a) and (b). It is not in the public interest to give current information relating to operations in the No. 1 Account.

(c) Yes.

#### INDIA'S POSITION IN "DOLLAR POOL".

483. \*Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state what was the position of the Dollar Pool and India's

interest therein since the convertibility of sterling earned in current transactions came into force from 15th July?

(b) What was the position of India's Balance of Trade with the United States of America as well as other hard currency countries during the year 1946?

**The Honourable Shri E. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a) I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to my answer to question No. 270 given on the 25th November 1947, and to my Budget Speech.

(b) The balance of trade in merchandise between India and the United States of America and other countries is shown in the Accounts relating to the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of British India which are published every month. Copies of these are available in the library of the House. Statistics regarding India's balance of payments have been given in my Budget Speech.

#### TAXATION ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

**434. \*Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware of announcement made by the Minister of Finance, Government of India, in his Budget Speech in March, 1946, regarding the appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Committee to review the whole taxation system of the country and to make recommendations;

(b) whether this enquiry was postponed pending the constitutional developments;

(c) whether Government propose to appoint such a Committee in the near future; and

(d) whether Government propose to make such Committee a broad based one by including representatives of Indian commercial and Industrial interests as well as representatives of the Indian States?

**The Honourable Shri E. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a) and (b). Yes, Sir.

(c) and (d). The appropriate time for the appointment of such a Committee will be after the financial provisions of the new constitution regarding allocation of the resources as between the Centre and the Provinces have been settled. At that time the suggestion of the Honourable Member given in part (d) will be borne in mind.

#### COINING OF INDIAN MONEY BY MEXICAN TREASURY.

**435. \*Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to a press report stating that Mexican Treasury is going to undertake the coining of Indian money and if so, the reasons for assigning this work to the mints in Mexico?

**The Honourable Shri E. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** The press report is without foundation.

#### ALLOTMENT RELEASED FROM STERLING BALANCE TO PAKISTAN.

**436. \*Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** Will the Honourable Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of India have agreed to spare Rs. 9 crores for the Government of Pakistan out of the total amount of Rs. 85 crores which Britain has agreed to release from the sterling balances;



(l) whether it is a fact that the Government of Pakistan's legitimate demand did not exceed Rs. 6 crores and that the Government of India had previously agreed to release Rs. 6 crores to Pakistan;

(c) the basis on which the allotment of the amount of Rs. 9 crores to the Government of Pakistan, has been agreed to; and

(d) the reasons for the Government of India agreeing to increase the amount from Rs. 6 crores to Rs. 9 crores?

**The Honourable Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** (a), (b), (c) and (d). The answer to all the parts of the question is in the negative. The Honourable Member is presumably referring to the release of sterling as a result of the recent Interim Agreement with His Majesty's Government and the distribution of the £. 65 million placed in the No. 1 Account. The sterling balances are the property of the Reserve Bank and any releases now obtained are shared between the two Dominions for the financing of their import trade. The two Dominions have agreed to follow the same import policy as was in existence before the partition. Under this procedure each Dominion issues its own import licences imported articles being divided for the purpose of allocating foreign exchange into three categories—(a) those for which there is no exchange restriction, otherwise known as "no-limit" items; (b) those for which a definite allocation of foreign exchange has been made, called "Limit" items; and (c) those for which no foreign exchange is available, the imports of which are totally excluded.

For (a) both Pakistan and India issue import licences freely. For (c) no licences are issued by either Dominion. As regards (b), it was decided by the Partition Council that India and Pakistan should issue licences after partition to the extent of Rs. 16 crores and Rs. 4 crores respectively. On a review of the position it was subsequently decided to increase India's allocation in this respect to Rs. 26 crores and Pakistan's allocation to Rs. 6½ crores for the period ending 31st December, 1947.

#### USE OF PLANES FOR OPERATIONS IN KASHMIR.

437. \*Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state how many planes of the Indian Air Force and Royal Air Force and transport planes belonging to the Ministry of Defence were requisitioned and put into use by the Ministry of Defence for repelling the invasion of Kashmir by the raiders?

(b) How many planes of the Indian Air Force were in mechanically perfect condition for immediate use?

(c) Is it a fact that many of the fighters, bombers and transport planes were not in order?

(d) How many planes belong to the Civil aviation companies were requisitioned and put into use in Kashmir?

(e) What is the loss, if any, caused to the planes, Civil and Military, in the whole operation?

(f) What is the number of casualties of the air personnel, if any?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) to (f). It is not in the public interest to disclose the information asked for, but I would make it clear that no Royal Air Force aircraft have been used in the Kashmir operations.

#### PERMANENT COMMISSIONS TO I. E. C. O.'s.

438. \*Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state what was the number of Indian Emergency Commissioned Officers who attended the camp which was held at Yola last summer?

(b) How many of them have been declared fit to be granted Permanent Commissions?

(c) How many of them will receive Permanent Commissions in the Indian Artillery, Signals, Engineers and Corps of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers respectively?

(d) Is it a fact that many technical officers have left the Army during the last two years?

(e) Have Government taken any steps to persuade them to re-enter the Army?

(f) If so, how many of them have agreed to do so?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) 1783.

(b) The number selected for the Indian Army is 563.

(c) Royal Indian Artillery. 58.

Indian Signal Corps. 35.

Royal Indian Engineers. 24.

Indian Electrical & Mechanical Engineers 10.

(d) No. not many.

(e) and (f). Government have announced that officers who took their release may again apply for re-commissioning in the Army.

#### DEMOBILIZATION OF COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

**439. \*Shri S. Nagappa:** Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of King's Commissions, Emergency Commissions and Viceroy's Commissions that were granted during the last war;

(b) how many of those Commissioned officers have been demobilised;

(c) how many of such demobilised Commissioned officers have been provided with jobs; and

(d) what Government propose to do with regard to those who are not provided with jobs?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) King's Commissions to

Indians	Nil.
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Emergency Commissions to Indians	15,460
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Viceroy's Commissions	84,500
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(b) Released up to 1st October 1947:

Commissioned Officers:	6,070
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V. C. Os.	19,750
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(c) The information is not readily available. There are many ways in which employment has been found for demobilised officers and it will not be possible to answer this question fully without considerable labour and delay.

(d) Government have created an employment organisation to help demobilised officers in obtaining re-employment.

#### RECRUITMENT FOR ALL INDIA SERVICES.

**440. \*Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state whether Government are aware of the system of recruitment in Government services in the Bombay Presidency?

(b) If so, do Government propose to evolve a similar scheme of recruitment for the All India Services?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a) Yes.

(b) No.

**NAMES AND CASTES OF SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS SENT ABROAD.**

**441. \*Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** Will the Honourable Minister of Education be pleased to state the names and castes of all persons who have received scholarships for studies abroad from the Government of India and the Provincial Governments for each year beginning from 1940 up to the present day?

**The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad:** †The statements showing the required information are placed on the table of the House.

**STATEMENT *re* SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDED FOR STUDIES ABROAD.**

**442. \*Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Will the Honourable Minister of Education please lay a statement on the table of the House giving the names of those to whom over-seas scholarships have been awarded, the respective amounts of money, the duration of scholarship, and the place of study?

**The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad:** †Statements showing the required information are placed on the table of the House.

**ALLEGATIONS AGAINST COMMANDER OF BOUNDARY FORCE.**

**443. \*Shrimati Dakshayani Velayudhan:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state who was in charge of the Boundary Force for the Indian Union when the partition was effected in the Punjab?

(b) Is the allegation that the European Chief of the Boundary Force for Indian Union did not care to protect the people of the Union living in the area of the Boundary correct?

(c) Is the allegation that the same Commander sided with the Pakistan troops to create disturbance in the Punjab correct?

(d) Is the allegation that the Dogra troops of the Union Boundary Force were removed from the Hindu localities in order to aid the Pakistan Boundary Force correct?

(e) Is it a fact that the Indian Forces left in Pakistan were disarmed in many places by orders of the Military Commander?

(f) Will Government be pleased to reveal the strength of the Military used by the Union for the Boundary Force?

(g) How was the Boundary line ascertained?

(h) What action Government have taken to demarcate the Boundary?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) The Punjab Bombay Force was under the control of the Supreme Commander and the Joint Defence Council representing both India and Pakistan. It was commanded by Major General T. W. Rees. Brig. Digambar Singh Brar was attached to him in an advisory capacity on behalf of India.

(b) to (e). No, Government are aware that there have been allegations of partiality against this Force, which had a very difficult task to perform. Government do not however consider that any investigation of these is now possible or of any real use.

(f) Approximately 16,000.

(g) and (h). I am afraid, the Honourable Member is under a misapprehension. There was no question of demarcating any Boundary in regard to this Force. The Punjab Boundary Force was formed as a special joint military com-

†Not printed in these Debates. A copy placed in the Library of the House.—*Ed. of D.*

mand to help the civil authorities in East and West Punjab in maintaining law and order in the disputed border districts of Sialkot, Gujranwala, Sheikhpura, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ferozepore and Ludhiana.

STATES WITH AND WITHOUT RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENTS.

**444. \*Shri S. Nagappa:** Will the Honourable Minister of States be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of States where there is full responsible Government; and
- (b) the number of States where there is no such responsible Government?

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel:** (a) and (b). The information is not readily available. It is being collected and will be placed on the table of the House in due course.

PURCHASE OF BRITISH WAR MATERIALS BY PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT.

**445. \*Shri Phool Singh:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Pakistan Government are buying 50,000 Mark V Rifles from the Supreme Commander out of the surplus stocks of British War materials lying in India?

(b) Does any agreement exist between the Indian Union and the British Government regarding the disposal of such materials?

(c) If the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, do Government propose to lay on the table of the House a copy of the same?

(d) Are Government satisfied that the British Government are not violating the terms of the agreement?

(e) Are the Indian Government in need of Arms?

(f) What steps have Government so far taken to make good the deficiency?

(g) What steps Government propose to take to meet the menace from the Pakistan Government?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) No.

(b) There is no formal agreement but the British Government's stocks or stores in India which were not acquired by the old Government of India are intended to meet H.M.G.'s requirements outside India and Pakistan. They are therefore being shipped out under H.M.G.'s instructions.

(c) and (d). Do not arise.

(e) No.

(f) Does not arise.

(g) Government are alive to the dangers from inside or outside the borders of India. It will not be in the public interest to disclose further details.

PURCHASE OF BRITISH WAR MATERIAL BY HYDERABAD STATE.

**446. \*Shri Phool Singh:** Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Hyderabad State is purchasing 300 armoured car Sherman tanks as scrap from the British war material stocks lying in India;

(b) have Government satisfied themselves that the machines represented as scrap in the Supreme Command are really so;

(c) are Government aware that the Hyderabad Government are fast increasing their Armed Forces and are arming the League National Guards; and

(d) what steps do Government propose to take to meet the menace from the Hyderabad State?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) No.

(b) Yes. All such machines are of obsolete type and have been carefully inspected by technical experts. Before an armoured vehicle is disposed of, it is rendered useless under Military supervision.

(c) Government have seen many reports to this effect.

(d) Government are fully alive to the situation in Hyderabad.

#### FORMATION OF PAKISTAN NATIONAL GUARD UNDER ARMY CONTROL.

**447. \*Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Defence be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Partition Council had agreed that during the reconstruction period none of the Dominions of India and Pakistan will increase its armed forces?

(b) If so, are Government aware of the recent Ordinance promulgated by the Governor-General of Pakistan, announcing the formation of the National Guard in Pakistan under the control of the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army?

(c) If the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, what action do the Government of India intend to take in this connection?

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh:** (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) I would refer the Honourable Member to my answer to Starred Question No. 431 asked by Shri Deshbandhu Gupta a short while ago.

#### ELECTION TO CENTRAL BOARD OF EDUCATION

آریہیل مولانا ابولکلام آزاد - جناب مجھے یہ تجویز پیش کرنی ہے -

کہ اس اسمبلی کو چاہئے کہ ایسے طریقے سے جس سے آریہیل سبھکر منظور کریں اپنی تعداد میں سے پانچ شخصوں کے چناؤ کی کارروائی اختیار کرے، یہ پانچ شخص (Central Advisory Board of Education India) کے ممبر قرار پائینگے اور

جس تاریخ کو انکا چناؤ ہوگا - اسی تاریخ سے انکی ممبری شروع ہوگی۔

**The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (Minister for Education):** Sir I

move:

"That the members of this Assembly do proceed to elect, in such manner as may be approved by the Honourable the Speaker, five persons from among their own numbers to be members of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India with effect from the date of election"

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the members of this Assembly do proceed to elect, in such manner as may be approved by the Honourable the Speaker, five persons from among their own numbers to be members of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India, with effect from the date of election."

The motion was adopted.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have to inform Honourable Members that for the purpose of election by means of the single transferable vote of members to the Central Advisory Board of Education the programme of dates will be as follows:—

(1) Nominations to be filled in the Notice Office upto 12 noon on Wednesday, the 3rd December.

(2) Election, if necessary, will be held on Saturday, the 6th December in the Assistant Secretary's room (No. 21) in the Council House between the hours of 10.30 A.M. and 1 P.M.

## ELECTION TO STANDING COMMITTEE FOR MINISTRY OF LAW

**Mr. Speaker:** I have to inform the Assembly that upto 12 noon on Thursday, the 27th November, 1947, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Standing Committee for the Ministry of Law, five nominations were received. As the number of candidates is equal to the number of vacancies, I declare the following members to be duly elected:—(1) Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, (2) Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand, (3) Dr. P. K. Sen, (4) Shrimati G. Durgabai, and (5) Mr. B. Pocker Sahib Bahadur.

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## INCOME-TAX AND BUSINESS PROFITS TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL

**The Honourable Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty** (Minister for Finance): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, and the Business Profits Tax Act, 1947.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Income-tax Act 1922, and the Business Profits Tax Act, 1947.”

The motion was adopted.

**The Honourable Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty:** Sir, I introduce the Bill.

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## INDIAN ARMY AND THE INDIAN AIR FORCE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

**The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh** (Minister for Defence): Sir, I beg to move:

“That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911 and the Indian Air Force Act, 1932, for certain purposes and to make certain consequential amendments to the Administrator General's Act 1913, be extended upto the opening day of the next session of the Assembly”.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

“That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911 and the Indian Air Force Act, 1932, for certain purposes and to make certain consequential amendments to the Administrator General's Act 1913, be extended upto the opening day of the next session of the Assembly”.

The motion was adopted.

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## MOTION RE RELIEF AND REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

**The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy** (Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation): Sir, I beg to move:

“That the problem of the relief and rehabilitation of refugees be taken into consideration”.

I am grateful for this opportunity to place before the house a picture of the refugee problem in so far as I am able to envisage it. The House, I am sure, will understand that the magnitude of the problem has been such that there has been no historical parallel to it. Nowhere in history has a transfer of population of such dimensions taken place in such a short time and under such conditions. The House will also realise that the Government was faced with this problem at a time when the administrative machinery was partly out of joint as a result of the Partition, and we had hardly settled down to the task of the governance of Free India. The problem that faced us in so far as refugees are concerned was not really one problem, but literally scores of problems each one having an importance and urgency of its own. I would like to tell the House of our shortcomings, of our frustrations and of our failures for which the blame is not entirely ours but must be shared in a large degree by

[Shri K. O. Neogy]

Pakistan authorities, and, against the background of a bleak picture, of our modest achievements.

Today we have recovered over 4 million non-Muslims from West Pakistan. The M. E. O. started active operations on the 4th September and has evacuated so far by rail, by road transport and by foot convoy 25,88,000 persons. Some 5 lakhs had come out before 15th August and it is estimated that another 8 lakhs came out between 15th August and 4th September. It may be said that about five lakhs still remain to be evacuated, but no accurate figures are yet available, and this is a matter which is still the subject of investigation. Amongst those that remain to be evacuated about 50,000 are in N. W. F. P.

From Sind out of a total non-Muslim population of 18 to 14 lakhs, 2½ lakhs have already come out. We provided all available shipping to promote evacuation from Karachi. With the assistance of the Jodhpur Government we had arranged for Refugee Specials to be run from Hyderabad-Sind in addition to the scheduled trains.

In regard to the non-Muslim population still left behind in Pakistan, I would like to emphasise that there are three classes of persons, who have been engaging our serious attention. These are abducted women, persons forcibly converted to Islam and the Harijans.

In regard to abducted women, we have to depend on the active assistance of Military authorities, District authorities, women social workers and prominent persons of the locality concerned. Such activity must be organized on both sides of the border and must be complementary. A machinery for this purpose is already in operation and further proposals have been made to the Pakistan Government for the enlarging of such machinery, and in the light of the reports we are receiving I am hopeful of some co-operation.

The problem of the Harijans still remaining in Pakistan is engaging the earnest attention of the Government. The Government recognise that the economic position of this class of people is such that they could not themselves move in the matter of leaving Pakistan and getting over to India without special assistance. It also seems likely that the services that they have been rendering to the people in the area in which they are living would make the Pakistan authorities unwilling to assist in their evacuation. I can assure the House that everything that is possible for this Government to do in this connection will be done.

Broadly speaking, the question of Relief and Rehabilitation of refugees can be classified under the following heads: Reception to Refugees at the time their arrival from Pakistan; Provision of adequate shelter; Provision of food; Provision of clothing; Medical Relief; Dispersal of Refugees; Resettlement of refugees in rural areas and finding employment for them; Settlement of urban refugees, not to speak of other ancillary problems that baffle classification.

I now turn to the question of affording relief to the Refugees and would at once admit that the magnitude of the task with which we were faced was such that it was impossible to achieve any high degree of perfection. I do not claim that the present arrangements are anywhere near being as good as I would like them to be. All I claim is that we and the East Punjab Government have put out our maximum effort. After making allowances for the disorganisation and disruption of governmental machinery in the affected areas and the abnormality of conditions under which the Government were working I feel that the East Punjab Government have done their best. The House will remember that the late rains and the consequent floods in the rivers considerably added to our difficulties. The refugees that were in transit and in some of the camps were badly exposed to the weather. The breakdown of communications over

the greater part of East Punjab hampered our work. We were and are still badly off in the matter of providing suitable arrangements for the reception of refugees at the time of their arrival from Pakistan. This defect is partly due to the fact that the ultimate destination of railway trains from Pakistan in East Punjab are determined by the Pakistan M. E. O. who are responsible for drawing up the programme for evacuation of Muslims from East Punjab into Pakistan. With the assistance of my esteemed colleague Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar and the collaboration of the East Punjab Government we are endeavouring to remedy our shortcomings in this matter.

The provision of adequate shelter for the incoming refugees is proving one of the most baffling of our problems. All available educational religious and charitable institutions were impressed into service for the accommodation of refugees. Surplus military barracks, wherever available, were utilised for this purpose. It is needless for me to add that a large proportion of refugees have found accommodation with friends and relatives. Tents that were available were, or are being, put out for this purpose to provide accommodation by some amount of squeezing to about 7 lakhs of persons. The present position is that there have been and now still are concentrations of refugees in East Punjab towns on the main railway line from Amritsar to Karnal. Accommodation is, however, still available in tehsil headquarter towns and other small towns in the interior of the districts. Attempts have been made to house refugees in such tehsil towns, but they have not always met with success as the refugees prefer not to move out of headquarter towns. Some of the refugees prefer to remain at the platforms of railway stations in the hope of being able to travel and reach the houses of their friends and relations living in other towns.

As soon as it became apparent that exchange of population between East and West Punjab had become inevitable and that many of the refugees entering India were coming in with nothing except the clothes that they had on, Government took immediate steps for securing blankets, quilts and such other warm clothing as were available in the market. Orders were placed for the supply of nearly 10 lacs of quilts and over 3 lacs blankets for free distribution amongst indigent refugees. Orders were also placed for the supply of 2½ lacs cotton-filled coats and 8½ lacs jerseys. About 1,25,000 lbs. of knitting wool has been issued to the Provincial Governments for distribution to the various voluntary committees and societies in their areas for knitting jerseys. This, it is expected, will enable Government to secure 6 lacs jerseys and *bandis* ready by the end of this month. Arrangements have also been made for the supply of about forty lacs yards of various kinds of cloth for the use of refugees. Ready-made garments such as shirts, shorts, trousers numbering about 20 lacs pieces have been obtained from the Director-General of Disposals and are being rushed to East Punjab for the use of refugees. A few thousand of blankets have been despatched to the Chief Liaison Officer, Lahore, for the relief of non-Muslim refugees in Sargodha and some other areas in West Punjab. Apart from the efforts of Government in the matter of obtaining clothing, large quantities of old and new ready-made garments, blankets, etc., are being received from all over India and abroad. In Delhi the Cloth Collecting Committee of the United Council of Relief and Welfare is collecting clothing and organising knitting parties. Government have also waived the levy of customs duty on gift parcels received from abroad and also exempted such parcels from the payment of railway freight and postal charges.

Government in consultation with the East Punjab Government has prescribed a standard ration scale for refugees who are in camps. For the use of refugees in the Kurukshetra Camp Government is sending approximately 80 tons of atta per day. On account of the damage to Kharif crop, the food position of East Punjab has deteriorated considerably. In order to assist the



[Shri K. C. Neogy.]

Punjab Government in the matter of food the Central Government allotted 10,000 tons of food-grains in October, and 16,000 tons in November. These allotments are exclusive of the despatches to the refugee camp in Kurukshetra. On receipt of information that our refugees in some places in West Punjab were starving, government had on several occasions to rush food supplies to them by air or road. Splendid efforts on the part of Delhi public made it possible on three such occasions to fly several aeroplanes loaded with cooked food for the starving Hindus and Sikhs in different refugee camps in Pakistan.

Up to the 16th November, medical stores to the extent of over 76,000 lbs. have been supplied not only to East Punjab, Kurukshetra and Delhi but also to non-Muslim camps in West Punjab and Kashmir. Over 70 lacs dozes of vaccines have been supplied to East Punjab. Thanks to the energetic steps taken by the Health Ministry, and the personal attention given to the matter by my colleague Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, there was no serious outbreak of any epidemic. As in other fields, here also voluntary organisations have been of immense help to Government. A large number of doctors and nurses have been provided by such organisations and they are doing splendid work in many parts of the country.

Immediate dispersal of refugees if not on the basis of resettlement, at least on the basis of temporary shelter and care, is our first object. On the 24th November, a Conference of Prime Ministers of a number of Provinces and representatives of a number of Indian States was convened and measures for the immediate provision of shelter in different parts of the country were discussed. I would be failing in an elementary duty if I do not acknowledge in this connection the splendid response of people all over India to our call for help to accommodate refugees which has been the most heartening feature in an otherwise tragic situation. We have decided on implementing almost immediately a programme of dispersal to various places such as Gwalior, Bharatpur, Kotah, Ratlam, Alwar, Indore, Bombay, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa and Madras. The pace of dispersal is, however, limited by the number of trains that are available for the purpose. I have requested the Ministry of States to investigate immediately the possibility of finding accommodation in Indian States in East Punjab. I am not satisfied that the accommodation available there has been fully taken advantage of. A conference of the Rulers of these States is likely to be held shortly to discuss this matter.

The natural desire of Punjabis not to move too far away from East Punjab, partly explains the congestion in East Punjab, and the influx of a very large number of persons in Delhi and in U. P. The stage has now been reached when dispersal must take place, if lives are to be saved during the next two or three months and any progress is to be made with the tasks of resettlement and rehabilitation.

There are several States which are prepared to absorb agriculturist refugees in their economy. While East Punjab is expected primarily to undertake the rehabilitation of refugees from West Punjab, men from N. W. F. P., Sind, Baluchistan and Bahawalpur State have no special place to go to. It has, therefore, been decided that accommodation in some of the States and Provinces outside East Punjab should, as far as possible, be reserved for refugees from N. W. F. P., Sind, Baluchistan and Bahawalpur. It is estimated that over one lakh persons will be absorbed by Provinces and States outside East Punjab, in addition to those that have already found refuge in those areas—and their number runs into several lakhs.

It is estimated that out of the 42 lakhs refugees arriving in India, about 30 to 32 lakhs will be from rural areas. They must be settled in villages so as to enable them to pursue the occupation they are accustomed to as agriculturists.

as agricultural labourers or as artisans. It has been decided that lands vacated by Muslims in East Punjab should be allotted to non-Muslim refugees for the period upto Rabi 1948. The allotment is to be made on a group basis. The Deputy Commissioners are, however, authorised to make a departure from this general rule in the case of gardens and well-irrigated lands. It has also been decided by the East Punjab Government that refugees arriving from certain districts in the West Punjab are to be allotted lands situated in particular districts in East Punjab, though it has not been possible to adhere to this scheme in all cases.

So far 20 lakh acres have been allotted to over two lakhs of families. It is obvious that agriculturists and village artisans who have been deprived of all that they possessed, will need assistance from Government in the matter of purchase of cattle, implements and seed. They will also require help for the repair of houses which have been left by the previous Muslim occupants in a dilapidated condition. For these purposes, Government would desire Provinces and States to advance loans to such people; and if the Provinces and States are unable to bear the financial burden, the Central Government will give them financial help. It is obvious that refugees who will settle down on land will stand in need of food for themselves and fodder for their bullocks till the next crop is harvested. It is our intention in such cases, to give free grants to refugees, and the Centre and the Provinces and States will share the financial burden. The East Punjab Government have already sanctioned the distribution of *taccavi* loans amounting to 1,57,50,000 rupees. Of these, Rs. 32½ lakhs is for the purchase of bullocks, Rs. 25 lakhs for the repair of houses and Rs. 50 lakhs for the purchase of fodder.

One of the principal problems in the settlement of evacuees, particularly in rural areas, is that the occupational structure of the groups of evacuees is largely dissimilar between the non-Muslim evacuees who have come in and the Muslim evacuees who have left the area. I would like to observe in this connection that it might be necessary to make skilled artisans give up their hereditary craft and take to something new because of the fact that there are already in the areas in which they are to be settled quite a large number of skilled artisans plying the craft with which the refugee is familiar. As an example, I would like to tell the House that in the East Punjab while the carpenters are generally non-Muslims, the blacksmiths were by and large Muslims. The position in East Punjab is that there are a large number of carpenters available and more have come in from West Punjab, while the blacksmiths who were Muslims have migrated, and there are few non-Muslim refugee blacksmiths to take their place. It is really a question of either training non-Muslims in the blacksmith's craft or making some non-Muslim carpenters take to blacksmithy.

On account of inadequacy of staff, rehabilitation in rural areas has not proceeded according to plan. Instances have come to our notice where the permanent inhabitants of East Punjab took possession of more land than they were entitled to. Instances are not also lacking where refugees have taken possession of land in more than one District. These are some of the difficulties which are but inevitable, in dealing with a problem of this magnitude.

Government are faced with the problem of rehabilitation of about 12 to 15 lakhs of people from urban areas belonging to all sections of the community. It is obvious that existing towns in East Punjab are incapable of absorbing this large number of urban population from West Punjab. With a view to accommodating refugees, steps have been taken to carry out repairs to houses and Bungalows which were damaged. It has also been decided that allotment of residential accommodation will be made only to those who have come from urban areas in West Punjab. It is estimated that there will be about 5½ lakhs

[Shri K. C. Neogy]

of non-Muslim urban refugees for whom no accommodation is immediately available. These refugees will have to remain under canvas and in refugee camps for a longer period than others, until arrangements are made to absorb them in urban areas. In this context, schemes such as urban development of large cities, building of new capital for the East Punjab are being examined. We have addressed all Provincial Governments and Indian States to consider immediately and report on the possibilities of suburban development in the vicinity of large towns and cities all over India. We have also requested certain States to give priorities to refugees in the matter of exploitation of business opportunities created from the evacuation of Muslims from those States.

According to an Ordinance promulgated in Delhi, a refugee must register himself within a specified period from the date of his arrival in Delhi. So far 2,64,000 refugees have thus been registered. The registration work in the East Punjab will commence shortly. While registration and tabulation results will take time to complete, plans for rehabilitation have not been held up on that account.

The registration of refugees at Delhi has revealed that there are a large number of highly educated, qualified and experienced refugees, suitable for being placed in employment all over the country. The task of bringing the talented refugees together and providing Central and Provincial Boards to find them employment throughout the country, is now engaging the attention of the Ministry, and we propose to accept the offer of help that has come from the Tata organisation in this connection.

Employment Exchanges have been opened in Delhi and Simla. Exchanges have also been opened in East Punjab and West U. P. at places where large concentration of refugees has occurred. A large number of refugees have already been registered by the Exchanges and many of them have secured employment. A Transfer Bureau has been opened by the Ministry of Home Affairs and instruction issued to all Ministries that vacancies should not be filled until it has been ascertained that suitable candidates cannot be supplied by the Transfer Bureau. Up to the middle of November, over 8 thousand refugees secured employment under the Government of India and in certain Provinces.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to one feature running through all the schemes that I have dealt with above. That is, the plans that have been devised are largely in the nature of *ad hoc* plans and some of them have a short-term validity. The question of the refugee rehabilitation must be dovetailed into a bigger all-India plan of reconstruction. For the time being my Ministry has to concentrate on the immediate needs of the situation, but we have not lost sight of the fact that a permanent settlement of this issue will only be possible as a part of an all-India plan of Reconstruction and development.

Training of semi-skilled and skilled persons is of the utmost importance in any programme of rehabilitation. The programme of industrial development requires that supply of trained man-power should be substantial. With this object in view it has been arranged that over 4 thousand men will be immediately trained in Labour Ministry centre for ex-Servicemen in a number of technical and vocational trades. Large stocks of goods available in the Disposals Directorate have been frozen with the idea of utilising them for rehabilitation of refugees. The stocks cover equipment required for 27 different trades.

Government has sanctioned an advance of a sum upto Rs. 300/- to an individual in order to facilitate resettlement. These loans are meant for traders, businessmen, artisans, persons wishing to set up their own workshops or

cottage industry. This scheme will be brought into operation almost immediately in the Centrally administered areas. The Central Government will be prepared to render financial assistance to any Province or administration which decides to adopt a similar scheme with such modifications as it may consider necessary.

A scheme for granting loans to students and trainees abroad whose guardians are no longer in a position to finance them, has been sanctioned. An extension of the scheme to students in India is also under consideration. For helping big industry and business, proposals to have a Rehabilitation and Financial Corporation are under consideration in consultation with the Reserve Bank of India.

In order to provide facilities for refugees coming from Pakistan who have been unable to transfer their savings bank accounts to Post Offices in India, it has been decided to allow withdrawals from postal savings Banks in respect of investments made prior to 14th August, under certain conditions.

The payment of advances to Central Government Civil pensioners who have come as refugees from Pakistan has been authorised. Indian military pensioners have also been permitted to draw pensions subject to certain conditions.

All the various schemes of rehabilitation may help in mitigating the hardships to which refugees have been subjected, but there is no denying the fact that these are merely palliatives. Many of these refugees who were in affluent circumstances have been reduced to a state of penury. It is inconceivable that they will contentedly settle down to a standard of life which is far below that to which they have been accustomed in the past. The Government will undoubtedly try to do their best to salvage as much as possible of the assets left behind by such people in Pakistan. But there is a limiting factor to Government's efforts in this direction; and that is that full and hearty co-operation on the part of Pakistan Government cannot be taken for granted.

Now, let me turn to some of the ancillary activities of the Ministry. We have an Information Bureau, which despite difficulties, defects and short-comings is now organised to render good service. We have a Fact Finding Organization which is collecting authentic details of difficulties and hardships which non-Muslims in Pakistan had to endure. A large number of cases have been investigated and a number of witnesses have been examined. We have an organization for registration of property claims. An Enquiries and Search Service working under the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John's Ambulance Unit, is beginning to produce useful results.

We have a Custodian of Evacuee's Property in Delhi. There have been many complaints about the functioning of this organisation. I am aware of these complaints. The personnel running this organization might not be all as it ought to be. The fact has, however, to be borne in mind that the task of this Organization is of some magnitude and the very nature of its work is bound to give cause for complaints. Applicants for residential and other accommodation number several times the units available. A large residue of discontent cannot thus be avoided under the most perfectly conceived management. While I recognize the genuineness of some of the complaints, I would like to emphasize that complaints as such cannot be eliminated when we are faced with a simple but none the less inexorable economic factor of a state of short supply in the face of a large demand.

Sir, no account of the activities of the Ministry will be complete without special mention of the Women's Section. All activities pertaining to women and children amongst refugees are now the special concern of the Women's Section, which is in charge of Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru as Honorary Director, who is not likely to spare either time or effort to start Homes for unattended

[Shri K. C. Neogy]

women and children, place orphan children in Foster Homes, and take every measure for securing rehabilitation of these classes of persons. The organization is already busy working on these problems.

**Pandit Hirday Nath Kunru** (U. P.: General): May I know whether the rehabilitation of women and children is going on in Delhi or in East Punjab?

**The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy**: Primarily in Delhi but the influence of this organisation is likely to pervade the whole of the East Punjab. As a matter of fact, certain schemes of the East Punjab in this context are already under the consideration of our Ministry.

I cannot pass on without a reference to the work of the United Council of Relief and Welfare and the bodies affiliated to it. The bringing together all these various voluntary bodies has been mainly the work of Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten. Apart from this, she has personally rendered great service in the cause of refugees, and assisted the Ministry in many ways for which she deserves the gratitude of the country. Some of the prominent bodies affiliated to this Council deserve mention. They are the Indian Red Cross Society, St. John Ambulance Unit, Friends' Service Unit, Marwari Relief Society and National Christian Council. In addition to these bodies, the Ramakrishna Mission has been doing useful work at the Kurukshetra Camp.

The Congress workers have brought into being another organisation styled the Central Relief Committee, which under the inspiring leadership of its President, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani has rendered very useful service by organising certain camps in Delhi, besides looking after the reception arrangements of refugees arriving in Delhi.

Assistance has come from all quarters and in many shapes. I am very thankful for the useful suggestions I have received from individual members of this House and from individual refugees themselves. I cannot adequately express my gratitude to the Advisory Committee attached to my Ministry for the valuable help I am continuously receiving from them.

Sir, I have tried in a small compass to give the House a glimpse of the nature of the problems and an account of what has been done. Much has to be done still. As I have said before, the response of the country has been magnificent so far but the final and satisfactory solution of the problems created by this huge transfer of population can only be arrived at by the nation's representatives exercising a diligent and continued interest in the matter. I am aware that there have been criticisms of the Ministry. I welcome all criticisms. I do hope that this debate will reveal to the Ministry the wishes of the House in the shape of concrete suggestions, so that the Ministry can go forward to the bigger and more serious task ahead with the assurance that it has the House behind it and through it, the confidence of the nation.

**Mr. Speaker**: Motion moved:

"That the problem of the relief and rehabilitation of refugees be taken into consideration"

I have already referred to the time limit for the speeches—10 minutes ordinarily, which may be extended to 15, in case the Honourable Member is giving useful information or suggestions.

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya** (Madras: General): May I request you to arrange the Mike in such a manner that the speaker standing behind it will face the whole House. One of the mikes may be placed there (pointing to a place below the dias) as in the Constituent Assembly.

**Several Honourable Members**: No, no.

**Mr. Speaker:** The convention here is, has always been and should be that every speaker scrupulously addresses the Chair, and of course, the Chamber is so constructed that wherever he stands he will be facing the House practically.

**Diwan Chaman Lall** (East Punjab: General): The House is grateful to my Honourable friend and colleague, Mr. Neogy, for the bird's eye view of the problem facing the refugees of the Punjab, which he has placed before the House. He has told the House of the work done by the Ministry; He has told the House quite rightly of the great efforts made by individuals and organisations, by the States and the Provinces, as regards the solution of the problem of rehabilitation and relief of the refugees. I hope he will not misunderstand me when I say that he has prepared an inventory of the activities of the Ministry in regard to the refugee problem, and as he has said quite rightly, that it is a colossal problem. The words he used were: "It is unprecedented in the history of the world". But 'colossal' as it is, my Honourable friend will pardon me if I suggest that there is a great deal yet to be done before we congratulate ourselves on having arrived anywhere near a solution of this problem. I probably am the only refugee, may I say the only genuine refugee in this House, and as such I have a claim to the attention of the House in regard to the problems which have faced us day in and day out.

Let me to begin with, Mr. Speaker, congratulate the Head of this Government, the Prime Minister, for the deep attention, care and anxiety that he has always shown in the matter of the refugee problem. As soon as the disaster was upon us, he took it upon himself to visit the Punjab, not once, but frequently. Immediately after the 15th of August, he visited Ambala, Amritsar and Lahore and thereafter on many an occasion he went to see for himself what the problem was like and attempted to bring some measure of relief and comfort and succour to those who have been the victims of this great disaster. Not only did he show a tenderness of heart, but with his characteristic lionine courage he tackled the problem and he asked my friend, Mr. Neogy, to take charge of this Ministry, which he created for this special purpose. Not content with this, when he saw how colossal the problem was, he asked one of the most able administrators that this country knows, one of the finest administrators that this country has ever known—I refer to Mr. Gopalswami Ayyangar—to take charge, of the Ministry without Portfolio. I take it, I do not quite know what exactly the designation means, but I take it that in this terrible disaster facing the East Punjab Government which had neither files, nor office, nor staff at any rate to meet this great need; it was found by the Prime Minister that it was necessary that there should be a Minister at the Centre; who might co-ordinate the activities of the East Punjab Government with the activities of the Central Government. It is to his credit, Mr. Speaker, that he has soon after taking charge of this Portfolio set up an organization for the rapid evacuation of the refugees who still remained in Western Punjab and the colossal figures pointed out by my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy, in regard to the evacuation and the methodical manner in which that evacuation was taken charge of with the assistance of my Honourable friend in charge of the Defence Department, bears testimony to the ability, the experience and the courage with which he undertook this problem. Today it is stated that there may be possibly 5 lakh refugees still left in Western Punjab.

Now, Sir, I will not proceed with my speech without making a reference also to the Great Man, who is now rightly known as 'the Father of the Nation'—Mahatma Gandhi—for the great and keen interest that he has consistently displayed in the refugee problem and the guidance and advice that he has always given us for the good of this nation.

Having said all this, we must realize that the problem is not so easy as it seems after hearing the speech of my Honourable friend. I do not want

[Diwan Chaman Lall]

Honourable members to go away with the impression that everything possible that can be done has been done for the refugees. My Honourable friend said so, but the difficulties that face the refugees—I only wish my Honourable friend had referred in detail to those difficulties—are colossal and whether they can be tackled in this manner without proper co-ordination between the two Governments, whether it can be tackled without a plan is a matter not for me to decide; but it is quite patent that unless and until we can take full powers in our hands at the Centre to deal with this problem, this problem will never be satisfactorily settled to the refugees who came away from West Punjab. Take the question, Mr. Speaker, of the figures alone. We have been given different sets of figures, in regard to the numbers of refugees who have come away. I ask how is it possible for any Government to rehabilitate these refugees unless you are aware at least of the approximate numbers of these refugees? It is for this reason that we asked the Prime Minister, and he very rightly consented, that he should appoint an Advisory Committee attached to the Office of my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy, and I am very grateful to Mr. Neogy for the references that he has made to the work of this Advisory Committee. We also suggested to the Prime Minister that he should introduce, as far as this area is concerned, an ordinance for the purpose of compulsory registration of every refugee. Unless and until you compulsorily register every refugee, you will not be in a position to know what type of refugee has come away, and if you are not in a position to know what type of refugee he is, you will certainly not be in a position to rehabilitate him. We have been begging the East Punjab Government for the last 2½ months asking them to do what has been done very efficiently in Delhi. Within a period between the 14th of October and the 31st of October this little organization set going by my Honourable friend for the compulsory registration of every refugee, was able to register one lakh ten thousand refugees, within a period of a few days and that organization, Mr. Speaker, you will be amazed to know, consisting of 19 experts from Bombay and 12 experts lent by the Government of India—31 experts—have today practically completed the registration of all the refugees, numbering practically 300,000. If all this could be done in Delhi within a few days at the Centre, why could it not be done equally efficiently by the East Punjab Government, so that we could know exactly what is the type of refugee who has come away, instead of merely guessing that urban refugees are more than rural refugees, and therefore stating that we shall not be able to rehabilitate them in East Punjab.

Now I submit, Sir, that if we look at the figures we find, for instance, that in the Lahore Division the Hindus and Sikhs who have come away are about 24½ lakhs, from the Rawalpindi Division about 6½ lakhs and from the Multan Division about 10½ lakhs. Taking out the figures of Gurdaspur and Amritsar this gives us a total of about 37 lakhs. This is the figure according to the census reports. We have not got the figures according to the actual facts as evidenced by this exodus; We would have had the figures if the registration had been compulsory. To this day we are being told that the registration to be done in East Punjab will not be compulsory but on a voluntary basis. I do not know what that means. If you are going voluntarily to register these refugees you have still got to have some sort of organisation for that purpose; and if you are going to have an organisation why not have that organisation for compulsory registration? It may not cost anything much more. Now out of these 37 lakh refugees—and in this figure is included the refugees from the Frontier Province and Baluchistan—what have we got on the other side? How many people have gone out of East Punjab as compared with the numbers who have come into East Punjab? The figure totalled up according to the census reports is not less than 53 lakhs; 53 lakhs have gone, accord-

ing to the census figures, out of East Punjab and the Delhi area into West Pakistan.

**The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar** (Minister without Portfolio): Including the States.

**Diwan Chaman Lall**: Yes, including the Punjab States.

**The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar**: Sir, may I correct my Honourable friend? He does not suggest that all the 53 lakhs have actually gone out yet? That is the figure which had to go out if the evacuation was complete.

**Diwan Chaman Lall**: I speak subject to correction. I quite see that these are the figures that had to go out. Can my Honourable friend say how many have still not gone out? Have Government got any figures to that effect? Let me inform my Honourable friend that out of seven lakhs in Kapurthala State and Patiala State there is not a single Muslim who remains there; they have all gone out of these States. It may be that there are certain pockets in East Punjab and a certain number of Muslims who have not gone out. I hope they will not go out; I am one of those who do not believe in this compulsory and forcible exodus of our own nationals. But let me see how many remain. It may be possible—of course it is just guess work—that out of 53 lakhs there will be 3 lakhs. That is a figure which I hope my Honourable friend will accept.

**The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar**: I hope to be able to give some figures when I speak.

**Diwan Chaman Lall**: My Honourable friend will accept this argument that many more Muslims have gone out of East Punjab than Hindus and Sikhs who have come in from West Punjab into East Punjab. My figure is this, that even if you take it at 50 lakhs there is a very large difference between the two. Mian Iftikharuddin, speaking at Lahore a few days ago, put it at 20 lakhs; I put it at 15 lakhs. Let us take it that it is 15 lakhs. Then why, I ask, has this policy been adopted by the East Punjab Government of asking the Punjabis to get out of East Punjab? The Punjabis have no doubt been ruined; the Hindus and Sikhs of West Punjab have been ruined. But why try to ruin them further by scattering them all over the country, instead of letting them settle down in this land of the Punjab? What is the idea of scattering them all over and saying to the world, "We have not got room in East Punjab for these people", when actually 15 lakh more Muslims have gone out of East Punjab and in whose place the Hindus and Sikhs can be accommodated? Why is it that Government are so eager and so keen that there should be this second exodus after the first exodus that has taken place and that there should be a dispersal of the Punjabi race to the four winds of the world? I submit that this is the problem that my Honourable friend will have to face and face it with the East Punjab Government. It is said that a large number of refugees have come in who are of the urban type. Actually the figure as given by my Honourable friend is 5½ lakhs. It is quite possible that the figure is much higher according to the statistics that have been given to us. There are at least three lakh urban families that have to be provided for, which means nearly 15 lakh people if you take a family unit at five which it is as far as the Punjab is concerned. Now where are you going to provide them? My Honourable friend would like to turn a carpenter into a blacksmith. I should like him to give us an idea as to what this Government's plans are for the rehabilitation of these urban refugees from West Punjab. Why is it not possible for Government to try thinking in terms of building a new series of towns and townships where these people will be housed and where they can lead a corporate life? Take the case of Rawalpindi; if the Rawalpindi people can be settled in one new town built for this particular purpose, their own social



[Diwan Chaman Lall]

and homogeneous life will continue. The same is true of every city. I see no reason, then, why Government should not think in these terms rather than the easier term which is to disperse them wherever anybody is willing to have them, whether in the Indian States or whether from here right down to Madras. It must be realised, Sir, that the Punjabi is used to a particular type of life and a particular type of climate; and it will not be possible for the Punjabi to go and settle down in any large numbers in a place where his language is not known, where his food is not the same and where the climate is not the climate to which he is used. Therefore it is a problem which has to be faced not in terms of ten crores, not in terms of 25 crores but in terms of hundreds of crores. If really Government are anxious to rehabilitate and build the life of the Punjab refugee there are many things that can be done. For instance, we must realise that there is great need at the present moment of thinking in terms of a big plan; my Honourable friend referred to it. Yes, that is the only manner in which we can do the right thing to the Punjab refugees. We see today hundreds and thousands of them lying on railway platforms not because they are anxious to catch trains but because there is no arrangement made for them. And I am glad that my Honourable friend paid this tribute to Lady Mountbatten. I think it was her interest which brought about the necessity of turning Kurukshetra into a camp run by government. I suggest that every relief camp and refugee camp and transit camp should be taken over by the Central Government. You have in the Punjab today an administration which has broken down, not through the fault of our administrators but because of the exigencies of the circumstances. You have got one Minister running the portfolios of nearly three Ministers and running all sorts of departments. It is impossible for these Ministers running all these important departments to pay any attention to the problem of rehabilitating these refugees. It is necessary that the Central Government should take over all this task and not only be responsible financially as they eventually will be—but to take over the execution of the administration of this particular problem in order that they may be able to build a new country for those of us who have lost the country which belonged to our ancestors. I suggest that there are a few things that they can do. Take the case of properties.

Huge properties have been left, the other side and practically lost. May I suggest to the Government that they may take this matter up with the Pakiatan Government and settle it on a Government to Government basis, meanwhile allowing exchanges and sales of property—hundreds of crores worth of property. This matter can be settled by the Government taking it in hand and making an assessment of the value of the property left in Pakistan and an assessment of the value of the property left this side. This is an urgent and important problem.

Take the case of the problem of relief of refugees. It is no use dumping these refugees as if they were bags of ordure to be carted from one dump heap to another. It must be done on a proper scientifically systematised basis, and it can only be done, because of the difficulties in East Punjab, by the Central Government. I give credit to my Honourable friend's department and officers. They are doing a grand job of work. But it is necessary to expand this department, and I suggest that my Honourable friend may set up a Board which may be in charge not only of the finance for relief and rehabilitation but have the power to execute whatever decisions are arrived at, consisting of a Minister from East Punjab, my Honourable friend, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and a few others here may be appointed on this Board so that from day to day this problem of the refugees, their relief and rehabilitation remains before the country and before the Government, and proper plans evolved for the purpose of giving them adequate relief.

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** Mr. Speaker, today we are to discuss the refugees and the refugee problem. At the outset I take objection to that word 'refugee'. It is an abominable word. The people that come to us in India in a helpless state from West Punjab are not refugees. They are natives of this country, born of the soil, brought up in the midst of surroundings in which we grew. They have title and a right to live in these portions of the country. It is not as if they are strangers, coming to seek refuge and shelter at your hands. I would therefore like to warn the Government to avoid the word 'refugee' and not hurt the sense of self-respect of those who have come here and I may say many of them have objected to that denomination.

**Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyaya** (West Bengal: General): What do you suggest?

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** I would call them *pravasis* or evacuees. A *pravasi* is one who is exiled, and they have been either voluntarily or involuntarily exiled and if my phraseology is not adequate, I would like you to consult a dictionary!

But the word used carries with it a tinge of inferiority and humiliation and that must be removed. The other day in the course of the answers to a question on 'Refugees' I put a supplementary question and asked whether the Government had any scheme of building a town at Kurukshetra. I believe the answer was in the negative.

**The Honourable Shri K. O. Neogy:** I said the matter was under consideration. But personally I was not very hopeful of the practical possibility.

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** Yes, there was a tinge of pessimism about it. That is what lingered in my mind.

I have gone to Kurukshetra. There were 150,000 people when I went and I was informed that another 50,000 were expected. There were tents to accommodate only 20,000 people. They were not tents but apologies for tents—two sheets of cloth on either side, with the front and back open, furnishing hardly any shelter against the growing cold. I do not blame the Government. The Government has to readjust itself to the requirements of an emergency for which it was not prepared, although it should have been able to foresee these things, having once assented to the partition of the country.

On close examination I found that what was ailing the people was not the absence of protection against the cold—and certainly not food, because there was no complaint against food. And when one person complained against food, ten persons pounced upon him and said, 'You should not say that. There is adequate food'. That was indeed gratifying to hear. But it is the note of despair and despondency, the feeling of helplessness, and of irritation, and the feeling of revengefulness that was visible in the people there that drew my attention. If you mentioned anything about work, they got wild and rose like a cobra on its tail. 'What do you mean? We are not going to work. You have destroyed us. You have divided the country against our will. Who asked you to divide the country?' And then they began to make wild gestures as if they would, if only they could see the persons responsible for the partition, assail them physically. This feeling of irritation, this feeling of wild revengefulness, was their only animating feature. Of course, there was good excuse for that kind of feeling in their state of helplessness, exposure to cold, want of blankets and of other conveniences.

I was told that there were 2,700 blankets there and they were to be assigned to the inhabitants on a medical certificate. There were nineteen doctors, and each of them had to be approached by the people there. It was a very good arrangement. I do not object to it although it was somewhat departmental. But in the end there were not enough blankets and when I enquired here I was

[Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya]

told that samples of blankets sent to the Supply Department were under examination on the sixteenth day of despatch.

**The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy:** Who gave this information to the Honourable Member?

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** If you want the name of the person I will find out and write to you. But I shall be glad to be assured that there was no delay in the Supply Department in the purchase of blankets. I shall be more than gratified if you can assure me of that. These things have to be done as if in war time—quickly, and without regard to the economies of peace time. Time is the essence of relief and people exposed to cold are apt to catch pneumonia and die. That is the real difficulty. But what struck me in Kurukshetra was that a beautiful city could be erected, and you know the urban population, as my Honourable friend, the earlier speaker has stated, is finding it difficult to be provided with suitable means of accommodation and settlement. The urban population can only be accommodated and easily accommodated in an urban area, and to bring them to Delhi or to Lucknow or any other place would be to congest places already crowded and to introduce an element of competition which is most undesirable. The best thing is to build a town. They will feed themselves. What do we all do in the city? We feed upon one another. That may look extravagant, when so stated, that may be even comic looking, but that is a fact. I am a doctor, I treat a patient. I have a legal case I go to the lawyer and give him a fee. The lawyer goes to the teacher: the teacher goes to the printer: the printer goes to the publishers: the publishers pay the manufacturers of machines: the manufacturers pay the sellers of galvanised sheets: and so on.

Thus it is an economy which circulates and which rotates and it would be the best economy if the money is conserved within the area. That is the kind of economy which we are trying to establish in the village economy scheme, and therefore I say that the best thing is that once you start the construction of a town each man will get some occupation. All that the Government has to do is to provide the necessary money and the material.

I think we are spending some thing like a couple of lakhs or 8 lakhs a day. You are spending a crore a month and in a year twelve crores. With this money you can build four towns easily and there nearly two million people can be accommodated. Of course I am not an expert. I am not an engineer. I am not an architect. Perhaps I am only a little bit of a mason, a carpenter, a smith, a weaver and perhaps a good spinner. But the fact is that the suggestions that are made by laymen should be examined by Government with some care. There are three tubewells in Kurukshetra which give abundant water supply. There is a beautiful tank which is traceable to the time of the Pandavas and it would provide a lovely scenery to the new town. I do not swear by Kurukshetra. Anyway, as my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall has said, bring into existence some towns.

I do not want to emphasise other points, as I have not the time, but I want to invite pointed attention to this one suggestion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani (U. P. : General):** Sir, I would prefer to speak in the afternoon.

**Mr. Speaker:** Preferences are not given to speakers. Whosoever is called upon to speak must address the House at the time, otherwise the Honourable Member would lose the opportunity to speak.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** Sir, I have heard very carefully the case placed before the House by the Honourable Mr. Neogy and I do appreciate the work that has been done by the Government in bringing out people from the Punjab and the N.-W.F.P. Though much has been done, a great deal remains to be done, particularly with regard to the rescue of abducted women. I myself have not much personal knowledge about the rescue of these women but I have heard from people who have been doing rescue work in the Punjab and other places that that all is being done is not enough. For instance about 300 women were rescued from Sheikpura and taken to a place called Sherikpura but no trace of these women can be found. We have brought them out from West Punjab but have not succeeded in restoring them to their homes.

Another instance that was given to me was that in Sheikpura there used to be a women's section in the Camp. Under the orders of the Deputy Commissioner it was decided that this section should be shifted to the women's camp in Amritsar proper. When these women were brought over to the women's camp in Amritsar only old women and children were found but young women could not be traced. What I want to emphasise is that not only our women are having a bad time in the West Punjab but when they are brought over here no proper arrangements exist to give them the protection they need.

I have heard of other cases also. In the Gujranwala camp an old Sikh leader who was running the camp had to organise special guards to protect the women there. Not only are there difficulties in rescuing women but there are difficulties of protecting them after rescue. Government should take care to see that after women are rescued they do not fall into bad hands. I am told on very reliable authority that there is a very heavy traffic in women going on in the Punjab. Therefore I suggest that after women are brought over here they should be registered and should only be handed over to reliable organisations or reliable persons who would look after them. In this connection I am glad to learn that a women's department has been opened in the Secretariat. I hope the department will work quickly. I know that there are considerable difficulties in the way but camps should be started as early as possible, so that the women rescued are not ruined for ever and lost to society.

There is another difficulty. Many of these abducted women, even when our parties go to rescue them, do not wish to come, because they feel that they have no place in Hindu society. They feel that their lives have been almost ruined and that they would rather continue where they are than return back. I believe these women can be brought back provided the Government can give them an assurance that they would be the charge of the Government and that the Government would give them all the necessary protection and look after them, if their families are not prepared to take them back. In Bengal too we had like difficulties but as the number was very small, and we were able to manage the thing privately and induced the original families to take back the women. Here however the number is very large and some more appropriate measures will be necessary. I do not know if Mr. Neogy can give us an idea of the number of abducted women. I do not know if this aspect of the rescue work has been realised. As a matter of fact I myself had not realised that women were being harassed like this after they came to our own country. I can give more instances but I do not like to take more time of the House on this one item.

As regards evacuation in general I congratulate the Government for the work that they have done but at the same time I think there is lack of co-ordination and a great deal of confusion. Trains are sent to all kinds of places without any previous arrangement for the reception of the evacuees. As a matter of fact sometimes trains start without knowing where they are going. For instance, I got a telephone message yesterday from Ambala to the effect that the refugees boarded the train under the impression that they were being taken to Rohtak and Karnal while actually they were taken only to Ambala and were asked to

[Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani]

get out there. 5,000 people who were to go to Rohtak and Karnal had then to lie on the platforms without food or shelter. The relief workers had a very bad time of it; they were able to look after them with very great difficulty. Another train which was supposed to go to Gurdaspur also came to Ambala. I do not know if Ambala is on the route to Gurdaspur from West Punjab. There are other similar instances. Not only does this create confusion but it adds to the very great misery already existing.

Again people from the West Punjab as also refugees from Delhi have been sent to other places without knowing what sort of reception they would get at the other end. We are told that the U.P. could take no more refugees. I know for a fact that a refugee train had to go to the U.P. without any previous intimation to the U.P. Government. I have heard of one instance in which a train started from Abdullapur. It was a goods train and the doors were closed. When it came to Kalanaur station and the doors of the train were opened it was found that the wagons contained refugees and not goods! What miseries and sufferings the poor refugees would have undergone in the goods wagons could easily be imagined. A few of them had died in the wagons. Such things are happening, not because the Government does not wish to help them but there is a lack of co-ordination between the departments. I had to suffer myself in Delhi during the days of the riots. Government passed orders that no more refugees were to come to Delhi. In the Emergency Council our President told me that my troubles were at an end and that I had not to bother about reception at Delhi. For a day or two I thought that I had got some relief but soon refugees were pouring in at the rate of three to four thousands per day. Daily refugee trains were coming into Delhi. So you can very well realise that there is enough scope for better co-ordination in this work. The Government must see that proper reception arrangements are made for the refugees.

As regards reception too I would like to point out the magnitude of the work that is before us. For instance in Ambala there are 40,000 refugees in the camp—there are about 20,000 outside the camp, 10,000 at the station and another 10,000 here and there. The refugees in the camp are given their rations and clothes, whereas the refugees outside the camp do not get either their food rations or clothes. How are these people to go on? We have similar cases in Delhi also. We did not have adequate reception arrangements and we did not get any food for the people whom we had to feed outside the camp and the amount of confusion and human misery that was caused to the refugees as a consequence can easily be imagined.

About relief itself I want to point out one or two things. I know much is being done but something more can be done. Accommodation is the biggest problem in any refugee work. I understand that there are a very large number of military barracks, most of which are not in use. There are lots of barracks in East Punjab, round about Delhi area, in the U.P. and also in Bombay and several other places, where the refugee problem is very great. But these barracks are not available for the accommodation of the refugees and I do not know for what reason. For instance, in Bombay, where I was recently, I saw the Worli Barracks, which can easily accommodate 20,000, whereas the refugees were lying on the roads and at the docks living in the most inhuman and miserable condition. Here in Delhi too we had very great difficulty with regard to accommodation, though I was fortunate enough to secure military barracks through the kind help of the Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh. But I would like to point out one or two small things here. Sardar Baldev Singh very kindly gave me an order that I could get 1,000 military tents and although three months have passed up to this day I have got only 50 tents. Then I saw I could not get any more. I therefore hired whatever tents I could from the Delhi shops for which I had to pay a few thousand rupees. It was a waste of

money, but there was no other course. I feel that the Defence Department should be very willing to give these barracks. They are available. But for some reason or another we are not getting them, and the consequence is that people have to suffer. Many of them are being dismantled when there is terrible housing shortage. I do not know for what reason they are being dismantled. If all the Departments put their heads together we can still create greater facilities to do the work.

There is another point about relief and that is food. We usually give food only in the camps. I can only quote from my own experience of the arrangements in Delhi. In Delhi we have about 20 thousand refugees in camps. The rests are in houses. All of them are not rich and more than 50 per cent of them require help in some form or another. We are not giving them any help with regard to rations. It is a tremendous task, I know, and there can be lot of corruption, but we must set up some machinery by which we can give help to these people also. As it is the refugees in the houses, are not getting any help.

The same thing can be said with regard to the distribution of clothing and quilts. In Delhi, whatever we get from the Government we distribute in the camps and whatever we get from private organisations we distribute to refugees who are not living in the camps. It is a tremendous task and we cannot get through it merely through private help. I would like the Ministry to consider this point of the need for helping refugees who are not living inside the camps.

Regarding rehabilitation I am very glad to learn from the Honourable Minister that they have decided to give loans to the refugees. I remember more than a month back I went to the Honourable Minister in this connection. We were trying to settle some refugees in the rural areas of Delhi and give them some lands. But the condition that the Custodian of Evacuee Property imposed was that if the refugees had enough money and resources to get ploughs and the other necessary implements, then alone the lands could be given to them. But as they were destitutes they could not do so. We did not also have any resources and so I approached the Honourable Minister, Mr. Neogy, for loans. At that time he said that he could not take up the matter. Now I am glad to find that they are in a position to give loans, though I do not know whether they have actually started giving loans or not. Hundreds of people flock to me everyday asking for loans. The people who have come from the Punjab are not people who like to go and beg; they are very self-respecting and self-reliant and anxious to do something by themselves. But because our rehabilitation measures are taking such a long time they are not getting the opportunity to establish themselves.

In this connection I would like to suggest that for the rural people to whom we wish to give loans we can start new settlements and co-operative societies, and through the help of these societies they can get land and start working. We have got an opportunity for reconstruction. Mr. Neogy just now said that our rehabilitation plan should be dove-tailed with the all-India reconstruction plan. If we are planning to start a new society for these people why not do it on a new basis? If you eliminate exploitation and the middleman in this matter it will be a very great work done. It will be a very great experiment for which we have a golden opportunity today, and I would ask the Ministry to think over it and institute measures by which we can start new societies on this basis.

For cottage industries also we can proceed by establishing small co-operatives. I have myself started a very small experiment in one of the villages of Delhi where we are taking up 10 cottage crafts. We shall see how we succeed. The result of our experiment will of course be before the Ministry.

Somebody mentioned that a new town should be brought into existence. I quite agree with him because if this large urban population that is coming in cur

[Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani]

hand is not settled soon there will be too much discontent and the entire problem will be so complicated that we won't be able to meet the problem. I took a census of the refugees coming to Delhi. 70 per cent of them are small or big traders. It is very difficult to settle them because all these traders will not find enough work in East Punjab or in Delhi. Therefore, if we want to give them an opportunity to live, new towns have got to come into existence. Even this can be done on a co-operative basis. We could have finance corporations and these finance corporations can produce enough funds to give them an opportunity to work.

Housing also is a very big problem. Something was said about the work of the Delhi Custodian of Evacuee Property. As I am a member of the Advisory Committee of the Custodian I know how difficult is his task. The best of men would get lot of blame even if he tried to do the work as fairly as possible. But I would say that the work is not being done as it should be. I do not wish to go into the details of the difficulties that face the work, but the difficulties that they have had to face in connection with this work can be minimised. Other Members of the Advisory Committee may be able to tell you—some of them are Members of this House—that some of us have stopped going to the Advisory Committee meetings because we feel it is useless to go there. Our advice is accepted only on paper; it is never given effect to. I feel that the greater the time we take in doing this work the greater will be the corruption and other evils that will creep in. If we had finished allocation of the houses within a month the work could have been done easily. But unfortunately there is too much red-tapism and too much of the official method of working with the result that nothing is quickly done. What is happening is that as we are taking more and more time, houses are being forcibly occupied. When a house is already forcibly occupied it is very difficult to oust the man. You can oust him only if you can give him alternative accommodation. As we have not got so much accommodation, the houses are now more or less occupied by people as they want. Sometimes people who have strength are able to occupy two houses: the man occupies one house and the other is occupied in the name of his brother. Houses are being occupied in this chaotic fashion and not kept vacant. In the meantime we are doing all the work on paper. By the time our paper work is completed I am quite confident that occupation of houses in Delhi would have been over.

Sir, as I have reached my time limit I do not wish to say more. I hope the Ministry will consider the several points made by me.

Shri K. M. Munshi (Bombay: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I also join in the chorus of congratulations offered to the Honourable the Minister in charge of the refugee problem for having done the best that could possibly be done under the circumstances. But I only want to make a point which is perhaps to my mind the most important and without which I am sure his best efforts are not going to succeed to the extent to which they should. The Honourable Minister himself has said the refugee problem is a matter of all-India importance. It has come as a great calamity. It is an emergency almost as great as the war. Why, may I ask, has not the refugee problem been taken over as a Central subject for all purposes? I am not quite familiar from personal knowledge about the East Punjab situation and I would not like to rely upon hear-say evidence that has been coming to me from time to time, but I would like him to give an answer to the questions which I propose to put to him. Is the East Punjab Government in such a position as to handle locally the refugee problem in East Punjab? Has its machinery been set up in such an efficient manner that it can tackle all the very vital problems which deal with refugees and rehabilitation? Is it not a fact that complaints after complaints are being heard even in Delhi with regard to the complete lack of efficiency

so far as the East Punjab Government is concerned? I am saying this subject to correction. Is it not a fact that in the Kurukshetra Camp, which is intended for 2 lakhs of refugees, the East Punjab Government has sent more than 3 lakhs of refugees, making it impossible for the camp to function in an efficient manner? I further ask him to enquire and let the House know whether refugees are not being dumped in East Punjab in villages and left to shift for themselves. I do not blame the East Punjab Government. It is a new government. It has not got yet in its stride. It has not yet set up a complete machinery of government, and to leave such an important and vital problem as of the refugees to such a machinery is, if, Sir, you will excuse me, almost a sin. This can only be tackled at the high level of the Government of India and with all the resources of men and materials at its disposal. Is it not possible, Sir, may I ask, for this government to make the refugee problem a Central subject both for legislation and administration, not merely in East Punjab but in the whole country? I think it is a very vital question. It is all very well for the moment, with all the resources at the command of the Government of India to have brought back so many lakhs of people: but their rehabilitation will create problems of a very wide character which no provincial government can ever hope to settle. For instance we are now only concerned with their housing problem, with their food problem: very soon their economic problem will stare the country in the face: the social and moral problem of their being absorbed in new surroundings will be a problem which simply cannot be tackled by any provincial government. Therefore, I would again request the government to consider seriously whether the whole problem, including rehabilitation, should not be taken over by the Centre. I may give an instance of my own personal knowledge so far as Bombay is concerned. Sir, I do not want to criticize any provincial government; they are all doing their best. But the consciousness which exists in Delhi that the refugee problem is an all-India problem of the most vital importance generally has not penetrated into the provincial capitals, and the result very often is that the refugees are left to shift for themselves and to make their own arrangements. Sir, I may give a few instances. In Bombay about 5 or 6 months ago a camp was opened for Sindhi refugees at a place called Chimur. Curiously enough for 5 days there were no ration cards issued to them. They had applied but some local machinery somewhere was creaking and the result was that there were no ration cards and they had to do with whatever little neighbours could supply. Ultimately Ministers were approached, a Minister visited it and then things were straightened out. But had there been a Government of India officer sitting there in Bombay to look after the Sindhi refugees' needs, he could have immediately walked up to the Prime Minister and these difficulties would not have arisen. A small officer of the Bombay Government who is looking after refugees naturally finds it very difficult to have that weight and that influence which would enable the official machinery to move faster or at least move fast enough to save a lot of inconvenience. Another thing of which I know is that the refugees who have come to Bombay are not needy refugees. They are what we call upper middle class people, business men in a large way, men with money, landed proprietors who have got means. They for the last six months are going from place to place trying to acquire a few hundred acres in the suburb of Bombay where they can put up a large suburb in order to house themselves in a comfortable manner. Sir, they just go about like an ordinary purchaser. If they want to approach a Government department, they have got to approach at the lowest possible level and the result has been that purchases take a long time. Here is money, here are men prepared to put up a large amount of money and there is any amount of space outside Bandra even in Greater Bombay which the Bombay Government could easily acquire and make available for them. I do not say there is no will to do it. The only question is Govern-



(Shri K. M. Munshi)

ment machinery moves just in the same red-tapistie manner as if an ordinary purchaser trying to acquire land for himself. This is a very unfortunate state of affairs and therefore unless the Government of India takes it up as a Central subject, this difficulty will continue. Sir, during the days when the war began I remember that a very large property belonging to a school was acquired by the Government of India. I happened to be a trustee. In about half an hour's time the Government of India had a deal with me and within 48 hours we vacated and gave possession of it. I wish something of this kind might be done by the Government of India. The Government of India alone can do it. The provincial government, as I said, cannot possibly do it and therefore the only appeal that I make to the Honourable Minister is though he has done his best, the best requires to be bettered still and that better can only be achieved if through out the whole of India the refugee problem is made a Central subject at any rate if the Government of India representatives are in each province to look after the needs of these refugees. That is all I have to submit. Sir

**Shri Khurshid Lal (U.P. : General):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is no doubt that the problem which is before the House today is one of immense importance and great complexity, and the only reason why I have ventured to take part in this debate is that I come from a district namely Dehra Dun, which outside Eastern Punjab has one of the biggest concentrations of our refugee friends from West Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. My district, along with the neighbouring district of Saharanpur which includes the town of Hardwar, has got a refugee population of about a lakh. Sir, my honourable friend Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya objected to the use of the word 'refugee' I can assure him that this word is as much disliked by those to whom it is applied as it is by my honourable friend here. The reason, Sir, is that the word 'refugee' implies as if they were some foreigners, some aliens who have come to our land to take shelter, and they resent this word for this reason. I think, Sir, the correct attitude to look at this problem is that they are people who till yesterday belonged to our own country, sharing in the fight for freedom with us, and who have been driven from their hearth and home simply because they belonged to a part of the country which had to be torn asunder so that India may be free. They have paid the real price for freedom and they have suffered for it, and it is time that we tried to share this burden with them and did not leave it to them alone to pay the price of freedom.

Sir, it was about the month of March or April that bands of refugees began to arrive in my District. That was after the happenings in the Districts of Rawalpindi and Hazara. So even before the 15th of August, their number had swelled; they had come in great numbers and actually the towns of Dehra Dun, Mussorie and Hardwar had a far larger number of refugees than we should possibly accommodate. My District is the smallest in the Province; we have no trade and no industry; Hardwar is important only as a centre of pilgrimage. These refugees could not find any occupation there and throughout the long summer months nothing was done for them. They simply drifted with the result that they grew more and more desperate every day.

Sir, the complexion of the whole problem changed after the 15th of August, because after that date it did not remain a question of a portion of the Hindu or Sikh population of this or that District shifting here or there, but of the entire Hindu and Sikh population of the Western Punjab moving over to the East Punjab or the western districts of U.P. Sir, all credit is due to the Government of India for the great organisation and the remarkable manner in which this large exodus of population, unprecedented perhaps in human history, was accomplished. In about three months time, Sir, over four million

people have been brought from the Western Punjab to the Eastern Punjab and the great amount of organisation and all the details that had to be worked out can only be imagined. The very fact that this vast migration was accomplished at a time when there was civil strife, floods and other disorders, is itself a great tribute to the Government of India; that was done without leaving behind it any trail of large epidemics like cholera, malaria or typhoid, speaks volumes for the organisation which was set up.

Having said that, Sir, I must say that in the matter of evacuation there was not that amount of co-ordination between the various Provincial Governments, and the Central Government and the Provincial Governments, which should have been there. Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani referred to one incident at Kalanour railway station. Sir, that incident was not the only one of its kind. The United Provinces Government passed an order prohibiting the incoming of refugees from Eastern Punjab to the United Provinces; for I all know, there was ample justification for that order. But after that order, one would have expected that no more refugees would arrive in the U. P. and that some control or check would be initiated to prevent their coming in. But, Sir, the fact is that one day there were as many as seven trains arriving at Kalanour station containing thousands and thousands of refugees. They were left there on the station platform with only the sky over their heads; they could not go forward, they could not go backward; and they did not know what to do. Sir, after all the sufferings, horrors and trials which these people from the Western Punjab had experienced, an incident like this should definitely have been avoided. Even now, Sir, I understand that refugees are still coming to Kalanour; there is a sort of check at Jagadhri, the last station in the Eastern Punjab on the U.P. border. And what happens at that station. Some official is supposed to check all the passengers who arrive by trains. Day before yesterday a train arrived at Delhi 18 hours late: one of the factors which contributed to its late arrival was that it had to wait 12 hours at Jagadhri for the pleasure of that officer to come and check. And that checking, Sir, is such a farce: after the checking is done practically nobody is excluded and they all come to the United Provinces.

In a way, Sir, the problem of evacuation is now practically over and there is not much use discussing its shortcomings. As I have already said, in spite of shortcomings a great task has been truly achieved. Now the question is, what next? The more important question is rehabilitation. Up till now, quite rightly, the energies of the Government were devoted to bringing out our brothers and sisters whose very lives were in danger in the Western Punjab; but now we have to settle them down. The winter is now upon us. In the Eastern Punjab even now there are thousands and thousands of men and women lying on the railway stations—men and women who have no shelter or accommodation. I submit, Sir, that we have got to see that in this cold weather—during the next two or three days—everybody is put under some sort of roof. The Eastern Punjab Government have done well in closing down all schools and colleges and accommodating in them refugees. I submit we have to go beyond that; there should be a rationing of accommodation and people should be billeted in houses. During the last war in European countries soldiers were billeted in houses with families. Where is the reason that people now having big houses and having more accommodation than they need, should not part with it and share it with the refugees? I submit this is a problem which brooks of no delay; immediate steps should be taken to provide at least shelter and food to all those who are now left under the sky.

Thereafter, Sir, comes the question of permanent rehabilitation. We are told that there would be about three lakhs of agriculturist refugees who cannot find a place in the Eastern Punjab and that they have to be accommodated somewhere else. If we look at the problem it is not a problem which

[Shri Khurshed Lal]

ought to be difficult of solution. My own Province, the United Provinces, has got over a lakh of villages. Sir, India before partition had about seven lakhs of villages and even now I think we have got about five lakhs. If we could organise with the help of the vast Congress organisation, all the District Congress Committees, the Mandal Congress Committees and the Village Congress Committees, and persuade them to arrange to take at least one family in each village, and to adopt that family and provide it with the land needed by it, the whole problem could be solved quite satisfactorily. Instead of one village even groups of five villages could take one family. The question requires tackling on an all-India basis and putting drive and energy into it.

The more difficult problem is that of the urban refugees. They have been entirely uprooted. Among them are businessmen, professional men, lawyers, doctors, teachers and others. They have lost all they had. They cannot find another occupation and are going about from pillar to post getting more and more desperate every day. Sir, they have lost huge properties in the Western Punjab. I do not know, Sir, as to how matters stand with the Pakistan Government so far as any compensation to these people is concerned; I believe it may be possible to get some compensation for them. Why is it that they alone should pay the price of liberty? After all they have been turned out from there because India had to be free. Therefore, why is it that we should all not share the privations and hardships together? I would suggest that if it were possible, there should be a *per capita* levy on the whole of the country, so that these people could be compensated to the extent to which they have lost. I suggest that an estimate should be made of the money and property that they have lost there and some part of it, one-fourth, one-fifth or one-sixth, with an upper limit should be advanced to them for the present against the compensation they get some day, so that they may at least make a start in life. Something has got to be done.

I understand that in the U.P. our Prime Minister has got a scheme to set up a new industrial city some where between Lucknow and Kanpur, and let the refugees develop it. I suggest, Sir, that not one city but any number of cities which can be set up in this manner should be set up and more important than that, something which can be done easier and earlier is the development of our small towns and of their suburbs where these people can be accommodated.

Sir, I know that the Government would do all that it can for our friends from the Western Punjab who have come here, but there is another aspect of this problem to which I wish to draw the attention of the Government. During the last three months, my district and the district of Saharanpur have been the scenes of violent disturbances. The reactions of happenings in the Punjab have been there and the result has been that some thousands of our Muslim citizens have been displaced from their homes. Their houses have either been burnt or looted. They are our citizens and speaking for my district and the district of Saharanpur, I say they have a particular claim on our sympathies because they were the people who voted for the Congress during the last elections and we won our seats against the Muslim League. When we are thinking of rehabilitation, when we are thinking of affording relief, let us not forget these people who have suffered, may be as a reaction for the happenings in the Western Punjab but for no fault of theirs. They have suffered, Sir, for the fault of those who preached the hymn of hate and violence. I hope, Sir, when the Honourable Minister thinks of rehabilitation and relief, he will also bear in mind people who have been displaced in this manner.

श्री० देशबन्धु गुप्ता : जनाब सदर, मैंने इससे पहले की गई तकरीरों को बहुत गौर से सुना। मुझे अफसोस है कि अब तक इस मसले की नजाकत का सही अन्दाजा नहीं किया जा रहा है। जो तजवीज मेरे एक दो लायक दोस्तों ने रक्खी है उससे जाहिर होता है कि उनके ख्याल में यह मसला इतना आसान है कि ईस्ट पंजाब के गवर्नमेंट के बजाय अगर सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट उसे बराहे रास्त अपने हाथ में ले लेगी तो जादू की छडी से वह मसला हल हो जायगा। हकीकत यह है कि यह मसला इतना संगीन है, इतना नाजुक है कि चाहे सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट हो चाहे कोई प्राविन्शियल गवर्नमेंट हो इसे इतमीनान बक्श तरीके पर हल नहीं कर सकती। जरूरत आज इस बात की नहीं है कि आप पंजाब गवर्नमेंट के बजाय सारा काम सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के हाथ में दे दें और एक नया झगडा सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और पंजाब गवर्नमेंट के बीच खड़ा कर दिया जाय। जरूरत इस बात की है कि आज सेंटर और प्राविंस के दम्यानि को-आर्डिनेशन (Co-ordination) हो। और आज पंजाब गवर्नमेंट की जो खामियां हैं, रिसोर्सेज (resources) की जो कमी है, तजुबों की जो कमी है, उनको पूरा करने की कोशिश की जाय। आज यह कह देने से कि पंजाब गवर्नमेंट के वजीर नालायक हैं पंजाब गवर्नमेंट कमजोरी का सुबूत दे रही है पंजाब गवर्नमेंट को जो कुछ करना चाहिये था नहीं किया और समझलें कि हमारा कर्तव्य पूरा हो गया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हम न केवल पंजाब गवर्नमेंट के साथ बेइन्साफी करेंगे अपितु इस मसले को हल करने में कोई सहायता नहीं देंगे। मेरी गाय में इस प्रकार का क्रिटिसिज्म (criticism) करने का वक्त चला गया। आज देखना यह है कि हमें आगे क्या करना चाहिये। मैं उस काम के लिये जो मेरे लायक दोस्त मि० नियोगी व मि० गोपाल स्वामी आयांगर और दूसरे भाइयों ने जो इस महकमे से वाबस्ता है किया है उसकी तारीफ करता हूँ लेकिन अगर गौर से देखा जाय तो क्या वह लोग कह सकते हैं या कोई और कह सकता है कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने दिल्ली में जहां के लिये वह डाईरेक्टली (directly) जिम्मेदार थी जिस तरीके से काम किया है वह ऐसा था कि जिससे हर शख्स को इतमीनान हो।

मैं समझता हूँ कि उस बात का सही अंदाजा करने के लिये हमें रिफ्यूजीज (refugees) की जो हालत यहां है उसे देखना पड़ेगा। अगर आप चांदनी चौक में चले जाय जो यहां का सब से बड़ा बाजार है, तो आप देखेंगे कि बाजार के बीच में चार-चार पांच-पांच कतारें ऐसी होती हैं जहां रिफ्यूजीज छोटी छोटी दुकानें लगाए बंठे हैं। यह लोग सुबह चार बजे आते हैं और इनमें जमीन के एक एक फुट के टुकड़ों पर झगडा होता। ह यह शाम तक वहां छाबड़ी लगाकर सामान बेचते हैं। बदइतजामी की यह हालत है कि चांदनी चौक में आज "अंडा दो-दो आने" की आवाजें हमारे कानों में आती रहती हैं। यही हालत कनाटप्लेस की है।

मैं पूछता हूँ कि क्या इस तीन महीनों के अर्से में सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने इस मसले का हल सोचा, और क्या इस के मुसतलिफ पहलुओं पर गौर किया। जो शरणार्थी हैं, इतने

[श्री देशबन्धु गुप्ता]

मुसीबत जदा होने के बावजूद फिर भी भांग कर नहीं खाना चाहते और अपने हाथ से कमाकर खाना चाहते हैं क्या उनको यहां काम मिला। या इन दो लाख ८५ हजार शरणार्थियों की जिनके नाम रजिस्टर हो चुके हैं आजीविका की समस्या को हल करने की कोशिश की गई। अगर सरकार हिंद अभी तक इनकी समस्या का कोई हल नहीं कर सकी और सोच कर कोई कन्स्ट्रक्टिव (Constructive) तजवीज नहीं कर सकी तो ईस्टर्न पंजाब के इनजाम को मंभालकर जहां तीस लाख से अधिक रूरल ऐरियाज (Rural areas) के आदिमियों को बसाने की जरूरत है, क्या कर सकेगी। मेरा यह मतलब नहीं कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की कोशिशों में कमी है। वास्तव में जरूरत इस बात की है कि हमारे पास सेल्फलेस वर्कर्स (Selfless workers) की एक आर्मी (army) हो। जब तक ऐसे वर्कर्स आगे नहीं आयेंगे तब तक कोई गवर्नमेंट इतने बड़े काम को अंजाम नहीं दे सकेगी। आज मैं देखता हूँ कि पंजाब के जो लोग तबाह होकर आये हैं, हजारों की तादाद में दिल्ली में मौजूद हैं, सुबह से शाम तक बीस बीस मंतेबे इधर से उधर चक्कर लगाते हैं कि सर छुपाने के लिए कहीं एक मकान मिल जाय, कभी किसी एडवाइजरी काउन्सिल (Advisory Council) के मंबर के पास पहुंचते हैं, कभी कस्टोडियन आफ इवेक्वीज प्रापर्टी (Custodian of Evacuees' Property) के पास पहुंचते हैं, अगर हम इस मसले को हल कर सकते और इन तमाम लोगों के वक्त को और इनकी एनर्जीज (energies) को एम्प्लाय (employ) कर सकते तो बहुत बड़ा काम कर सकते लेकिन हकीकत यह है कि हमने इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया।

मेरे लायक दोस्त ने कहा है कि हमें शहरी बाशिन्दों के मसले पर गौर करना है। लेकिन मैं पूछता हूँ कि दिल्ली में जो दो लाख पचासी हजार या तीन लाख के करीब शरणार्थी आ चुके हैं वह आज तीन महीने से यहां पड़े हैं क्या कभी हमने सोचा कि हम दिल्ली से दो या चार मील के फासले पर कोई जगह उनके लिए रिजर्व (reserve) कर दें और उन्हें बसाने के लिए एलीमेंट्री (elementary) आसानियां दी जायें। यह तजवीज एक कमेटी ने जिसका मैं भी सदस्य था की और एक से ज्यादा मरतबे हमारे सामने यह मसला आया लेकिन अभी तक हमने इस तरफ कोई अमली कदम नहीं उठाया। अगर हम दिल्ली से तीन चार मील के फासले पर सड़क के किनारे जो जमीनें पडी हैं उनमें से हजार या पांच सौ एकड़ का कोई प्लॉट (plot) रिजर्व (reserve) कर दें और वहां मकान बंगले बगैरह बनाने में सहायता कर सकें लोगों के लिए ट्रांसपोर्ट आदि का इंतजाम कर पाते तो वह कोई अमली काम होता। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ। आज हालत यह है कि कस्टोडियन आफ इवेक्वीज प्रापर्टी की जो सलाहकार कमेटी है जिसकी ओर मिसेज सुचेता कृपलानी ने हाउस की तबज्जह दिलायी है मैं भी उसका एक मंबर हूँ और यह समझता हूँ कि उसके काम में जो वक्त लगा बहुत कुछ जाया हुआ क्योंकि आज लाहौर आदि से दिल्ली में बहुत से बड़े बड़े डाक्टर, वैद्य, रेडियोलोजिस्ट (Radio-

logists) और होमयोपैथ आए हुए हैं, दो ढाई महीने से यहां मौजूद हैं लेकिन हमने एक को भी अभी तक मकान नहीं दिया। एक्सरे (X-Ray) के एक डाक्टर यहां आए हैं उनके पास एक्सरे का प्लांट (Plant) है इसके लिये डाइरेक्टर जनरल आफ हैल्थ ने कस्टोडियन आफ इवेक्यूइज प्रापर्टी को लिखा कि उसे उस काम के योग्य जगह दी जाय। उसे दो महीने हो गए हैं और वह प्लांट बेकार पड़ा है लेकिन दिल्ली में अभी तक उन्हें जगह नहीं दी जा सकी। आज हमारे यहां गंगाराम हास्पिटल के डाक्टर जिन्होंने अपनी जान को खतरे में डालकर रिफ्यूजीज की मदद की वह मारे मारे फिर रहे हैं। और हम उनको जगह नहीं दे सके। लायक से लायक वैद्य हैं, होमियोपैथ हैं उनको जगह नहीं दे सकते। जो मकान रायट्स (riots) में मुसलमान छोड़ कर गये हैं उनकी मरम्मत कराकर रहने लायक बना सकते हैं। लेकिन अभी गवर्नमेन्ट की तरफ से ऐसा कोई अमली कदम नहीं उठाया गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि अरबन ऐरियाज़ (Urban areas) के जो लोग आ गए हैं उनके लिए कनाट प्लेस के मैदान में एक आर्केड (arcade) बना सकते हैं, जहां लकड़ी की दूकानें बना कर उन्हें शीघ्र खड़ा किया जा सकता है और इस प्रकार उन्हें काम दिया जा सकता है। लेकिन इस तरफ भी कोई तवज्जह नहीं हुई। हालत यह है, जनाब कि लगभग दो हजार बिजनेस प्रेमिसेज (business premises) दिल्ली में खाली हुई हैं उनमें से १८०० ऐसी प्रेमिसेज पर लोगों ने खुद कब्जा कर लिया। करीब दो सौ प्रेमिसेज ऐसी हैं जिनको हम दे सकते थे लेकिन आज तक ऐसा नहीं हो सका।

मैं समझता हूँ कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का काम यह नहीं जिसकी तरफ मेरे बाज दोस्त उसे ले जाना चाहते हैं। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का काम यह है पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट से जो फंड्स लेने हैं उन्हें जोर देकर करे। आज सेफ डिपॉजिट्स वाल्ट्स (Safe deposits Vaults) का मसला इसी तरह लटक रहा है। बहुत रिफ्यूजीज ऐसे हैं जो अपने रुपये से अपने को आबाद करना चाहते हैं, और दूसरों की मदद नहीं चाहते लेकिन हमारी सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट आज तक इस काबिल नहीं हुई कि जिन लोगों का सामान वेस्ट (West) पंजाब में पड़ा है और लूटने से बच गया है, या ९० फी सदी लुट चुका है लेकिन दस फी सदी जो बच गया है उसे इधर लाने के लिए कोई अमली काम करे। लाहौर में हालत यह है कि कोई सिक्ख या हिंदू नहीं जा सकता, पुलिस के प्रोटेक्शन (protection) में भी जाकर अपना सामान नहीं ला सकता। सेफ डिपॉजिट्स में जो सामान पड़ा है वह भी अभी तक नहीं लाया जा सका और यह मसला हल नहीं हुआ। यह काम है सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के करने का। यह हो जाय तो आज रिफ्यूजीज को महसूस हो कि उनकी सरकार मजबूत है। और उनको धीरज हो। आज दिल्ली में हम एक नमूना पेश करें और उन्हें कारोबार में लगा सकें और उन्हें आराम देने की कोशिश करें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि ईस्ट (East) पंजाब के लिए एक मिसाल बन जाय। ऐसा न करके केवल पंजाब गवर्नमेंट पर निर्भर रहने से काम नहीं चलेगा। हालत यह है कि वह खुद अभी तक पूरी तरह जमी नहीं है।

[श्री देशबन्धु गुप्ता]

उसका एक दफतर शिमला में है एक जालंधर में है एक कहीं और है उससे हम क्या तबक्कोह कर सकते हैं। जब कि यहां जहां सब कुछ मौजूद है वहां हम अमली तौर पर कुछ नहीं कर सके।

जनाब, मैं ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता। मेरी तजवीज यह है कि आज प्राईम मिनिस्टर (Prime Minister) साहब अपील करें और इस हाउस के मेंब्रों से और दूसरे सूबों की एसेम्बली के मेंब्रों से कहें कि अपनी सर्विसेज (Services) बालुन्टीयर (Nolunteer) करें। और हम लोग दो दो महीने के लिए एक एक सेंटर (Centre) में बैठें तो काम अवश्य आगे बढ़ेगा और कायदे से होगा। आज सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट हो या प्राविन्शियल गवर्नमेंट हो दोनों आई० सी० एस० (I. C. S.) और पी० सी० एस० (P.C.S.) के जरिये काम करती हैं, उनसे टङ्ग से काम लिया जा सके।

इसका तरीका यह है कि इस हाउस के मेंब्र और दूसरे सूबों के मेंब्र एक सौ, दो सौ या पांच सौ जितने भी आगे आएँ अपनी सर्विसेज पेश करें और किसी न किसी कॅम्प की जिम्मेदारी को अपने हाथ में लें। दूसरे पब्लिक वर्कर्स भी इस काम में सब जगह लग जाये और वह हर कॅम्प में काम अपने हाथों में लें। आज सेंटर को इस तरह का आईंर जारी कर देना चाहिये ताकि सूबों से भी लोग अपनी खिदमत दे सकें।

आज तीन महीने से ज्यादा हो गये कि हमने कस्टोडियन एडवाइजरी कमेटी के जरिये गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया को यह लिखा था कि जो लोग अपने कारखाने और बिजनेस छोड़कर पाकिस्तान चले गये हैं उनके बारे में पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट से बातचीत करके जल्द तय किया जाय ताकि हम उनको डिस्पोज आफ (dispose of) कर सकें या आक्शन (auction) कर दें ताकि उन लोगों को काम दिया जाय जो यहां वेस्ट पंजाब से आये हुए हैं। यह वह चीज है जिनकी तरफ सरकार को अपनी पहली तबज्जो करनी चाहिये और इन मामलों को पाकिस्तान के साथ शीघ्र तय करना चाहिये। यहां पर सिर्फ पंजाब सरकार पर नकताचीनी करने से फायदा नहीं पहुंच सकता या पोस्ट मार्टेम (postmortem) करने से कोई फायदा नहीं पहुंचेगा। दोनों सरकारें अपनी शक्ति भर काम कर रही हैं इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि उन लोगों के हाथ खूब मजबूत किये जायें ताकि वे और भी अधिक और अच्छा काम कर सकें। मैं एक बार फिर गवर्नमेंट से यह कहूंगा कि पाकिस्तान से उन बातों के बारे में पहिले बात चीत की जाय जोकि बहुत जरूरी हैं। दूसरे बात में उन रिफ्यूजीज से कहूंगा जो कि हर समय गवर्नमेंट को क्रिटिसाइज (criticise) करते रहते हैं। उनको इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि वह हर तरह से गवर्नमेंट के हाथों को मजबूत बनाये और उसके एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (administration) में किसी किस्म की रूकावट न डालें। मैंने नहीं देखा कि वेस्टर्न (Western) पंजाब के जो लीडर यहां दिल्ली में हैं वे कभी किसी आसपास

के इलाके में जहाँ शरणार्थी हैं जाकर बैठे हों। सिवाय इसके कि एक दो दफा वे हवाई जहाज से देखने चले गये वह दूसरी बात है। आज हमें रिप्यूजीज के मसले की तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जो देने की जरूरत है इसलिये जिम्मेदार वरकर्स को इस काम के लिए कम्पों में जाकर अफसरों को सहायता के काम में कोपरेशन (cooperation) देना चाहिये और इस तरह से सरकार का हाथ बटाना चाहिये। इन अल्फाज के साथ मैं अपनी तकरीर खत्म करता हूँ।

*(English translation of the above speech).*

**Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi):** Mr. Speaker, I have very attentively listened to the speech made by the last speaker. I regret to say that the delicacy of the subject has not so far been estimated properly. From the suggestion put forth by one or two of my able friends it appears that they take this subject to be such an easy matter that it could be solved in no time—as if by a magic—if it was entrusted to the Central Government instead of the Government of the East Punjab. In fact, it is such a difficult problem that no Government whether Central or Provincial can solve it in a really satisfactory way. It is not necessary today that the work should be handed over to the Central Government in place of the Punjab Government; this might set up a quarrel between the two Governments. Our present day need is to establish perfect co-ordination between the Centre and the Province. We must really try to make up for the present shortcomings of the Punjab Government, for their inadequacy of resources, and for their lack of experience. It would not suffice for us to say today that the Ministers of the Punjab Government are incompetent, that the Government is giving a proof of its weakness, that the Government has not discharged its duties; and should we, thereby, think that we have done our duty, then, in my opinion, we are not only doing an injustice to the Punjab Government, but are also not giving any help to that Government in solving the present problem. I, think, the time for such criticisms has now passed. We must think what are the steps we have to take now. I quite appreciate the work done by my able friends the Honourable Mr. Neogy and the Honourable Mr. Gopalaswami Ayengar and those attached with that department. But if the matter is looked into carefully, can they say, or can anybody else say, that the work done by the Central Government in Delhi, the place for which it is directly responsible, is to the entire satisfaction of all?

I think to have an exact idea of this, we shall have to look into the very condition of the refugees here. If you go to Chandni Chowk—the most important street of Delhi—you will see many refugees sitting in rows right in the middle of the bazar with their small shops before them; and there are at least 4 or 5 such rows. They reach there in the very early hours of the morning and have to quarrel over small pieces of space. They sit there and sell their articles till late in the evening. Mis-management is visible to that extent today that we will hear a hawker selling his eggs in Chandni Chowk at 2 annas each. It is the same way in Connaught Place.

I may ask the question, “Did the Government during the period of the last three months, think out a plan to solve this problem? Did they examine the different aspects of this problem? Have the Government secured an employment for those refugees, who inspite of being in a very distressed condition still prefer to earn their bread themselves rather than resorting to begging? Have the Government also attempted to solve the question of employment of those 2 lakhs 85 thousand refugees whose names have been registered?” If the Government of India have not so far been able to solve their problem and have not suggested any constructive measures to overcome the difficulty then



[Shri Deshbandhu Gupta]

I am afraid it cannot fair better in handling the problem of the East Punjab where it is a question of settling down more than thirty lakhs of people of the rural areas. I do not mean to say that the Central Government is not taking enough pains, what we need today is an army of selfless workers. And unless these men are coming forth no Government can accomplish such a heavy task. There are thousands of people in Delhi today, who have come from the Punjab, completely ruined. They have to go over place to place at least 20 times a day, in order to secure a house or some place of shelter for them. They go and see a member of the Advisory Council, then they go to see the Custodian of Evacuees' Property, and so on and so forth. We had indeed done a bit of solid work if we could have saved all their time and had employed their energies in a better way. We must admit that we paid no attention to it.

My able friend has said that we have to consider the problem of the urban population. But may I ask, "What is being done about those refugees who are already here for the last three months? They number about three lakhs now. Did we ever consider to reserve any plot for them say at about two to four miles from Delhi, and ever thought to give them the elementary facilities to live there? This was actually the proposal of a Committee, of which I was also a member, and the question came before us several times, but so far no practical step has been taken in that direction. It would have been a piece of our practical work if we had reserved a plot of land for refugees at a distance of about three to four miles from Delhi, measuring about 500—1000 acres in length, out of the land extending on the sides of the road; and had given them the facilities to build houses and bungalows etc. there, and had provided them with transport facilities. But that is not the case today. I must say that most of the time spent on the Advisory Committee of the Custodian of Evacuees' Property has been wasted, the committee of which I am also a member, the committee to which Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani drew the attention of the House; as we see today, that there are many doctors, vaidyas, radiologists and homeopaths who arrived from Lahore, and are here for the last 2 months but they have not so far been provided with a house. Another doctor who is an expert in X-Ray treatment and has an X-Ray plant with him, has also not yet got a suitable house. The Director General of Health wrote to the Custodian of Evacuees' Property, that a suitable house be allotted to him. This has taken two months now, the plant is kept idle and the man is without a house. Even that famous doctor of the Sir Ganga Ram Hospital, who helped refugees at the risk of his own life has to wander about today from place to place in search of a house. We have not provided a house for him either. There are many more eminent doctors, vaidyas and homeopaths who are still without a house. We could at least, after necessary repairs make those houses inhabitable for them that were vacated by Mohammadans during the riot period. But the Government has not taken any practical steps towards that end too. For those coming from the urban areas we could have arcades erected on the plot in Connaught Place, and had provided them with shops there made of wood. This too did not receive the attention of the Government. The present position is that about two thousand business premises were vacated in Delhi, about one thousand eight hundred of them have actually been occupied by men at their own will. So there were only about two hundred left now that were to let, but this has also not been done.

It is perhaps not the task of the Central Government towards which some of my friends have been drawing it. The task of the Central Government is to bear its pressure on the Pakistan Government to come to decisions on the matters that have to be settled now. The matter relating to Safe Deposit vaults is still pending. Many refugees have the desire to establish themselves again on the strength of their money and they do not want any outside help. But

our Central Government has not proved itself equal to the task of bringing the whole or even the part of the belongings of the people from the West Punjab. There is such a bad state of affairs going on in Lahore now that a Hindu or Sikh cannot go there to collect his belongings even under a police escort. The entire contents of the Safe Deposit Vaults are therefore there and could not be brought here so far. Thus the problem of the Safe Deposit Vaults remains unsolved. This is of course one of the tasks of the Government. If she can do it, the refugees will feel that their Government is strong and they will have much satisfaction. Therefore let us set an example in Delhi, let us give comforts to our refugees; let us provide them with suitable work. We will thus set an example before the Punjab Government. While if we cannot do this, our mere depending on the Punjab Government will not help us a long way. The position is such that that Government is also not yet fully established. It has its offices, one at Simla, another at Jullundher and yet another at a third place. We cannot therefore expect much from that Government either as we who have all the resources at our disposal here have not been able to do anything practical so far.

Sir, I do not propose to take much time, but I suggest that the Honourable Prime Minister may appeal to the Honourable Members of this House, as well as to those of the Provincial Legislatures that they should volunteer their services for this task. We should sit together for 2 months at a time at each centre, thus our work will be speeded up and will be done more systematically. Today the Central as well as the Provincial Governments are functioning through the P. C. S. and the I. C. S. They can get work out of them in a better way. And this is how we can do it. Members of this House and those of the Provincial Legislatures should come forward in numbers say one hundred, two hundred or five hundred, and volunteer their services. Let them take charge of one Camp each. Then the other public workers also will join them and give them their help. The Central Government should issue the orders that men from the provinces must volunteer their services.

It is more than 3 months now when we wrote to the Government of India, through the Custodian Advisory Committee, that the former should negotiate with the Government of Pakistan and settle the question of those factories and concerns etc., that were abandoned by the people going to Pakistan, so that we could either dispose of those concerns or demand their eviction, and thus provide employment for those who come from the West Punjab. These are the matters which deserve the very first attention of the Government and should be solved immediately in consultation with the Pakistan Government. There is no use criticising the Punjab Government or having a "postmortem" of these matters. There is no doubt that the two Governments are doing their best. I therefore wish that their hands are further strengthened so that they can do much better. I shall appeal to the Government once more that only the essential matter should be taken up first with Pakistan Government. Next, I speak to those refugees who have been always criticising the Government. They should try to help the Government in every way possible, and should not impede the work of the Administration. I have never seen the leaders of the West Punjab who are in Delhi ever going personally to the place of refugees that are near at hand; it is of no help if they have flown over these areas once or twice before.

We have today to pay more attention to the Refugee Problem. Responsible workers should therefore go to Refugee Camps and help the officers there in the task of giving aid to the refugees. They should thus help the Government now.

श्री अजीत प्रसाद जैन : जनाव बाला, आज हम एक निहायत मुनासिब मसले पर बहस कर रहे हैं। यह एक ऐसा मसला है जो लाखों इंसानों की मुश्किलत से ताल्लुक रखता है। उनके खाने के उनके कपड़े के और उनको मुस्तलिफ जगह आबाद करने के मवाल से ताल्लुक रखता है। मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि आज इस ऐवान में इस मसले पर एक अमली तौर से बहस हुई और हम एक अमली तौर से बहस करके ही किसी खाम नतीजे पर पहुंच सकते हैं।

मैं पंजाब के मुताल्लिक तो बहुत ज्यादा अर्ज नहीं करूंगा बल्कि सूबे मुतहदा के मगरबी हिस्से के मुताल्लिक अर्ज करूंगा। हमारे यहां मेरठ डिवीजन में करीब २ तमाम रिफ्यूजीज जो सूबे मुतहदा में हैं उनके आधे वहां बसे हुए हैं। हमारे जिले सहारनपुर में जहां से मैं आया हूँ वह पंजाब की मरहद पर वाक्या है और पंजाब से जो लोग वहां आ रहे हैं उससे हमारे शहर में काफी असर पड़ता है। यही वजह है कि मैं पंजाब के बारे में कुछ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। आज हर स्टेशन पर करीब दस हजार और पंद्रह हजार रिफ्यूजीज पड़े हुए हैं। वहीं पर वह लोग खाना बनाते हैं और वहीं पर रहते हैं। कभी कोई मर जाता है तो कई कई दिनों तक वहां पर लाश पड़ी रहती है। जगाधरी पर करीब तीन चार हजार रिफ्यूजीज पड़े हैं और सब के सब आसमान के साये मले हैं और उनके लिए कोई दूसरा साया नहीं है। पंजाब में कोई निजाम नहीं रहा पंजाब में कोई तरीका नहीं रहा। पंजाब में किसी रिफ्यूजी को मालूम नहीं कि कहां जगह मिलेगी और कहां हमको रहना होगा।

मैं अपने जिले सहारनपुर का जाती तजुर्बा इस सभा के सामने बतलाना चाहता हूँ। तीन सितम्बर को सहारनपुर में बड़े जोरों से बलवा हो रहा था। हिंदू मुसलमान को और मुसलमान हिंदू को कत्ल कर रहा था और वहां पर करफ्यू लगा हुआ था ऐसे में एक मालगाड़ी पंजाब से आई। माल गाड़ी में उम्मेद यह थी कि माल और सामान आयागा, लेकिन उस माल गाड़ी के ऊपर १५०० रिफ्यूजी पंजाब से आये जब कि यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट ने बिला परमिट आना रोक दिया था। हमारे सामने दिक्कत पेश हुई कि अगर वह रिफ्यूजीज सहारनपुर में आजाते हैं, तो ईश्वर जाने उनकी क्या गति होगी। सहारनपुर से पंजाब की तरफ एक छोटा सा स्टेशन है, वहां पर हमने उस रेल को २४ घंटे तक रोके रक्खा। मर्द, औरत, बच्चे, छोटे, बड़े बूढ़े सब के सब इस गाड़ी में बैठे रहे। हम चाहते थे कि इस गाड़ी को पंजाब वापिस भेज दिया जाय चूंकि हमारे शहर की हालत ऐसी न थी कि वह वहां ठहराये जाय और हमने अम्बाला के डिप्टी कमिश्नर को टेलीफोन किया कि मेहरबानी करके आप इन लोगों को वापिस

बुला लीजिये चूंकि इनकी जिदगी यहां पर खतरे में रहेगी। डिप्टी कमिश्नर अम्बाला ने फरमाया कि वह अहकाम जारी कर सकते हैं, लेकिन उसको अमल में लाने के लिए उनके पास पुलिस या और कोई दूसरी ताकत नहीं है जिससे वह अपने जारी किये हुए अहकाम पर ठीक तरह से अमल करा सके। हमने उनसे कहा कि पंजाब गवर्नमेंट और यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट में तय पाया गया है कि वह बिला परमिट के रिफ्यूजी नहीं भेजेंगे तो यह पन्द्रह सौ यहां कैसे आगये। उन्होंने फरमाया कि मुझे इसका इल्म नहीं है। रेलवे के मुलाजिम जिस तरीके से भी चाहते हैं करते हैं, हमारा कहना नहीं मानते। यह हालत हमारे डोमिनियन के एक सूबे में हो रही है जहां कि कोई administration ही नहीं है। इसके बाद भी हमने देखा जैसा कि अभी यहां मेरे एक लायक दोस्त ने बतलाया था कि गाडियों में औरतों के बच्चे होगये, कई आदमी कई कई रोज तक खाना न मिलने से भूखे मर गये। यह वतनी भाई जो मगरिबी पंजाब से आये, इस मुल्क में लाकर फेंक दिये गये।

मेरे लायक दोस्त श्री मुंशी ने यहां पर यह तजवीज पेश की कि रिफ्यूजीज के मामले को सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट खुद अपने हाथ में लेले। मैं समझता हूं कि इससे कोई बात हल होने वाली नहीं है। असल चीज यह है कि किस तरीके से हम काम करना चाहते हैं और किस तरह से सूबे और सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट में मेल जोल हो सकता है आखिर सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट भी इस मामले को अपने हाथ में लेगी, तो काम उन्हीं आदमियों से करायेगी जो वहां हांकिम या मुलाजिम की हैसियत से या दूसरी तौर उन जगहों पर आबाद हैं। सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट को उन्हीं डिप्टी कमिश्नर अम्बाला से काम लेना होगा।

*(English translation of the above speech.)*

**Shri Ajit Prasad Jain (U.P.: General):** Sir, here we are today discussing a very proper subject. It is related with the difficulties of lakhs of people today. It is a matter connected with the question of their food, the question of their clothing, and the question of their settlement in different places. I am glad 1. P.M. to see that the subject has been discussed in a very practical manner in the House today; as only by discussing a matter in a practical way we can arrive at a certain conclusions.

I have not to say much about the Punjab, but I would like to say something about the Western parts of the United Provinces. In the Meerut Division alone, there are about half the number of refugees settled in the whole of the province. The district of Saharanpur where I belong to, is situated on the boarder of the Punjab province and has been directly affected by the influx of refugees from that side. For this reason, I might here say something about the Punjab as well. On every railway station there, there are about ten to fifteen thousand refugees staying on the platforms living there and cooking their food (on the platforms). If any one dies there the body is not immediately removed and continues to lie there for days together. On the Jagadhri Railway station alone, there are about three to four thousand refugees lying without any cover

[Shri Ajit Prasad Jain]

or shelter over their heads. That is the state of the Punjab now, there is no management, there is no system prevailing there. The refugees there do not even know where they will have to stay and where they will get a place to stay.

I wish to place before the House my own experience of the Saharanpur district. Saharanpur was in the grip of serious riots on the 8rd of September, 1947. Muslims and Hindus were killing one another recklessly. The city was under curfew order. Just then it was learnt that a goods train had arrived from the Punjab. Naturally it was thought that it must have brought some goods, but it brought 1,500 refugees instead; though the U. P. Government had stopped the entry of refugees without a permit. We were, therefore, immediately faced with the question of their safety if they were allowed to enter the city. We had the train halted at the nearby station next to Saharanpur on the Punjab side, and kept it there for 24 hours. There were men, women, and children, of all ages among the passengers. As the conditions in our city were not satisfactory and their bringing into the city was not free from danger we wanted the goods-train to be sent back to the Punjab. We, therefore, communicated to the Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, on telephone and requested him that those men should be called back as their lives were not safe there. The Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, replied that while he could issue the orders he had neither the police nor any other force to see that the orders were carried in the right spirit. We referred to him and asked him that though it had been agreed upon by the Government of the United Provinces and the Government of the Punjab that the latter would not send refugees without obtaining a permit, how then the present number of 1,500 was sent over? And he replied that he had no knowledge of it; and said that the railway people were doing all that as they liked to do, and did not listen to them. This is the state of affairs in a province of our Dominion; there is no administration there. And this is not the only one example. Even after this we heard, as pointed out by one of my learned friends, that the mothers gave births to the babies while they were on the trains. In other instances, people died of hunger for not receiving anything to eat, for days together. Therefore our brothers and fellow countrymen who came from the Western Punjab have been thrown open in this part of the country.

My learned friend, the Honourable Mr. Munshi, has suggested before the House that the matter of refugees should be taken up by the Central Government itself. I do not think this will help very much. In fact, it is the spirit with which we do a work and the way how we can establish co-ordination between the Centre and the Province. Even if the Central Government takes over the matter into her hands the work will have to be done by the same team of officers and men who are serving there or living there and the same Deputy Commissioner will be required to function.

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#### PANEL OF CHAIRMEN

Mr. Speaker: Before we adjourn for lunch, I have to make a couple of announcements. One of them refers to the request made to me by the Honourable Home Minister for permission to make a statement on the Hyderabad situation. I have permitted him to make it and he will make that statement at 2.30 p.m. Honourable Members may note so that they may be present if they want to.

The other is about the Panel of Chairmen. I have received a communication from Shri Munishwami Pillai who, was one of the Panel of Chairmen in which he says that "in view of the Leader of the House having pointed out the propriety of a Member not continuing as a Member of two legislative bodies.

he feels inclined to resign his Chairmanship in the Panel". I have accepted this resignation and I appoint Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar in his place. That leaves one vacancy still to be filled up because I have only nominated three and not four; in the fourth vacancy I nominate Shrimati Durga Bai.

*The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.*

*The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair*

### STAND-STILL AGREEMENT WITH H. E. H. THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD

**The Honourable Sardar Vallabhai Patel** (Minister for Home, Information and Broadcasting and States): With your permission, Sir, I should like to make a statement on the result of the negotiations with the Hyderabad Government on the future relationship between that State and the Government of India. The House will recall that I stated on the floor of this House that this was the last phase of these negotiations. I am happy to say that an agreement has been reached and I lay on the table of the House a copy of the Agreement signed this morning, as well as a copy of the Collateral letters exchanged between H. E. H. and H. E. the Governor-General.

As the House is aware, it was in July last that we initiated negotiations with the States for their accession to the Dominion of India, which due to the spirit of co-operation evinced by the Rulers resulted in the accession before the 15th August of all States except Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh. We had negotiations with representatives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam also at the same time. I do not wish to take the House through the many phases of the negotiations. I need only say that when 15th August came no agreement could be reached. At the same time, His Exalted Highness the Nizam was anxious not to break off negotiations and accordingly at his request we decided to give him an extension of two months within which to finalise his attitude. When the negotiations were resumed, His Excellency the Governor-General, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, undertook to continue them on our behalf. He had several meetings with the Delegations sent by His Exalted Highness and about a month ago a complete agreement had resulted but owing to developments of which the House is aware the old Delegation resigned and a new one was sent by His Exalted Highness the Nizam in its place. During the negotiations with the new Delegation we adhered to the stand we had already taken up and finally the agreement which we have now succeeded in obtaining from the present Delegation is exactly the same as we had negotiated with the old one.

Under this settlement, all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concern which formerly existed between the Crown Representative and the Hyderabad State, except the Paramountcy functions are to be continued as between the Government of India and the Hyderabad State for a period of one year. These agreements and arrangements cover a wide variety of matters including the three subjects on which accession of all the States has been accepted, *vis.*, Defence, External Affairs and Communications.

I know that Honourable Members would have been much more gratified if as a result of these talks His Exalted Highness had found it possible for the State of Hyderabad to accede to the Indian Dominion. Such an accession would have been in accord not only with our cherished desire but also with the interests of both the Indian Dominion and the Hyderabad State. We, however, fully appreciated the internal difficulties in the State and consistent with

[Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel]

our policy to secure agreement, not by coercion, but as far as possible with the maximum degree of goodwill on both sides and with due regard to the overall position in India, we felt that an agreement of this nature, even for a limited period, would have considerable advantages over the absence of any agreement whatsoever. The period of one year would enable both of us to forge closer relations and would, it is hoped, pave the way for a permanent accession.

The settlement makes it clear that Hyderabad does not propose to accede to Pakistan. This, if I may say so, is only right, for, placed as Hyderabad is, its destiny is inextricably bound up with that of India.

I fully realise that Honourable Members of this House as well as the public outside have been considerably concerned over the happenings in the State in recent months. Now that accord has been reached, I am sure it will have a wholesome effect on the existing situation and will exercise a beneficial influence on the relations between the two communities, both in the State and outside. We can thus put these happenings back in the past and look forward to a relationship in which amity and cordiality will prevail. An atmosphere will thus be created which will enable people who have left the State to return to their homes. I am also certain that as this settlement is intended to serve as the basis of friendly and cordial relations it will be worked in that spirit. We on our part will do our best to secure this end.

I would also like to refer briefly to the fact that proposals for constitutional reforms are now engaging the attention of His Exalted Highness. On this, as well as on the question of final accession, I hope he will readily agree that in the ultimate analysis it is the will of the people that should guide his judgment. There are unmistakable signs in several other States of the triumph of this principle and I feel certain that His Exalted Highness will, as becomes a Ruler of his pre-eminent position, set an example which others can follow.

Finally, I am sure the House would like me to place on record our sense of appreciation of all that His Excellency the Governor-General has done in bringing about such a happy conclusion to the prolonged negotiations.

#### AGREEMENT.

Agreement made this Twenty-ninth day of November Nineteen Hundred and Forty-seven between the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.

Whereas it is the aim and policy of the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar to work together in close association and amity for the mutual benefit of both, but a final agreement as to the form and nature of the relationship between them has not yet been reached;

And whereas it is to the advantage of both parties that existing agreements and administrative arrangements in matters of common concern should, pending such final agreement as aforesaid, be continued:

Now, therefore, it is hereby agreed as follows:—

**Article 1.**—Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to the matters of common concern, including External Affairs, Defence and Communications, which were existing between the Crown and the Nizam immediately before the 15th August 1947 shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between the Dominion of India (or any part thereof) and the Nizam.

Nothing herein contained shall impose any obligation or confer any right on the Dominion

(i) to send troops to assist the Nizam in the maintenance of internal order,

(ii) to station troops in Hyderabad territory except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam which will not be unreasonably withheld, any troops so stationed to be withdrawn from Hyderabad territory within 6 months of the termination of hostilities.

**Article 2.**—The Government of India and the Nizam agree for the better execution of the purposes of this Agreement to appoint Agents in Hyderabad and Delhi respectively, and to give every facility to them for the discharge of their functions.

*Article 3.*—(i) Nothing herein contained shall include or introduce paramountcy functions or create any paramountcy relationship.

(ii) Nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to create in favour of either party any right continuing after the date of termination of this agreement, and nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to derogate from any right which, but for this agreement, would have been exercisable by either party to it after the date of termination hereof.

*Article 4.*—Any dispute arising out of this agreement or out of agreements or arrangements hereby continued shall be referred to the arbitration of two arbitrators, one appointed by each of the parties, and an umpire appointed by those arbitrators.

*Article 5.*—This Agreement shall come into force at once and shall remain in force for a period of one year.

In confirmation whereof the Governor-General of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar have appended their signatures.

Mir Osman Ali Khan,  
Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.  
Mountbatten of Burma,  
Governor-General of India.

*Copy of a letter from H. E. H. the Nizam to H. E. the Governor General, dated the 29th November 1947.*

I regret that we have not been able to reach a final agreement as to the eventual nature of the association between Hyderabad and the Dominion of India. As Your Excellency knows, I have not been prepared to contemplate accession to either Dominion, but short of this, I have been ready to negotiate with your Government upon any other basis. I am now enclosing a Standstill Agreement which I am prepared to execute if Your Excellency's Government are also prepared to sign it. It is a disappointment to me that after such protracted negotiations we are unable to do more for the present than carry on existing arrangements subject to such changes as the departure of paramountcy imposes. On the other hand it is essential to put an end to the present state of uncertainty and the fact that the Agreement now to be executed is to endure for a year means that both Governments will be able to turn their attention more fully to the problems of administration without constant preoccupation with the question of our constitutional relationship. To that question we shall eventually have to return, but I am confident that, if during the next year our association in accordance with the terms of the Standstill Agreement is marked by goodwill on both sides, we shall be more likely at the end of that period to reach a satisfactory agreement as to the nature of our longterm association. I regard this Standstill Agreement accordingly as founded upon the principle of good neighbourliness and I am sure that Your Excellency and Your Government will approach it in the same spirit. By executing this Standstill Agreement I am in no way permanently prejudicing my rights as an independent sovereign, but I am of course conscious that I am in some important respects suspending the exercise of certain of these rights during the currency of the agreement.

2. It is plain that an Agreement in this general form will necessitate a good deal of adjustment in regard to particular arrangements. In this connection I learn that Your Government is prepared as soon as possible to negotiate with mine arrangements for the posts, telegraphs and telephones within Hyderabad to be worked as a Hyderabad system in harmony with the Dominion system. There are, in addition, problems about the Hyderabad Forces, both in regard to the troops and their equipment, which our Government will need to discuss in the light of the fact that on the 15th August 1947, the Hyderabad Forces and Police available for the maintenance of internal order could no longer rely upon the backing of the troops stationed in and near the State by the Paramount Power. This question has already been discussed with the late Military Adviser-in-Chief and with his successor and I have no doubt that Your Excellency's Government will have no objection to making any necessary adjustments in these respects and indeed in other cases of the same character, (having their origin in the exercise of paramountcy functions) which are already apparent or which may come to light in giving effect to the general provision contained in Article I of the Standstill Agreement. So far as arms and equipment are concerned, I understand Your Excellency's Government are ready and willing to provide Hyderabad with the necessary requirements of its Forces and Police. It is only if for any reason the Dominion Government cannot supply such requirements within a reasonable time that I shall approach other sources of supply, and then only after previous intimation to your Government.

3. There is also the question which has been much discussed between my Delegation and the representatives of your Government about diplomatic and trade representatives for Hyderabad abroad. I am prepared to execute the Agreement on the understanding that



the Government of the Dominion will take no objection to the maintenance of the Hyderabad Agent-General in U. K. or to the appointment of similar representatives in any other country. I shall be prepared to arrange for the complete co-ordination of the work of these representatives with the diplomatic and commercial representatives of the Dominion of India in such countries and to inform you in advance of any representatives whom I may decide to appoint. I am confident that Your Excellency's Government will be equally ready to co-operate with mine in regard to the import and export trade of Hyderabad.

4. There are several matters which have been outstanding between us for some time and which I should like to see cleared out of the way as soon as the Agreement comes into force :

(I) No Paramountcy functions remain to be exercised nor was the Hyderabad Residency retained except as a house for the British Resident when there was one in the past. In these circumstances I should be glad if your Government would now hand it over to Hyderabad. Suitable arrangements can be immediately made about the Treasury and your Treasury Officials.

(II) It is urgently necessary that arms, equipment and, in particular, ammunition should be immediately made available to Hyderabad. We have had no supplies since July and the shortage is interfering with the training of the Hyderabad Army.

(III) In the same way, there has been difficulty in securing the importation of 'soft' vehicles for the use of the Army and, in the special circumstances of Hyderabad you will appreciate the importance of mobility having regard to the areas to be covered.

(IV) I understand that the last of the Dominion troops stationed in Hyderabad will be removed in the course of the next month and I shall be glad of confirmation of this matter.

(V) The transfer to Hyderabad of all jurisdiction within the State was agreed in principle before the 15th August 1947 and was largely effected before that date and has continued since. There are however some points still outstanding in this regard in relation to Police jurisdiction on part of the Railways which run through the State. I assume that such jurisdiction will be immediately restored to Hyderabad.

5. It is of course manifest that my rights in regard to such matters as currency, coinage and postal rights are in no way impaired by the Standstill Agreement, but I should be glad if Your Excellency would give me an express assurance that the rights to which I have just referred continue undiminished.

6. I should like to take this opportunity of suggesting that, in relation to passports, the Dominion of India should agree, as a matter of convenience in a question which is becoming urgent, to the Chief Secretary of my Government or some other appropriate officer issuing passports to Hyderabad subjects which would be countersigned by the Dominion.

7. I am sure that in entering into this Agreement both our Governments intend to do all they can to prevent subversive movements and propaganda in the territory of the other.

8. I know well Your Excellency's interests in all steps taken to abate communal antagonism. It may therefore, be of interest to you to know that, in conformity with earlier declarations on my part, I propose to issue a *Firman* in the immediate future expressing my firm resolve to protect the lives, rights and interests of all my subjects alike, irrespective of caste or creed.

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*Copy of a letter from His Excellency the Governor-General to His Exalted Highness the Nizam, dated the 29th November 1947.*

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of Your Exalted Highness's letter dated the 29th November and the Agreement. While my Government and I note that Your Exalted Highness has an intention of acceding to Pakistan, we very much regret that you should have been unable to execute an Instrument of Accession with India. Both my Minister for States in his Statement of the 5th July and I myself in my speech of the 25th July to the representatives of the States have made it clear that it is the earnest desire of the Government of India to maintain the sovereignty of the States and to work with them as full partners in the administration of the three subjects proposed for accession. My Government cordially reciprocates your hope that, given goodwill on both sides, the working of the standstill agreement will provide a basis for a satisfactory long term solution. Placed as Hyderabad in its interests are inextricably bound up with those of India; and my Government hope that before the present agreement expires, it will be possible for Hyderabad to accede to the Dominion of India.

2. My Government will be prepared to discuss with your representative as soon as possible the question of handing over the posts, telegraphs and telephones; and also the future strength and equipment of the Hyderabad Forces.

As regards the supply of arms and equipment, the Dominion Government will be able to supply your legitimate requirements.

3. My Government have no objection to your maintaining an Agent-General in London and appointing similar representative elsewhere, if necessary. In this connection they are very glad to have your assurance, to which you will appreciate that the Government of India attach great importance, that the activities of such representatives will be fully co-ordinated with those of the representatives of the Dominion of India and will be confined to matters properly relating to trade and commerce.

The Government of India are certainly prepared to co-operate with Hyderabad fully in regard to its import and export trade.

4. As regards the points raised in para 4 of your letter, my Government have authorised me to say as follows :—

- (1) My Government gladly agree that the Residency buildings at Hyderabad will be returned to your Government as soon as alternative accommodation promised by you is made available for our Treasury and officials employed there.
- (2) My Government will take the necessary action in regard to the early supply of arms and ammunition for which an indent has been received from your Government.
- (3) My Government will help your Government in securing the vehicles that they require.
- (4) It is the definite intention of my Government that the troops at present stationed inside Hyderabad territory should be progressively withdrawn according to an agreed programme and that the withdrawal should be completed by the end of February 1948 at the latest.
- (5) On the points remaining to be settled regarding the retrocession of jurisdiction, these can be discussed with my Government by your representative as soon as he is appointed.

5. I am authorised to assure Your Exalted Highness that your rights in regard to currency, coinage and postal matters will in no way be impaired by the standstill agreement.

6. My Government will take up the question of passports mentioned in paragraph 6 of your letter. They are fully prepared to assist you in this respect.

7. With reference to paras 7 and 8 of your letter, the Government of India desire to assure Your Exalted Highness that it is their earnest desire to promote communal harmony and to maintain peace and security, and they will co-operate wholeheartedly with you to that end.

8. I enclose the agreement duly signed by me.

**Shri Doshbandhu Gupta (Delhi):** May I seek your permission for a motion of appreciation to be recorded on behalf of this House for the able manner in which Ministry of States has conducted these negotiations?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am afraid the motion is not permissible. But the Honourable Member has expressed the same and the House accepts it.

#### MOTION RE RELIEF AND REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES—cont.

श्री अजीत प्रसाद जैन : मैं कह रहा था कि अगर रिफ्यूजीज (refugees) के काम को मर्कजी हुकूमत ने अपने हाथ में ले लिया तो आखिर उसे मुकामी अफसरों के जरिये से ही करना होगा, और अगर आपने कोई अपना मर्कजी अफसर भी मुकर्रर किया तो उससे कोई बड़ी बेहतरी पैदा नहीं हो सकती।

एक दो चीजें और हैं जो मैं कोआर्डिनेशन (Co-ordination) के सिलसिले में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। धनवाद के अंदर एक कैम्प खोला गया जहाँ स्त्री और बच्चों का खासा

[श्री अजीत प्रसाद जैन]

इंतजाम था, लेकिन अब तक बावजूद इसके जगह जगह हजारों की तादाद में स्त्री बच्चे दरबंदर डोल रहे हैं, उन्हें वहां भेजने का इंतजाम नहीं किया गया। इस सभा-गृह के अंदर मेरे दोस्त मेठ गोविन्द दास ने एक सवाल किया था कि मध्य प्रांत की हुकूमत दस हजार शरणार्थियों को लेने के लिये तैयार है लेकिन अभी वह भेजे नहीं गये। असल चीज यह है कि सूबों और मर्कज के अंदर इस किस्म का मेल जोल होना चाहिये कि जिससे तमाम शरणार्थियों की समस्या अच्छी तरह में हल हो सके और इसी तरीके से हम लोग कामयाबी हासिल कर सकते हैं।

मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपनी तकरीर के अंदर उन तमाम चीजों को बतलाया जो शरणार्थी लोगों के रिसेप्शन (reception) के सिलसिले में जरूरी हैं। उनके इस्तकबाल का मामला खरम हो चुका क्योंकि करीब करीब जो शरणार्थी पश्चिमी पंजाब से आने वाले थे वह आ चुके। अब जो उनके फौरी मामलान हैं यानी उनके लिए रहने को मकान के, खाने और कपड़े के यह तीनों चीजें हैं जिनकी फौरन बेहतरी जरूरी है।

मकान के सिलसिले में मिनिस्टर साहब ने फरमाया कि जितना मकानों का काम है वह क्विस्टोडियन ऑफ इवेक्यूई प्रापर्टी के हाथ में है। एक जमाने तक मेरा भी क्याल रहा कि इससे कोई बेहतरी होगी लेकिन तजुब ने बताया कि इससे हालात बेहतर नहीं बदतर होती है। कई जगह मैंने देखा कि हजार और बारह सौ मकान क्विस्टोडियन ऑफ इवेक्यूई प्रापर्टी के हाथ में हैं या उन पर शरणार्थियों ने कब्जा कर लिया है। और इस सभा के अंदर मेरे दोस्त देशबन्धु गुप्ता ने एक रोज यह कहा था कि दिल्ली के अंदर जिन शरणार्थी लोगों ने मकानों के ऊपर कब्जा कर लिये हैं कब्जा नाजायज था, पर उसे जायज बना दिया क्योंकि इसके अलावा कोई चारा नहीं था। जहां इस किस्म का कब्जा नहीं होने दिया गया वहां देखा गया कि मकानों में जितने लकड़ी के दरवाजे, किबाड या लोहे का सामान लगा हुआ था क्योंकि क्विस्टोडियन ऑफ प्रापर्टी इसके लिये इंतजाम नहीं कर सकते थे इसलिये सब का सब सामान उखाड़ कर ले गये, और उन मकानों की हालत बदतर हो गई। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि एक तरफ कितने ही मकान खाली पड़े हुए हैं दूसरी तरफ शरणार्थी मर्द और बच्चे जो पश्चिमी पंजाब से आये हैं वह तमाम सड़कों पर आसमान के साये में पड़े हुए हैं। यह दोनों चीजें अजीबो गरीब हैं। अभी ए०आई०सी०सी० (A. I. C. C.) ने एक रेज्योल्यूशन पास किया कि सूबों की हुकूमतों की पालिसी है कि जो मकान मुसलमानों के खाली हैं जिस वक्त तक उन्होंने रजामन्दी से अपने मकान खाली न किये हों वह शरणार्थी लोगों को न दिये जायें। मैं अब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि यह पालिसी गैर मनासिब है कि कोई ऐसा मकान

शरणार्थी को न मिले जिसको मुसलमान ने रजामन्दी से खाली न किया हो। नतीजा यह है इसका कि एक तरफ मकान खाली पड़े हैं, दूसरी तरफ औरत और बच्चे और शरणार्थी इस टंडक के जमाने में पड़े हैं। यह चीज अजीबो गरीब मालूम होती है। अगर मुस्तकिल तरीके पर नहीं तो आर्जी तौर पर मकान उन्हें दिये जायें और मैं समझता हूँ इससे मकानों की समस्या हल हो सकती है। न इन शरणार्थियों को मकान ही मिलेंगे बल्कि उनकी बेहतर हिफाजत हो सकेगी। मेरे एक दोस्त जो पाकिस्तान गए उन्होंने मुझसे सलाह मांगी कि अपने मकान का क्या करें, तो मैंने कहा कि आपके लिए बेहतर होगा कि आप मकान किसी शरणार्थी को दे जायें। और अगर आप वापिस आएं तो ऐसी सूरत में आने पर वह आपको वापस दे देंगे। इससे आपका मकान महफूज रहेगा।

कहा जाता है कि एक काफी तादाद में और जहां तक मेरा ख्याल है कि सात लाख आदमी ऐसे हैं जो कैम्पों में मौजूद हैं। पंजाब के कैम्प के बारे में कुर्क्षेत्र के बारे में, मैंने सुना कि वहां पर करीब करीब जितनी जगह थी उससे ड्योढे आदमी मौजूद हैं और वहां पर सिवाय एक मामूली तौर के कोई खाने का माकूल इंतजाम नहीं है। यह हालत हमारे यू० पी० की नहीं है। बहुत सी फौजी बैरकें इस वक्त भी मौजूद हैं। मैंने डिफेंस मिनिस्टर से इस बारे में अर्ज किया था कि कुछ हमारे पश्चिमी जिलों में, बादशाह बाग में इतनी बैरकें मौजूद हैं कि जिसमें तीस, चालीस हजार आदमी आबाद हो सकते हैं। लेकिन अब तक वह बैरकें न फौजी काम में लायी गईं न उनमें शरणार्थी बसाये गये। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब की तबज्जह इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि वह इन बैरकों के मसले पर अच्छी तरह से गौर फर्माएँ।

मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपनी तकरीर के अंदर यह बात फर्माई कि स्टेशन के अंदर शरणार्थी इसलिए रहते हैं कि उनको गाडी मिल जाय। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ निहायत अदब से कि उनका ख्याल गलत है। मेरे स्टेशन पर तीन साढ़े तीन हजार आदमी पड़े थे जो वहां रहते थे, खाते पकाते थे, जिन्दगी बसर करते थे। मैंने एक छोटा सा कैम्प डाला जिसमें सब भाग कर आए और एक चटाई के झोपडों में तमाम शरणार्थी वहां रहे। स्टेशनों पर वे इमलिये रहते हैं चूंकि उनके लिये कोई इन्तजाम नहीं है।

खान के संबंध में भी यही बात है। कुछ शरणार्थी आए, जिनके पास पैसा था वह मसूरी में आबाद हुए। कुछ देहरादून में आबाद हुए। कुछ हरिद्वार में आबाद हुए लेकिन इस वक्त जो शरणार्थी आ रहे हैं उनके पास सिर्फ बदन के कपडे रहते हैं। आठ दस परिवार आए उनके पास कोई चीज नहीं है। इस वक्त भी हमारे यहाँ कम से कम यू० पी० के अंदर बहुत काफी तादाद में लोगों को खाना दिया जा रहा है। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस मसले पर गौर करें कि काफी तादाद में लोगों को खाना दिया जाय।

[ श्री अजीत प्रसाद जैन ]

इन सबसे बड़ी समस्या है इन लोगों को मुस्तकिल तौर से आबाद करने की। आखिर में खाना कपड़ा और आर्जी मकान थोड़े दिन के लिए ही दिये जा सकते हैं। दिल्ली के अंदर शरणार्थी लोगों को रक्खा गया। इसका नतीजा बहुत अच्छा होगा। लेकिन यह जरूरी है कि तमाम पूर्वी पंजाब के अंदर और दूसरे हिंदुस्तान के हिस्सों में जहां शरणार्थी मौजूद हैं उनको जल्द से जल्द रजिस्ट्रेशन किया जाय क्योंकि इससे इसका अंदाजा कर सकते हैं कि कौन आदमी किस काम को चाहता है। किस सूबे में बसने की काबिलियत रखता है और कहां उनको भेजा जाय। बगैर रजिस्ट्रेशन के कोई चीज चल नहीं सकती। और साथ ही साथ हमको यह भी देखना होगा कि कितने आदमी कहां भेजे जायं। कैसा शहर बसाया जाय। और किस तरह से लोगों को बसाया जाय। हमारे यहां यू० पी० के अंदर इस बात की कोशिश हो रही है कि एक शहर आबाद किया जाय। लेकिन हमारा अंदाजा यह है कि जो हमारे इस वक्त छोटे छोटे शहर मौजूद हैं उनके आस पास की जमीन देकर हम उन शरणार्थियों को आबाद कर सकते हैं। मैं महज इतना ही अर्ज करना चाहता हूं।

(English translation of the above speech.)

**Shri Ajit Prasad Jain:** I was saying that even if the Central Government takes over the task of rehabilitation of Refugees, the work ultimately would have to be done by the local officers. Even if we appoint an officer under the Central Government, we cannot make much improvement.

Besides this, there are one or two more things which I like to say in connexion with the work of co-ordination. A camp was opened at Dhanbad where special arrangements had been made for ladies and children. But inspite of this, women and children in thousands are wandering from door to door in different places. No arrangements have been made to transport them to this camp. My friend, Seth Govinddas, said before this House that the Central Provinces Government were prepared to absorb ten thousand refugees. But even these have not been sent there. As a matter of fact what is required is such as close co-ordination of the Central and the Provincial Governments as would enable them to solve adequately the problem of all these refugees. That is the only way which can bring us success.

The Honourable Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation has told us what things are necessary for the refugees and for their reception. The question of evacuating them is over. Almost all of them who wanted to come out of the West Punjab have been evacuated. Now we must attend to their immediate requirements. The problems of accommodating them in the houses; of providing them with food rations; and of giving them clothes are the most pressing at this time, and may I say that they need improvement.

With regard to the problem of housing the Honourable Minister has told us that a Custodian of Evacuees' Property has been appointed to do this work. There was a time when I also thought that this would improve matters. But experience has shown us otherwise. Instead of improving, the conditions have worsened. I have seen at many places that nearly one thousand to twelve

hundred houses are lying either in the possession of the Custodian of Evacuees' Property or the refugees have forcibly occupied them. One day my friend Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta said in this Assembly that the occupation of the evacuees houses in Delhi by the refugees from Pakistan was illegal. He added that this occupation, though illegal, was recognised by the Government as authorised, for there was no other alternative. Where such occupation was not allowed, it was found that all the wooden and iron fixtures in the houses were removed. Because the Custodian of Evacuees' Property could not manage it properly, the public dismantled these fittings and made off with them. The result was: the houses became dilapidated. I want to point out that on the one hand we have so many houses unoccupied while, on the other, the refugees, men, women and children, who have come from the West Punjab, are lying on the roadside along with their belongings. Both these things are quite queer. In a resolution recently passed by the A.I.C.C. it was said that the policies of the provincial Governments were not to allot the Muslim evacuees' houses until and unless it was ascertained that these premises had been abandoned by the Muslims voluntarily. I beg to submit, sir, that it is an improper policy not to allow a refugee to occupy a house which a Muslim thinks he has not vacated willingly. The result is evident. On the one side we find many houses which are unoccupied whereas, on the other, the refugees, women and children, are lying in the open, shivering in the cold. This looks strange. If not permanently, these houses should be allotted provisionally. And this, I think, will also help in solving the problem of looking after these houses. Not only will the refugees get shelter, but these houses will also receive a better care than they do at present. A friend of mine, who has gone to Pakistan, asked me what he should do with his house. I advised him that it would be better for him to give it to a refugee. And if he returned, the house would be given back to him. That would ensure the safety of his house.

It is said that people in big numbers, and as far as I think, not less than seven lakhs of men, are such as are living in the camps. About the camp in the Punjab, the one at Kurukshetra, I have heard that one and a half times the people for whom the camp was intended have been squeezed into this place. Except for an ordinary routine there are no other proper arrangements for meals. Conditions are different in the U.P. Many military barracks are available with us. I brought this thing to the notice of the Honourable Minister for Defence; I told him that in our Western district of Badshah Bagh there are as many vacant barracks as can accommodate thirty to forty thousands of people. But upto this time neither have they been used by the military authorities nor have they been given to the refugees. I want to draw the attention of the Honourable Minister to it so that he may be able to carefully examine this position regarding the barracks.

The Honourable Minister told us in the course of his speech that the refugees put up on the railway stations because they hope to catch trains. With respect to this I want to tell him that he is wrong there. About three thousand to three thousand and a half of men were putting up at the railway station of my city. These people lived there, cooked their meals, and tried to live what may be called a domestic life. I made a small camp. All these men, who were living at the station, rushed to it and passed their days in a hutment made of straw. These men have to live at the railway stations because they have no other place to go to.

The same applies to meals. Some of the refugees had some money with them. They settled at Mussorie, some tried to accommodate themselves in Dehra Dun while others took shelter at Hardwar. But those who are coming now have nothing but the clothes they are wearing. Eight to ten such families came who had nothing with them. Even at this time the United Provinces are feeding a big number of refugees. I have to request the Honourable Minister that he should carefully consider the question of giving meals to a good number of men.

[Sbri Ajit Prasad Jain.]

But the greatest of all these is the problem of settling these persons permanently. After all, meals, clothing and temporary accommodation can be given only for a few days. The refugees have been 'stationed' at Delhi. This will have very good result. But it is essential to register, as soon as possible, all these refugees who are living in the East Punjab and other parts of India. We can, in this way, have an idea as to what sort of work suits them. What province would suit him, and where he should be sent. Without registration it is difficult to proceed. Along with this we must also see how many men should be transported and to what places, what kind of a city should be built and how the people should be settled!

We, in the U.P., have been endeavouring to build a new city. But what we think at present is that we can settle these refugees on lands that lie in the vicinity of small towns. I have only to say this much.

पंडित ठाकुरदास भागवत : माननीय स्पीकर साहब, मैंने अभी तक जो तकरीरें हुई हैं उनको बहुत तवज्जो के साथ सुना। इस हाउस में करीब २०० से ज्यादा मेंबर हैं मगर उन ३० लाख शरणार्थियों का जो रूरल एरिया (rural area) से आये हैं कोई रिप्रेजेन्टेटिव (Representative) मुझे नजर नहीं आया मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि जो यहाँ मौजूद हैं उनमें से किसी ने गांव में जाकर नहीं देखा कि इन शरणार्थियों को कहाँ बसाया गया है और इनकी हालत क्या है। पंजाब गवर्नमेंट ने उनके बारे में क्या इंतजाम किया है। मैं जानता हूँ कई साहवान जो यहाँ मौजूद हैं वह शरणार्थियों से जो दहली में आए हुए हैं वाकिफ हैं और मुझसे ज्यादा वाकिफियत रखते हैं लेकिन मैं यह अर्ज करने से तामुल नहीं करता कि जो ये तीस लाख शरणार्थी रूरल एरिया (rural area) वाले हैं वह किस हालत में हैं, उनकी क्या क्या जरूरत है उनके साथ कैसा सलूक हुआ है और उनके साथ क्या सलूक होना चाहिये इसका ज्ञान उनको नहीं है।

मैं आपकी बिदमत में यह अर्ज करूंगा कि मैंने अपने जिले में तकरीबन आठ दिन तक शरणार्थियों के पास जाकर उनकी तकलीफें देखीं, और यह भी देखा कि पंजाब गवर्नमेंट के अफसरान किस तरह से उनसे पेश आ रहे हैं। मुझे यह भी मालूम है कि मुस्लिम सूबों में यानी भाबलपुर और वेस्टर्न पंजाब (Western Punjab) में यहाँ से जो गए हैं उन के ऊपर क्या क्या मुसीबत आई हैं।

असल बात यह है कि जो लोग बहुत नुकतापीमी करते हैं वह इस बात से वाकिफ नहीं हैं। मैं मानने को तैयार हूँ कि हमारे केबिनेट (Cabinet) में मि० मिद्योबी हैं वह इस काम के लिये मुकर्रर किये गये हैं उनसे बेहतर आदमी हमको नहीं मिल सकता था मैं अहसास करता हूँ कि पंजाब कोऑरिडीनेन्स (Punjab Coordination) के लिये बोवालास्वाभी आबंगर से बेहतर आदमी नहीं मिल सकता था। मैं उनसे मिला हूँ

और उनको जानता हूँ किस तरह वे सवाल को सोचते और समझते हैं। मैंने खुद देखा है कि मिस्टर नियोगी साहब के पास लोग जाते हैं और उनको धमकाते हैं और बदसलूकी से पेश आते हैं मगर फिर भी उनके माथे पर बल नहीं आता। मैं उनकी मुसीबतों को जानता हूँ। लेकिन मैं अदब के साथ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इन दो साहबों की जगह पर दो देवता मुकर्रर कर दिये जाते तो तब भी यह रिफ्यूजीज (refugees) का सवाल बे हल नहीं कर पाते जो इतना बड़ा मुश्किल है।

हमारी इस गवर्नमेंट में बड़े बड़े नेता मौजूद हैं, ऐसे नेता हैं जिनके ऊपर हमारा पूरा विश्वास है और जो अच्छी तरह से सब बातों पर तबज्जो देते हैं। मैंने खुद सरदार पटेल के वहाँ सुबह के वक्त कितने शरणार्थियों को मुसीबत का जिक्र करते देखा। मैं खुद कितने एक डेपुटेशनों (deputations) के साथ पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी के वहाँ गया। उन्होंने बड़ी अच्छी तरह से हमारे दुःखों को हमदर्दी के साथ मना।

कोई भी गवर्नमेंट क्यों न हो इतने भारी रीहैबिलिटेशन (Rehabilitation) का काम इतनी जल्दी नहीं कर सकती। क्योंकि इस काम में बहुत कठिनाइयाँ हैं। जिस तरह से हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने रिलीफ का काम किया उससे बेहतर तरीके से कोई इतने थोड़े समय में नहीं कर सकती। इससे बेहतर भी हो सकता है वह इस तरह से कि गवर्नमेंट ने जो गलतियाँ की हैं उनको न दुहराया जावे। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। वह यह है कि गवर्नमेंट को जो चीज पहले करना चाहिये थी, और वह अब तक न कर सकी, तो उसको अब जल्द से जल्द पूरा करना चाहिये। मिसाल के तौर पर पंजाब के अंदर तीन बैंक हैं सिवाय पंजाब नेशनल के, न्यू बैंक, ट्रेडर्स बैंक, और लक्ष्मी कर्मशियल बैंक। यह तीनों बैंक पंजाब के अंदर बड़ी अच्छी तरह से काम कर रहे थे उनके हिस्सों की कीमत बड़ी ऊँची थी— उनकी पूंजी और रिजर्व (reserve) बहुत काफी थी लेकिन उनके पांच करोड़ के एसेट्स (assets) पाकिस्तान के अंदर मौजूद हैं। इन बैंकों में करीब ६० हजार परिवारों के एकाउन्ट्स (accounts) हैं। यह बैंक सरकार से अपने एसेट्स (assets) पाकिस्तान वालों पर ७० फी सदी कर्जा मांगते हैं। अगर सरकार ने कर्जा न दिया तो इन बैंकों को काफी नुकसान उठाना पड़ेगा इन बैंकों के सेफ डिपोजिट वॉल्ट्स (Safe deposit vaults) में इन परिवारों के स्त्रियों के जेबरात हैं और सिक्युरिटीज (Securities) हैं जो उनकी जिन्दगी भर की कमाई है। घर से और जायदाद से तो शरणार्थियों को हाथ धोना पड़ा है, और सिवाय इस रकम के अब उनके पास कोई चीज नहीं है। अगर यह बैंक डूब जाते हैं तो इन शरणार्थियों को ऐसी मुसीबत का सामना करना होगा जिसका कोई ठिकाना नहीं।

१५ अगस्त के बाद जिस वक्त पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी पंजाब गये थे उस समय हमारे लीडरों ने यह कहा था कि "डटे खो"। सो इन लीडरों के कहने पर



[पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव]

वे बैंक वाले, जब तक उनका एक नौकर भी रहा, वह काम करते रहे। जिसकी वजह से लोगों के वहां से भागने के पहिले ही भागना शुरू नहीं किया और न अपनी किताबें व माल हटाया। अगर बैंक वाले चले आते तो उनके चले आने पर लोगों में डर फैल जाता। बैंक वाले वहां अन्त तक काम करते रहे जिसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि बैंक वालों की किताबें सब पाकिस्तान में पड़ी रहीं। वहां से अब जो सेफ डिपोजिट वाल्ट्स (Safe deposit vaults) में धन है वह शरणार्थियों को नहीं मिल सकता और न उनका हिसाब मिल सकता है। हम अपने धन पर हाथ नहीं लगा सकते हैं और पाकिस्तान वाले जब चाहेंगे उम माल को ले लेंगे।

मैं अदब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि इन दो तीन महीनों के असें में इन तीनों बैंकों ने गवर्नमेंट से कर्जा मांगा था और कहा था कि जब तक हमारा रुपया बसूल न होगा तो हम अपने शेयर होल्डरों (Share holders) को तब तक पैसा नहीं देगे रिजर्व बैंक को हमारा हिसाब देखने के लिये मुकर्रर कर दिया जाय। मगर इन तीन महीनों में अब तक कोई इमदाद उन बैंकों को नहीं मिली। यह सब रेड टेपिजम (Red-Tapism) की वजह से हो रहा है। फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट (Finance Department) से पूछा जाता है तो वहां से जवाब मिलता है कि रिजर्व बैंक में मामला गया हुआ है। जब आगे जाते हैं तो कहा जाता है कि ईस्ट पंजाब (East Punjab) की गवर्नमेंट के पास मामला गया है। मैं जानता हूं कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर (Finance Minister) हमदर्दी रखते हैं तो भी मामला जल्द तैय नहीं होता।

दूसरी बात यहां रिलीफ व रिहेबिलिटेशन (Relief and Rehabilitation) के बारे में कही गई है। रिहेबिलिटेशन (Rehabilitation) के माने हैं शरणार्थियों को जमीन और मकान दिया जाना। जब तक पाकिस्तान से जायदाद की मिलकियत का फैसला नहीं किया जाता तो कैसे इन चीजों को पक्की तौर से शरणार्थियों को दिया जा सकता है, तीस लाख आदमियों को सिर्फ छः महीने के लिए जमीन और घर दिया जाता है तो उसको रिहेबिलिटेशन नहीं कहते। रिलीफ (Relief) के माने यह हैं कि उन लोगों को इस तरह की इमदाद दी जाय जिससे जब तक वह बस नहीं जाते है उनको तकलीफ न हो इसका भी पूरा इंतजाम नहीं हुआ।

रजिस्ट्रेशन (Registration) के बारे में भी एक बात अर्ज करना चाहता हूं और वह बड़ी अहमियत रखती है। मार्च से लेकर अगस्त तक ५ लाख शरणार्थी वेस्ट पंजाब (West Punjab) से ईस्ट पंजाब (East Punjab) में आगये और दूसरी जगह चले गये। इतने आदमियों का रजिस्ट्रेशन (Registration) कैसे हो सकता था। अब नाब में बसे हुए रिफ्यूजीज (refugees) का रजिस्ट्रेशन पटवारी सुविधा से कर सकते हैं

मैं जनाब की तवज्जो एक बात की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ, जो शरणार्थियों के दिलों पर बहुत खराब असर करती है। मैंने बहुत सी शिकायतें सुनी हैं कि वेस्ट पंजाब (West Punjab) से आए हुए लोगों ने सहारनपुर, देहरादून में ऊधम मचाया। इसी तरह से दिल्ली के लोग पंजाब से आये हुये शरणार्थियों से नाला हैं। यह जिनकी पापूलेशन (population) वेस्ट पंजाब (West Punjab) से आई है वह गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया (Government of India) की रेस्पॉन्सिबिलिटी (Responsibility) है, किसी प्रांविंस (Province) को यह हक नहीं है कि वह यह कह सके कि हम शरणार्थियों को अपने प्रांत में नहीं आने देंगे। तुम्हारी तो जगह ईस्ट पंजाब (East Punjab) ही में है, वहां से बाहर नहीं जा सकते। मैं बिलकुल अदब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि किस कानून की रूह से यह कह सकते हैं कि वेस्ट पंजाब (West Punjab) से आये हुए लोग ईस्ट पंजाब (East Punjab) के अंदर ही स्क्वीज (Squeeze) कर दिये जाय। कोई सवाल पंजाबियों की सोलीडैरिटी (Solidarity) तोड़ने का पैदा नहीं होता राबलपिडी और गुरदासपुर के लोग मुरादाबाद तथा गुडगांवा में यकसा तौर पर स्ट्रेंजर्स (strangers) की तरह रहेंगे। उनका खान-पान रहन सहन जैसे रोहतक, हिसार वालों से नहीं मिलता वैसे ही आगरा व लखनऊ वालों से नहीं मिलता। लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम (East Punjab) वाले उनको वैलकम (welcome) नहीं करते हैं। हम उनको अपना भाई समझते हैं और हमें कितनी ही तबलीफ हो, हम उन्हें बसाने को तैयार हैं।

इधर कहा जाता है कि एक आदमी को इतनी जमीन दो जिसकी इकोनोमिक यूनिटी (economic unity) हो और दूसरी तरफ जब जमीन का हिसाब बतलाया जाता है, तो सिर्फ तीस लाख एकड़ जमीन पंजाब में ऐसी है जो कि मुसलमानों ने छोड़ी है हालांकि हिंदू-सिख ५७ लाख एकड़ छोड़कर आये हैं इसलिये जमीन पर्याप्त नहीं है।

पंजाब गवर्नमेंट के बड़े रीहैबिलिटेशन अफसर (rehabilitation officer) हिसार में तशरीफ लाए उन्होंने एक कमेटी बिठाई। उन्होंने पूछा कि इकोनोमिक यूनिटी (economic unity) के मुताबिक हम एक कुनवे के वास्ते कितनी जमीन दें। हमने बतलाया कि आपको इस कदर जमीन देनी चाहिये, उसके दगैर एक कुनवे का गुजारा मुमकिन नहीं है। लेकिन उन अफसर माहब ने बहुत कम जमीन दी जिससे वैसे गुजारा तो क्या जैसा पंजाब में था पूरा गुजारा भी नहीं चलेगा। यह तो अब असंभव है कि वह लोग ऐसे रह सकें जिस तरीके से वह लोग पाकिस्तान के अंदर रहा करते थे। क्योंकि वहां पैदावार बहुत थी यहां तक कि दो जिलों की पैदावार लायलपुर और मिटगोमरी की हमारे यहां के तरह जिलों की पैदावार से ज्यादा थी। यह दरअसल एक अच्छे और संग्रहालय कर्म की जिदगी के ऐकस्टमड (accustomed) हैं।

[[पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव]

उसी तरह से पंजाब से आई हुई अरबन पापूलेशन (Urban population) की मसीबत है। हम उनको मकान दे सकते हैं जितने मौजूद हैं लेकिन वह ऐकोमोडेशन (accommodation) के हिसाब से न अच्छे हैं और न काफी हैं और न बड़े शहर के रहने वालों के लायक हैं। इसके अलावा सिर्फ मकान देने से रीहैबिलिटेशन (rehabilitation) नहीं होता। जब तक उनको इकोनोमिकल्ली (economically) इस काबिल न बनाया जाय कि वह अपना गुजारा कर सकें, उनका निर्वाह होना कठिन है।

जब तक हम यह नहीं करते, उस वकत तक इस मामले का हल नहीं हो सकता। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप लाहौर के रहने वाले को हिसार की किसी गली में बिठा दें और उसको वहां चाहे महल दें, तो भी हरगिज उसका गुजारा नहीं हो सकेगा। शहर के रहने वालों का देहातों में रहकर गुजारा करना मुमकिन नहीं है। यह कहना आसान है कि बहुत सारे टाउन (towns) बना दिये जाय। दिल्ली में कुवक्षेत्र के करीब एक नया टाउन (town) बना दिया जाय। एक लखनऊ कानपुर के बीच बना दिया जाय। लेकिन टाउन (town) बनाना उतना आसान नहीं है जितना इसका कहना। साठ रुपया की हजार इंट की कीमत पहुंच गई है और बाकी इमारत का सामान नहीं मिलता ऐसी हालत में यह काम ऐसा आसान नहीं है कि फौरन कहते ही नया टाउन (town) अलाउद्दीन के लेंप की तरह बनकर तैयार हो जाय। इसके लिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक प्लैनिंग कमेटी (Planning Committee) जिसके अंदर पंजाब और गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया (Government of India) के आदमी हों, एक हफ्ते बैठकर एक ऐग्रीड प्लेन (agreed plan) तैयार करें कि इन आदमियों को कहां बसाना है और कैसे बसाना है। यह हरगिज मुश्किल नहीं होगा कि उन आदमियों को खास जगह प्लेन के अनुसार भेजा जावे इस वास्ते एक प्लैनिंग कमेटी (Planning Committee) एक हफ्ते बैठकर यहां दिल्ली में एक दफा प्लेन (plan) तैयार कर लें तो रीहैबिलिटेशन (Rehabilitation) का काम आसान हो जावेगा।

*English translation of the above Speech*

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have carefully listened to all the speeches that have so far been made. Nearly two hundred members are there in this House, but I have not so far come across any one who may have said that he represents those thirty lakhs of refugees who have come from the rural areas. I wonder how many of us present here have gone for ourselves to the villages to see where these refugees have been settled; what is their condition; and what arrangements the Punjab Government have made for them! I know many of us, who are present here, have acquainted themselves with the refugees who have come to Delhi. They may be knowing more about them than I do myself. But I do not hesitate to say that few know what is the condition of these 30 lakhs of rural refugees, what

are their requirements, what treatment has been meted out to them and what treatment they deserve.

I would like to submit, Sir, that for eight days I have been visiting the Refugee Centres in my district. I saw with my own eyes what their difficulties were, and how the officials of the Punjab Government were treating them. I am not unacquainted with the troubles that those Muslim refugees had to face who have migrated to the Muslim majority provinces i.e., Bahawalpur and the Western Punjab. The fact is that they know very little who criticise much. I am prepared to accept that our Cabinet includes the Honourable Mr. Neogy: that he has been deputed specially for this work and that it would be difficult to find a better man than him. I realise that it was difficult to find a better man than Mr. Gopalswami Ayyengar who looks after the Punjab Co-ordinance. I have met him and I know him personally. I know also how well he comprehends the various problems and how he considers them. I have seen for myself how people rush to the Honourable Mr. Neogy, how they threaten him, how badly they behave towards him, and how, in spite of all that, he never betrays even a sign of irritation; he rather tackles these men with a cheerful disposition. I know what difficulties he has to surmount. With respect, Sir, I beg to state that even if these two gentlemen had been replaced by two gods, the problem of refugees could not have been solved better. It is so colossal and so difficult.

This Government of ours includes many very big public leaders, leaders in whom we have the fullest confidence and who give their best attention to all things. I saw with my own eyes how the refugees narrated their tales of woe and misery to Sardar Patel when they used to meet him in the morning hours. I have accompanied many deputations to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and I know with what sympathy he listened to the sorrowful tales of these refugees.

No Government, whatever its composition could do such a big work of rehabilitation in so short a time for it is full of difficulties and complications. No other Government could have done better and so quickly this relief work which our Government have succeeded in doing. We can, nevertheless improve upon it, and that can be by avoiding a repetition of the mistakes our Government have already made. I would like to say, Sir, that the Government should do, and do as quickly as possible, all such things which it should have done earlier but which it has failed to do. For example there are three banks in the Punjab besides the Punjab National Bank. They are: the New Bank, the Traders Bank and the Laxmi Commercial Bank. They were all functioning very well in that province. Their shares were quoted at very high prices. Their subscribed capitals and the reserve funds were sufficiently big. Their assets worth five crores are still lying in Pakistan. They have on their ledgers accounts of about sixty thousands of families. These banks have asked for a loan from the India Government upto a maximum of 70 per cent. of their total assets lying in Pakistan. And if the Government do not come forward with the necessary advance, these banks are bound to suffer a tremendous loss. In the safe deposit vaults of these banks are lying Jewellery, Ornaments and Government Securities belonging to their clients. They are the life time savings of these families. The refugees have already been deprived of their homes and of their property. They have nothing else left except these things which are lying in the lockers of these banks. If the latter go into liquidation these refugees will have to bear untold miseries.

After the 15th of August, when Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru visited the Punjab, our leaders had been advising the people not to leave their homes. Depending upon them, these banks continued functioning even though they were left with just a few men on their staff. It was on the assurances given by these leaders that, in spite of the fact that people were running away, these bank employees did not leave their places, nor did they remove their books. Panic would have

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.]

taken hold of the people if the bankers had come out first. Upto the last moment the bank employes were working there. The result was that at the eleventh hour they could bring nothing out of Pakistan, not even their records. The refugees can neither get their money lying in the safe deposit vaults in Pakistan, nor can they know anything about their accounts. We cannot even touch our money, and Pakistan will have it whenever it likes.

With respect, Sir, I want to say, that for the last two or three months these three banks have been requesting the Government for a loan. They offered that they would pay no dividends to their shareholders till the debt they owed to the Government was cleared. They even offered to let the Reserve Bank of India be empowered to examine their accounts during this period. But no help has so far been given to these banks. And this is all due to the 'red tapism'. When enquiries are made at the Finance Department offices it is said that the case is with the Reserve Bank of India. When we proceed further, it is said that the case has been referred to the East Punjab Government. I know that the Honourable Minister for Finance is very sympathetic, but in spite of that things are not expedited.

The second point is concerned with the Relief and Rehabilitation. The latter word means that the refugees should be given lands and houses. So long as it is not settled with the Pakistan authorities as to who should be the owner of the evacuees' property, how can we permanently give it to the refugees. Lands and houses have been given to them only for six months. But that is not what we call Rehabilitation. By relief is meant that refugees should be given such help, till they are settled, as would lessen their difficulties. But proper arrangements have not been made even for this.

About the registration of refugees also, I have to say one thing, and that is very important. Between the months of March and April, about five lakhs of refugees migrated from West Punjab into the East Punjab and other parts of India. It was difficult to register them then. Now when many of them have been settled in the villages, the *patwaris* can easily register these immigrants.

Sir, I want to draw your attention to one thing which is having a very bad effect on the minds of the refugees. Many people have complained to me that the refugees from the West Punjab are responsible for the disturbances in Saharanpur and Dehradun. Similarly, the Delhi public is fed up with the refugees who have come from the Punjab. May I say, Sir, that it is the Government of India which are responsible for all this influx of the West Punjabis into Delhi. No province has a right to say that it would not allow Refugees to come in. No province is entitled to say that the East Punjab is meant for them and that they could not come out of it. With due respect I want to ask, Sir, where is the law by means of which it is desired to squeeze the refugees from the West Punjab in the East Punjab. There is no question of dissipating the solidarity of the Punjabis. People from Rawalpindi and Gurdaspur will be strangers alike in Moradabad or Gurgaon. Their habits and their manners differ as much from those of the people of Rohtak and Hissar as they do from the residents of Agra and Lucknow. But it does not mean that people of the East Punjab do not welcome the refugees. We look upon them as our brethren, and we are prepared to embrace them at all costs.

On the one hand it is said that a refugee should be given as much land as has an 'economic unity'. And on the other hand, when we look to the land left by the Muslim evacuees, we find that it is only thirty lakhs of acres whereas Hindus and Sikhs have left in Pakistan about 57 lakhs of acres. The land with us, therefore, is insufficient.

The Chief Officer of Rehabilitation of the Punjab Government visited Hissar. He convened a meeting of the people and asked them how much land should be

given to a family according to the 'economic unity'. We suggested a minimum measure and told him that with a land less than that it was difficult for a man to meet the bare expenses of his family. But that officer sanctioned a measure of land, which could not suffice even for bare *dai and chapati*, leave aside the question of the previous standard of the refugees. It is not possible for the refugees to live a life they had been accustomed to in Pakistan. The harvests on that side were great, so much so that the produce of only two districts of Lyallpur and Montgomery was more than that of all our thirteen districts put together. These refugees, as a matter of fact, are accustomed to a happy and well to do life.

The same is the case with the urban refugees. We can give them all the houses that are available with us. But from the point of view of accommodation they are neither good, nor sufficient nor are they fit for the people who have come from the cities. Moreover, the mere allotment of houses does not mean rehabilitation. So long as they are not made economically fit for earning their livelihoods, it is difficult for them to pull on.

Until and unless we do that this problem will remain unsolved. I want to ask, Sir, if we give even a palatial building in a lane of H'assar to a fellow who has come from Lahore, do you think he will be able to live there? Impossible! Those who have lived in the cities cannot live in the villages. It is easy to say: let us build many towns. It is easy to wish to have a town near Kurukshetra and another between Lucknow and Cawnpore. But it is not a holiday excursion. It is not so easy to build a town as people think. Bricks are selling at sixty rupees a thousand. Other building materials are not available. In the face of all this, it is not a child's play to have a new town built, as with Alladin's lamp. I, therefore, submit that there should be a Planning Committee which should include representatives of the Punjab Government and the Government of India. Let it sit for a week and bring out an agreed plan to settle these refugees. It would not at all be difficult then, to send these refugees to particular places according to a plan. Let, therefore, a Planning Committee sit in Delhi for a week and evolve a plan once for all. That will make the task of Rehabilitation very easy.

**Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad** (West Bengal: Muslim): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I congratulate the Honourable Minister and the Government for the splendid feat of organization which they have displayed in tackling the enormous refugee problem during these very difficult and anxious times. The statement of the Honourable Minister is notable for its sobriety, its temperateness and its dispassionate note. Criticisms have been made in this House. It is very easy to criticize, but I would like to ask any Honourable Member to tell the House whether any thing better or more splendid could have been done by any human hand. One of the honourable speakers has justly remarked that even the Gods would have failed if they had come and taken charge of the refugee problem. Let us compare the achievement of the present Government with what we saw at the time of the last Burma evacuation—and insignificant problem in comparison to what we have now experienced. On that occasion a population of a few thousands came by pre-arrangement, there were huts made before-hand for their reception, ample funds were ready, honorary and paid organizations were built before-hand, but waves of Burma refugees could not be met adequately and the scheme miserably failed, and what is more, lakhs and lakhs of rupees were misappropriated in course of those operations. We have yet to learn that the organization that has been set up to meet the present refugee problems, has shown any weakness in action or any dishonesty in the execution. I think the amount of money involved in giving full effect to the refugee scheme is insignificant in comparison with the gigantic problem which the Government have to face. The difficult task has been so

[Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad]

far managed efficiently, honestly and without any avoidable hitch. If therefore I have to say anything by way of criticism, it is only by way of constructive suggestions. I do not in these difficult times wish to embarrass the Government by criticism of a hostile nature. It has been stated in the House that the Government should have started with a plan. I do not know what cut and dry plan the Government could have before the gigantic nature of the problem could have been visualised. How could the Government, unless it was a divine government, have anticipated the actual extent and magnitude of the on-rush of the refugees. Can evacuees be made to come at regular intervals according to any plan; and can any human agency meet that emergency according to a plan when any preconceived blue print was out of the question? Evacuees, it has been complained in the House, came in an irregular fashion; they came in much larger numbers than there were arrangements for. But the criticism begs the question. The real difficulty of the situation was that refugees came without any system or order. What is the business of the Minister without Portfolio? He was to step in where there were none ready and handy. His duty baffles any attempt at the definition, and it is for this reason he has been aptly described as Minister without Portfolio. In fact he had to do everything that could not be defined and which was not provided for, and I believe he has done his duty efficiently, silently and to the satisfaction of all. The evacuees came to India just like irregular and repeated gigantic waves of flood or the intermittent eruptions of a volcano and you could not anticipate how the danger would come, and therefore could devise measures to check it in time.

Then, Sir, it has been pointed out that there are some troubles about the East Punjab Government. I hear, private comments freely made here and there. There are delicate matters about the working of the East Punjab Government in this connection and it would not be proper to give fullest publicity to the circumstances and considerations prevailing there. I hear of discriminations. I would only add my feeble voice in requesting the Honourable Ministers to look into the matter very carefully—perhaps all is not well in the East Punjab. I am sure the two able Ministers would do their best to find out a *via media* and give satisfaction to the public who are anxiously awaiting the solution of the tangle.

There is much force in the plea that men from the Western Punjab should be rehabilitated in the Eastern Punjab and should not be scattered throughout the Dominion. If the Punjabis are taken over to Bihar or Bengal or Assam, they will not be happy there; their language is different, their food is different, their habits are entirely different. It would not be solving a problem but creating fresh ones. In these circumstances, I hope and believe that the Government will look carefully into the matter and do the needful.

But then the question of rehabilitation remains to be solved urgently. We cannot look at the situation dispassionately and without comment. In fact, the large influx of population is already in India and these people have been scattered in different places. It is difficult to fit them in the villages or towns. A suggestion has been made that a new town or new towns should be set up in Kurukshetra or in some other suitable place or places. The idea may be terrifying to an expert, but to us lay people the problem is not really so difficult. In fact, if we could set part land—suitable areas—for different families to build their houses, I think that would solve the problem to a large extent by providing a psychological comfort which this announcement would at once provide. If lands are thus allocated then bricks can be supplied or even manufactured by some of the evacuees themselves: some of them are I am sure experts in this line and others could be trained. With regard to iron, I think

there should be ample iron available, but even if there is any real paucity of iron there is enough wood in India to provide the necessary quantity of timber. There are masons, carpenters and other skilled workers among the refugees themselves and they can be encouraged to build houses in the different plots set apart for them. The refugees will get an occupation and can make their own living. The problem is not insoluble and is urgent and imperative. What the evacuees now feel is that they are forlorn and friendless and are thus disorganised and demoralised. An urgent announcement would at once produce a psychological consolation and moral strength to sustain them in their troubles, they can thus be made to help the Government in solving the problem and help themselves in settling down more or less permanently in areas allotted to them. The question deserves to be considered favourably and very urgently. If we go to an expert, he will wait for years; so, an expert will not do. If houses are planned on a rough-and-ready plan now, later on a town improvement scheme could be set up to improve the layout at leisure. If we give them this start, the problem would automatically begin to be solved. An unsolved refugee problem is a menace to society in more ways than one.

Then, Sir, with regard to the money that scheme may involve, I clearly feel the sense of the House that no amount of money would be grudged by this House or by the public at large outside the House. The plight of the refugees is sickening, absolutely heart-rending and everybody is anxious that something should immediately be done to solve it. No Honourable Member has raised the question of expenditure, and the Honourable Minister can take it that the money would be made available; no amount of money spent on this urgent constructive programme would be considered too much for the purpose.

Sir, the large scale problem of the future of these evacuees should be taken up at once; if we tackle the problem at once, I think its solution would follow quickly. We have now a breathing space, and rehabilitation must be taken up at once. With these few words, I support the statement made by the Honourable Minister, with the hope that the constructive suggestions which I have made should be summarily gone into and urgently given effect to.

**Shrimati Renuka Ray** (West Bengal: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, after listening to the statement made by the Honourable the Minister for Relief, I am sure the House is convinced, if conviction was yet necessary, that the Central Government is putting forth a great endeavour to tackle this tremendous problem that has come upon us. This problem, in spite of the ultimate sacrifice by the division of the country and the dismemberment of the Provinces, has not been averted, but has been enhanced a thousand-fold.

Sir, if there are one or two points that I bring up, it is not in any spirit of carping criticism, for I am aware, as the rest of the country is aware, of the tremendous magnitude of the problem that the Honourable Minister and his colleagues in the Government are faced with today. Sir, one or two Honourable speakers said that they did not like the use of the word "refugee". There is nothing much in a word in itself, but the word does symbolise an attitude of mind, and I am inclined to agree with them. The speech of the Finance Minister the other day, in which he has budgeted for Rs. 26 crores for refugees implied that this was an unproductive expenditure. I do not see, Sir, why this expenditure on those who are really our nationals, need be unproductive, why this should be a national liability and why it cannot be turned into a national asset. I feel, Sir, that if the Jews, who went to Palestine and settled there, could have started co-operative schemes and made the land productive, it is not impossible for those who are termed "refugees" and whom I would prefer to call "evacuees", who come to East Punjab; if such schemes are taken in hand I do not see why that expenditure should not become a productive one as well.



{Shrimati Benuka Ray}

Sir, I am not a politician. I am only a social worker and it is only from my limited experience that I would like to make one or two suggestions to the Honourable the Relief Minister. In my own Province in the aftermath of the famine, we had to tackle the problem of rehabilitation. It had to be done on a voluntary basis by voluntary workers, because the Government of the time was unconcerned and at that time many eminent Congress workers were in jail. It was a very difficult problem that had to be tackled and we came to the realisation that if we went in for relief measures and put our emphasis only on the protection and shelter of those who were unfortunate victims and did not lay equal emphasis on the re-absorption of these people into productive and useful channels, then the chances were that as time went on they would lose their sense of self-respect and become degraded. This did start happening. As a result of this experience after the Noakhali happenings the rehabilitation side was equally stressed. It was of course a very small problem in numbers as compared to the problem that the Central Government is tackling today, but on the other hand, it must be admitted that it was tackled merely by voluntary effort. We neither had the facilities of the Central Government or the East Punjab Government or any other Government. In fact, there was a great deal of hindrance. I asked the Honourable the Relief Minister a question in the House as to what was being done at least in regard to the trained personnel that had come over from the Western Punjab and whether any schemes had been started by Government of a nation-building nature, schemes such as training centres for schools, for nurses etc. One of the greatest impediments in the path of nation-building in this country is the lack of trained personnel. Surely, Sir, when a number of trained personnel have come to Delhi they could have been placed straight away in charge of such schemes and from amongst other refugees some could have been selected and trained in such centres. Later persons trained at such centres could be sent to the provinces to start other training centres. If this is done even today, Sir, such persons would be not a liability but an asset to the nation.

Turning to the housing difficulty, Sir, I realise it only too well, but I would like to have some enlightenment from the Honourable the Relief Minister on one point. Have all the hutments and other structures which the military authorities had set up during the war between here and Simla and in East Punjab and other parts of this province been utilised now, and if not, would they not be very suitable for training schemes of the kind I have mentioned, though they may not all be big enough to form refugee camps as such? I hope the Honourable the Relief Minister will enlighten us on this point.

Sir the Honourable Minister might say: "It is easy to say: 'Start nation-building schemes' but difficult to work". I am glad, Sir, that he himself said that it was his desire to start nation-building schemes and ally them with the problem of evacuees. But the reason that I have brought this question up is because I feel that it is necessary to do so without any delay, because if time is lost the sense of self-respect will be lost among large sections of those who have come over and then problem will become very much more difficult than the problem we are facing now. I know the class of refugees we are now dealing with are of different categories, but I do hope that the Honourable the Relief Minister will try to tackle this matter from the aspect I have pointed out.

There is one other point which I should like to mention. My Honourable friend, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani has gone into the problem of the abducted women in great detail. I only want to say that this problem is one of great importance and immense dimensions. When the problem of general evacuees

has been tackled—and there are not many general evacuees left—all the energies of the State should be directed towards the rescue of these unfortunate women victims. I feel, Sir, that the most degrading and bestial behaviour that has emerged out of recent happenings is the treatment of women. It does not matter whether women who are victims are Hindus or Muslims. I do feel that a campaign of "Hands off women and children" irrespective of whether they are Hindus or Muslims should be launched as soon as possible, not merely as a paper campaign but intensively, and that the highest priority should be given to this work. To bring these unfortunate women back to normal, and to restore them to society is a problem which too must be shouldered, and the help of experienced women volunteer workers sought in this respect.

Lastly, I wish to say that it is quite true that there are many who criticise the Government today because they feel that the Government has not allowed itself to be swayed by the passions of the moment. The Government of India has kept its judgment clear and its balance of mind even in spite of the greatest provocation. Whatever some people may think or say, this much is true, that history will pay a tribute to the present Ministry in India for this. If Undivided India for which we fervently hope is to become a reality, at least at some future time when the present biliousness and strife is forgotten, then, it would have been impossible for the Government of India to achieve that ideal if they had allowed themselves to be swayed by passions kindled by the desire for rehabilitation. I am glad, Sir, that they have not fallen into the trap of those who desire to prove that India is not a democratic secular state and thus help to encompass our final ruin. The underlying unity of this country must eventually emerge with the willing concurrence of all—including those who have sought to stand aside in suspicion and distrust as the result of subtle propaganda.

**Shri Mohan Lal Sakseena:** Two of my friends who went to work in the very outset tell you that every one of us here is conscious of the unprecedented nature of the catastrophe that has befallen India and that the problems arising therefrom are manifold, intricate and colossal. We are also aware that any Government even with greater administrative experience or larger resources would have been baffled by these problems and therefore we feel proud of the valiant manner in which our Government has faced and tackled these problems. We know that the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation is only 9 weeks old and the Minister without Portfolio was appointed only recently. We also know that most of them have been working day and night and trying their best to bring succour and relief to the destitute and suffering brethren of ours in West Punjab and elsewhere. All the same, Sir, we shall be failing in our duty if we do not bring to their notice how the people feel about the work that has been done by the Ministry.

Sir, the uppermost feeling among the people is that the machinery which has been set up to work this Ministry is not inspired by the same amount of sympathy and idealism as the Honourable Ministers. From my own personal experience, I can tell you something which will give an idea as to how the work is carried on. Before the Custodian of this Ministry was appointed, there used to be a Refugee Officer with an Assistant. One Refugee Officer of the relief workers who was the Secretary of a Relief Committee in Delhi told me that when he approached the Assistant Refugee Officer for certain advice, he was at once directed to go to this office for this work, to go to that office for that and to go to another office for another. Then this gentleman asked him: "Kindly tell me for what work should I come to you" and he said: "My only business now is to register whatever applications come to my office. But since that work does not take more than half an hour, I sort them out subject wise and that is all."

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

So far as my experience goes I think the I.C.S and the civilian machinery cannot tackle these problems which have been unprecedented in history and this has been admitted by the Honourable Minister. They can neither understand them nor handle them with efficiency and despatch. In view of the fact that the Military have had experience in the Burma evacuation, I had suggested to Government that they should install machinery on that basis, but I do not know why that suggestion was not accepted. Even before this Ministry came into being the social workers were doing the work. As a matter of fact before the Government of India took it up the work mostly fell on the shoulders of these public workers. I know in the Congress circles as well as outside it, we have got men who have had experience of dealing with such catastrophes and with such calamities and having had experience of that kind. I think their services should have been utilized, but I am sorry to say that had not been utilized. There are men like Dr. Satish Chandra Das or J. C. Kumarrappa in India who have had experience of dealing with such calamities, but still their services and their experience have not been utilized. In the month of July there was difficulty about housing the refugees and then I went to see one of the Secretaries of the Defence Department and asked him how many of these military barracks could be spared; and he replied that on account of the Joint Defence Council he could not spare even one of them. Then I told him: "What is the meaning of our Prime Minister saying that we are proceeding on a war basis". That meant that whichever building is vacant we are entitled to take possession of it and if you are not going to spare these building for the refugees who are lying in the open in Hardwar, we are entitled to take possession of the camps in the neighbourhood and you may turn us out afterwards. However subsequently I was advised that some of them consider the question that they will be placed at our disposal and our request would be favourably considered. One of the League workers came from Roorkee told me that a camp was vacant; and I saw the Secretary, and the Ram Nagar camp was placed at our disposal and he gave a copy of a letter which was sent to the Chief Secretary, U.P. Government. Later on when I saw the Chief Secretary ten days later I was told no such letter had been received with the result that the possession of the camp could not be taken and the refugees had to suffer. Even round about Delhi there are military barracks which are lying vacant and are not being utilized. Yesterday Mr. Puri from N.W.F.P. narrated to me the difficulties of evacuees who are being brought from N.W.F.P., from Bannu and other districts. The aeroplanes bring them only as far as Ambala. They are not brought to Delhi because there is a ban that no refugee should come here. The Government thinks that the refugees are not coming, but they actually come by buses and find their way into Delhi. It is simply cruel. I think a better course would have been if some arrangement is made round about Palam or some other aerodromes where tents could be pitched. Suchetaji has told us that the Defence Minister had offered to place 1,000 tents at her disposal but she could not get more than fifty so far. While people are put to unnecessary trouble the aeroplanes are coming to Delhi without any passengers.

We know that while evacuating by aeroplanes officers are known to have taken bribes in the selection of passengers and I want to know how many of these officers were prosecuted or punished for that. Corruption has crept into the organization of the officer-in-charge of the evacuee property. Suchetaji has told me that there is corruption there and there are cases where applications have been taken out and others introduced on payment of money to the clerks or to the officers. And again I am told that whatever decisions were taken a week or ten days ago are not promptly carried out on some flimsy excuse or other. At the very instance I suggested to the Honourable Minister that I am one of those who feel that our Ministers are greatly hampered by the I.C.S. machinery which is wooden and not sympathetic. I

wanted that at least this Ministry should be manned by non-officials who had sympathy for the suffering humanity. I was told that for a week the Honourable Minister could not get any Secretary for no Department was prepared to spare an I.C.S. Secretary. I placed some of my friends working in our Party and I understand there were offers from big businessmen like Tatas and Birlas who were prepared to place the service of their staff.

**The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy:** The Honourable Member is wholly misinformed. I did try to obtain men from big trading houses, but all of them declined to spare any suitable personnel.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Two of my friends who went to work in the Ministry, after waiting for three days had to come away—either there was no work for them or officials would not like non-officials to come in.

My Honourable friend has told us that States have offered to co-operate. Has he cared to find what sort of co-operation they are giving? Suchetaji again here told me that she had received a communication from the States Department that Bharatpur had offered to take 15,000 refugees. She had correspondence with Bharatpur State as to how they were going to provide for the refugees and what avocation they were going to give them. They replied that they would be providing all of them. So she sent 450 and two or three persons accompanied them and they were there for three or 4 days very well looked after. But afterwards the State authorities neglected them with the result that all of them had to come away disappointed. This State had offered to take 15,000. In Alwar I found recently 1,75,000 Meos had left the rural side. 15,000 Muslims have left the city. The Ruler had offered to take first 1 lakh refugees and had said that even if he had one loaf of bread he would share it with the refugees. Afterwards they wrote to the Government of India that he will take about 60,000. I went there and found that 6,000 are there and they are not being looked after. Although they are getting rations in food the refugees are not getting any cloth and whenever they come to Delhi they are told that the provision is made there. Even the flour sent by the Government of India was not sold to them unless it became infested with worms and then it was sold at Rs. 17/- a maund instead of 14 rupees a maund. The Rajah is supposed to be the champion of the Hindus and the Premier also goes about talking much about Hindus and yet this treatment is being meted out to refugees who are all Hindus. These Hindu refugees have not been provided with suitable accommodation. I think it is necessary that the Government of India should tackle this problem on a basis of national calamity just as we deal with war. I do not mind whether or not the Government of India take up the whole work but there must be their representative in each and every State and Province to see that the refugees are properly looked after. As for Bahawalpur I am informed that there are 70,000 non-Muslims still there. These persons have sold their belongings and they are now concentrated in camps. No doubt since the Nawab has come, there is some improvement of the situation; but so far as these persons are concerned they are not prepared to stay on, because once bitten they are twice shy. Some of them have been forcibly converted, their relations have left and so they are not prepared to stay there. I think immediate steps should be taken to evacuate these persons and provide for relief while they are there, because the Government camps have been disbanded and the Nawab has asked these people to go back to their villages. Their lands and cattle have been disposed of and they have nothing to fall back upon, and they must be helped. Not only that, the State servants when they came here and went to the Labour Exchange were told that there was no provision for them and their names were not even considered for vacancies. What is therefore needed is that the Honourable Minister should see that the machinery works with greater sympathy and vision. In fact our aim was to feed

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

and educate and clothe 40 crores of people. We must now prepare a band of workers for this great task. Among the refugees there are engineers, educationists and businessmen whose talents and resources should be utilised. And if Government wants it can raise a loan of a hundred crores to rehabilitate them. We must have a band of selfless workers who will work in a missionary spirit of sympathy instead of merely carrying out orders that are issued from the head office, and that too half-heartedly.

**The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar:** Sir, if I intervene in this debate at this late stage it is not because I feel that I can make any substantial addition to the very comprehensive account which has been placed before the House by my Honourable colleague Mr. Neogy. That account, if I may say so, is a very modest description of the great work that he and his staff—not excluding the I.C.S. members of it—have been doing during the last three months. (An Honourable Member: In spite of the I.C.S.) I would not agree to that amendment. The work has been done and has been so well done because of the very active and enthusiastic assistance he has received from his staff and the other officers who work under him.

Now, Sir, if I wish to place anything before this House it will not be in connection with matters with which my Honourable colleague is more intimately connected; it would rather be matters which I have had to do something with after I came into the Government. Very soon after I assumed office and after I had had a little time to study the problems connected with East Punjab I felt that one of the most urgent needs to be attended to was the speeding up of evacuation of people from one dominion to the other. That was forced upon me by more than one consideration. The first consideration was the large numbers that were involved; the second consideration was that the winter was near us; and therefore I thought that the best way in which I could be of assistance to my Honourable colleague on the one side and the East Punjab Government on the other would be to take off their shoulders some of the burden that this particular aspect of the refugee problem forced upon the attention of Government. And therefore with the assistance mainly of our armed officers, very largely of my Honourable colleague the Minister for Transport and the Railway Board, with the assistance also of the Ministers of the East Punjab Government, we evolved an organisation which was calculated to organise this movement on a regular basis and to bring about a complete transfer of population between the two dominions in the quickest possible time. This movement after it had been organised, started on the 21st October. On the 20th October the position was that about 28 lakh Muslims were in India awaiting evacuation and about 11 lakh non-Muslims had to be brought over to India from West Punjab and the Frontier Province. After that date we divided up the period that was before us into ten-day sections, and in each section arrangements were made both for evacuation by rail and for evacuation by foot and motor transport. And the House will be interested to hear how this scheme has worked. In the first ten-day period—21st to 31st October—six lakhs of Muslims entered Pakistan and about 5.5 lakhs of non-Muslims entered India. From 1st to 10th November 6.5 lakh Muslims and 1.8 lakh non-Muslims; 11th to 21st November, 8.8 lakh Muslims and 1.8 lakh non-Muslims. Between 21st and 25th November there were 7.7 lakh Muslims on the move and in transit to Pakistan and there were 1.4 lakhs of non-Muslims on the move and in the transit to India from the other side. So that about the 25th November the balance that remained to be moved was somewhere about 4 lakhs of Muslims from this side and about 3 lakhs of non-Muslims from the other side. After those dates the movement has been even

more rapid. I must warn the House not to be too meticulous about examining the accuracy of these figures; I can only say that they are approximately reliable and we have obtained these figures from persons who might be considered to know most about the numbers involved.

But this particular figure which I am giving you now, as to what the state of things was yesterday, will prove a very agreeable surprise to you, assuming that the figures supplied are entirely accurate. This is from our Special Officer in Lahore. The latest information indicates that in West Punjab there are only 40,000 refugees in concentration camps awaiting evacuation. There is some difference of opinion about the number of refugees in pockets. The military evacuation organisation estimates it to be 50,000 and our Chief Liaison Officer thinks it is about a lakh. Whatever the accurate figure may be that shows that we have practically reached the end of the evacuation of all non-Muslims from West Punjab who were concentrated in camps either of a large size or of a small size. The figures as regards Muslims awaiting evacuation, I have not got those figures as late as yesterday. But this is the figure which we got for the period ending 22nd November, 1947. The Muslims that remain to be evacuated—the estimate of their number—was about 18 lakhs and the estimate of the time within which they would all reach Pakistan was as follows:

Between 21st and 30th November—5 lakhs.

Between 1st and 10th December—5 lakhs

Between 11th and 20th December—8 lakhs

As a matter of fact a good many of them have moved in already by today. In order to speed up the movement of Muslims into Pakistan, as also to help the sick, infirm and old people to travel, not by foot, but by rail, it has been decided to keep the trains running till all of them have been cleared from this side.

That gives you an idea of the amount of work that has been done in this direction and the bulk of the credit for it should go to the military evacuation organisation of India. Their efficiency in this respect has been beyond praise and I wish to take this opportunity of publicly thanking them for the enthusiasm and energy they put into this matter. But what is more to their credit than their mere efficiency is the manner in which they have obtained the co-operation of the military evacuation organisation of Pakistan, and that has considerably helped in making a success of these movement operations.

Now, Sir, one matter was mentioned by my Honourable friend, Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena, and that related to the Bahawalpur State. He stressed the need, and very rightly too, of evacuating from Bahawalpur all those Hindus and Sikhs who wanted to get away from there to what they considered to be places of greater safety. We have had this very actively under consideration. We recently had a conference at which a deputation of Bahawalpur refugees now in Delhi met me together with a Minister of the Bahawalpur State, and we discussed the whole matter with them. But at the time, in view of the offers of assurance which had been made by their Nawab, the representatives who met me were not in a position definitely to say whether those who had come out of Bahawalpur wanted to go back there, or whether those who were in Bahawalpur wanted to be evacuated from there. Time was given to them for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of their own people and within the last day or two we have been informed that they would rather come out than go back. The matter is under consideration and we are evolving arrangements for the purpose of speeding up evacuation from there. In this connection you will be

[Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar]

interested to hear what our military evacuation organisation has said on this point:

"We have at last succeeded in sending trains with Indian escort through Bahawalpur State. The first train carrying non-Muslims from Multan reached Fazilka on 21st November. We have been told that the State will in future collect non-Muslims at the various railway stations where the Pakistan military organisation will be asked to send empty rakes to carry them to Fazilka".

I hope this is a definite commitment on the part both of His Highness of Bahawalpur and the Government of Pakistan.

Taking that to be so, I think we should be able to run the necessary number of trains for the purpose of getting out those now in Bahawalpur desirous of getting out in the quickest possible time.

There was one important suggestion which was made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Munshi, and that was that it would be desirable to make refugees and all the problems connected with them a Central subject and practically the administration of all the measures that we undertake in connection with this problem, should be in the hands of the Centre. Now, Sir, in a matter like this it is necessary for us to proceed with caution. It is not always wise to do what for the moment and on momentary considerations we consider would bring about a better state of things than exists now. We have got to remember that whatever policy we may decide on at the Centre with regard to these problems, a great portion, the bulk of it, will have to be implemented by machinery for which we shall have to depend on the Provincial Governments, in order to make the scheme work. Now in a problem like settling people on land, it involves an amount of investigation and enquiry and the exploiting of the information which is in the hands of the Provincial Government, and the Centre is not equipped for the task of doing that work with as much efficiency as a Provincial Government can, if only it went about its business in the proper way.

Now, you may say, it has been suggested in the course of this debate, that there are legitimate complaints against the manner in which the East Punjab Government have gone about this business

I would only ask the House to judge the East Punjab Government and the complaints that have been made against it with a certain amount of care and caution. The East Punjab Government got into office 4 P.M. in a period of what I would call turmoil and it had to begin almost from the scratch. In spite of it and having been intimately connected with the manner in which it has been discharging its obligations, I have no hesitation in saying that they have given an account of themselves which no Government which started its career under similar disabling conditions could bettered. I ought to insist on this, because I am afraid it is too easily taken for granted that all that the refugees are now suffering from can be traced to the inefficiency of the East Punjab Government, if not something worse. I am not here to say that the administration of the East Punjab Government has been perfect, nor is our administration here altogether perfect. It is necessary to remember that the numbers they had to deal with, the crowds that poured into East Punjab during the weeks that have passed since the 15th August and the kind of problems that they had to face would have shaken any Government, even if it had been a well-established one which had been functioning for years. Therefore I thought it was my duty to stand up for that Government in this House but, in doing so, I am not unmindful of the fact that the working of that Government is capable of considerable improvement.

I think my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall referred to the manner in which business had been distributed amongst the Members of the East Punjab Ministry. I think he said that more than one minister was doing the work of two and a half ministers. I rather think that one or two of them have been doing the work of four ministers. At a time like this, when they are faced with problems of this colossal magnitude, there is room for a reshuffling of the subjects amongst the different ministers of the East Punjab Government so as to make the burden of each man something which he can tackle with efficiency. There is also room, in my opinion, for an expansion of this Ministry and for placing the most important subjects of law and order and of rehabilitation in the hands of ministers who are not hampered by burdens of a heavy character in other directions and whose policy and competency will be above caviil. Having said that, I still would reiterate my position that within the resources at their disposal and in the conditions in which they had to work they have done well on the whole. The condition of East Punjab today is much better than it was two or two and a half months ago and a great deal of the credit for that should go to the Ministry and, if I may say so, to the Governor, who gives them an amount of guidance which is drawn from his wide and large experience as an administrator in this country.

There were a few other points which were referred to in the course of this debate and on which I would like to say a few words. The first is the controversy regarding safe deposit vaults, banks and property. With regard to safe deposit vaults the House is in possession of what did actually occur. The question of banks is now under active consideration both in the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry and the Finance Ministry. As regards property that also is under active consideration of all of us. All these three subjects which are of the most important character have been set down for discussion with the representatives of the Pakistan Government at an inter Dominion conference. This was to have been held more than a month ago but owing to the illness of more than one minister of the Pakistan Government it has had to be postponed. The House will be interested to hear that I took advantage of the opportunity afforded by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to Delhi to have a preliminary talk with him two days ago on all these problems and I might say that on the whole his reaction was favourable to a proper and just settlement of all these three issues. The present idea is first to have an Inter-Dominion Conference at the Secretariat level, that is to say our officers will meet their officers and explore possibilities of settlement, and their report will come up before an Inter-Dominion Conference of Ministers, at which we will take decisions. At the end of that it is hoped that the two Dominions will be able to issue a statement of policy, which will be the same as between the two Dominions and which would be implemented by them without any reservation thereafter.

There was one matter connected with railway movement—a small matter—which was referred to by two representatives from the United Provinces and that was the ineffective kind of screening that was done at Kalanaur.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shri Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (one of the Panel of Chairmen).]

Mr. Chairman, let me refer to the criticisms that were levelled, I take it, partly against the Railways, partly against the East Punjab Government and partly against the Army department. Kalanaur was fixed as the screening point after all the Governments and interests concerned had been consulted, because it was felt that that was a convenient point for getting down people from trains which had been invaded by unauthorised persons and keeping them at Kalanaur and allowing to proceed further on only those people who had to



[Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar]

proceed to Delhi. But, as generally happens, and I believe as the Honourable the Railway Minister has so often pointed this out to the House, these are not altogether under our control. People do storm and swarm over these trains and somehow find their way to places to which they want to go. Crowds thus gathered at Kalanaur; but after a discussion with the Premier of the United Provinces, who said that at Kalanaur there was no arrangement even for feeding the people who were detained there, we shifted the screening point to Jagadhri, because it was thought that, if people were detained there, they could get something to eat and some place to sleep in. I do not say that the system has worked very well. There have been complaints that quite a large number of permits had been issued by district authorities in East Punjab—so many indeed that the trains went crowded and nobody could do anything for stopping people at places and preventing them from proceeding forward. We have asked the East Punjab Government to do their best to prevent such unauthorised travelling. They protest that they are doing their best, their officers protest that they are doing their best and it is hoped that something will come out, perhaps in the way of easing the situation. Now that evacuation will be completed soon and we shall have made arrangements for temporary sheltering during winter of all the refugees that have come over, it might be possible to put on more trains and disperse people to the localities they want to go to.

There was mention of the fact that tens of thousands of refugees were now without a roof over their heads, that they were staying on railway platforms or on open ground. That certainly has been the state of things in many places. But recently we have tackled this problem in consultation with the representatives of the East Punjab Government. I do not know if I can vouch for its entire accuracy, but I have been told that the officer who is responsible for refugees in East Punjab now claims that there is not a single place where you will find a refugee without some kind of roof over his head—even if it were merely the corrugated iron sheet on a railway platform. That is the claim he has made. This much I can inform the House and that is that the East Punjab Government took kindly to a suggestion which I made at our last discussion with them, and that was this that when they are allotting groups of refugees to villages and allotting land and houses to them, they might simultaneously ask them to make provision for housing during winter urban population amounting to 10 per cent. of themselves, so that even if 20 houses had been allotted to them they might huddle up in 18 houses and make two available for people who were urban refugees from West Punjab and who therefore could not be allotted land in those villages. That is the kind of billeting which I suggested and which I think ought to work, and I was interested to hear that the officer responsible for accommodating the refugees in East Punjab thought that it could be easily implemented.

Sir, I have little more to say. All the other criticisms fall within the province of my Honourable colleague who I have no doubt will deal with them.

**Shri M. S. Anay** (Deccan and Madras States Group): Mr. Chairman, we have listened to a debate in which many points have been made out, to some of which my Honourable friend Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar has given a reply also. My object in rising in this debate is to categorically invite the attention of the Honourable Ministers, Mr. Neogy and Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, to two points. Some refugees happened to see me the other day. They were from the North Western Frontier Province. The story they were telling me was about the refugees detained there in the district of Bannu and some parts of that Province. The number of people there is about 24,000 according to them. Under the arrangements which I am told exist at present between the Government of India and the Pakistan Government the responsibility of protecting the refugees in Bannu is undertaken by the Government of

Pakistan and it is they who have to bring them up to a certain place called Muri, I think. The complaint of those gentlemen is that under the protection of the Pakistan Army these 24,000 people or so, whatever be their exact number, do not feel that they will have what may be called a safe journey up to that point as they are not sure of their own security under the protection of the Army or Army Officer who will be accompanying them from Bannu. They ask whether it is not possible for the Government of India to send any part of the Indian Army which may either be on this side or which may already be working on their behalf in Pakistan to this place and entrust it with the custody of these persons during their journey from Bannu to Muri, and that the army officers working for them in India will take charge of them thereafter. That is one point that they brought to my notice. They think that if this is not done they are not quite sure about the fate of those 24,000 persons. It is a matter of urgency and I am sure that the Honourable Ministers will see whatever they can do to give relief to them as promptly as possible.

There is also another point that was brought to my notice. That was in connection with the affairs of the officer who is known as the Custodian of Evacuee Property. A new office like that has come into being and I am told that a considerable part of the property of the refugees who have left India for Pakistan is in charge of this Custodian. That property must be there. It is stated that very often persons who come and make representations are able to get some part of that property without the Officer being in a position to make due enquiries about the identity of the man or about his being the proper claimant. It is on the recommendation of some other person and through some extraneous influence that the man gets it, and the Custodian who is in charge of it or the Deputy Custodian is unable to stop this thing. I have heard reports of that kind. I do not myself know what it means and I was confounded. I bring this matter to the notice of the Honourable Minister Mr. Neogy so that he may see if there is anything like that. If there is, it is a very serious state of thing. Then the Custodian will be there only to sign the papers without being able to trace the property and give it back to the proper claimants when they come.

Sir, many Honourable Members have made several useful suggestions. Many of them have said that it would be necessary for you to think of building a new town or suburban towns with a view to making permanent arrangements for these men. My own impression of this matter is this. In connection with this refugee question the Government of India must first determine upon some definite policy. The kind of advice that is being given to people nowadays looks to me to be moving in cross-currents. Some persons are thinking in one way while other persons are thinking in another way. There are very responsible persons who maintain that those who have come here must go back. That is one view. That is the ideal state of thing which is being insisted upon, while there are others who say that these people have come here under certain conditions and it is not humanly possible for us to think that those fundamental conditions which forced them to leave the land and migrate to this country will be changed within a reasonable time, and therefore the problem before the Government of India is to have some permanent scheme to absorb them in this country and to provide them a decent living here. I do not know which policy the Government of India is following. I hear pronouncements made by responsible members—not necessarily of the Government but those who can be credited to be in close touch with the Government—who speak on this question and give advice.

I am not sufficiently conversant with all the details to be in a position to give any definite advice, but it is necessary that our present Government of India, consisting of the ablest of the public men that this country could have given, should now be in a position to decide what exactly is the responsibility.

[Shri M. S. Aney]

they are to bear in this matter. They should be in a position to know whether the problem is one of absorbing all those evacuees who have come over to this country or whether it is only a problem of making temporary arrangements for them, leaving the question to be dealt with at a later stage, thinking in the meantime there might be a possibility for them to go back in which case the Government would be relieved of their responsibilities in the matter. It is time for them to come to a definite conclusion. My own conviction is that, colossal and immense as the magnitude of the problem is, it is a problem which has to be tackled once and for all and they must proceed on that basis. If I may venture to make a suggestion on the data that is available to me, I feel they should start on the conviction that it is a problem of making permanent arrangements for them in this land, they have migrated from their part of the country, they have come here and we must be prepared to absorb them and make the best use of those who have come here now as a permanent part of the Indian population here. On this basis, if they once do that, I have no doubt—we have got able statesmen and very able thinkers who can be relied upon to provide us with suitable remedies to deal with the situation, difficult as it is—the problem would be solved once and for all.

Sir, there is one more point which I would like to touch on. I am told that important questions of policy are yet to be settled. I entirely agree that probably the proper enunciation of the policy will also largely depend upon coming to some agreement on these important points between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India. That might take its own time, but if there is any way to expedite decisions, I have no doubt the Honourable Ministers in charge will give their best attention to the matters and reach decisions as expeditiously as possible.

Having dealt with these points, there is one other point to which I have to make a reference. The problem of evacuees with which the present Government has to deal is no doubt of a very colossal and unprecedented nature. One of my friends who spoke earlier made a reference to the problem of Burma evacuees which it was my misfortune or good fortune to tackle, and in the course of his remarks he made reference to the fact that the then Government was not able to deal with it. It would be improper of me to say anything on that point, being myself then in charge of the particular portfolio. I had to deal with that but this much I can say as regards arrangements for refugees that so far as they were concerned, a well thought out plan was laid down, to be continued even till the end, and a good deal of material was collected as to how the arrangements were to be made in those days. Seven big volumes of reports are in the secretariat in charge of the Department of Commonwealth Relations. For reasons best known to the Government of India, they were not published. But though the problem was no doubt of a comparatively smaller magnitude *vis-a-vis* the one which the present Government has to face, those reports might probably be of some use to my honourable colleagues Mr. Neogy and Mr. Gopalawami Ayyangar in getting some clue in laying down their policy to deal with the numerous details of these requirements of these refugees.

With regard to the criticism of a particular officer, I have no desire to say anything at this stage. The matter is sub-judice.

Knowing a little of the difficulties which a problem of this nature necessarily involves I sympathise with my honourable friends Mr. Neogy and Mr. Ayyangar; but I am glad that in making the selection of these two able statesmen of India, who have large experience not only as legislators but also as administrators in various capacities, the Government of India deserves to be complimented, and I think the interests of the refugees are safe in their hands. Of course we should be there ever ready to give all assistance

and advice that they may need, but I have no doubt they are there to do the work in such a manner that the refugees who are the worst sufferers will get redress of their grievances and will feel later on that under the most difficult conditions they had the best administrators who have done justice to them.

**The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru** (Prime Minister and Leader of the House): Sir, The experts have spoken and others who have intimately been in touch with this problem have given us the benefit of their advice and criticisms. There has been some praise of Government and plenty of criticism, and I think probably there is a great deal of truth in both. For my part I feel, not only for myself but speaking on behalf of the Government, a certain inadequacy in having to deal with this problem, because however efficient or however able or competent a Government we might be the problem is so big that one is apt rather to quail before it. I do not know what in future might be said about the handling of this problem not only by this Government or by the East Punjab Government or by this House or by all our officials and others: but I do think that in that future history it will be said that vast and colossal as this problem was, something which might shake the very foundations of Government and the social order, the people of India stood up to it bravely, tackled it, and, I hope, ultimately, solved it to the advantage of the nation, for after all, no government, however good it may be, can tackle such a problem without a vast amount of public support. It is essentially a problem in which the co-operation of vast numbers of people is required. We have got into the habit in past days or past periods of thinking too much in terms of a Government doing this or not doing it, of blaming a Government for this or that. Now I do believe that a Government must shoulder their responsibility. My honourable friend Mr. Aney asked the question whether we want to make ourselves responsible for the rehabilitation of all these people fully or just temporarily. Well, if he wants an answer I should say that any Government of India should make itself responsible for the well-being of every Indian in this country, and not temporarily responsible but permanently responsible. But it is all very well for me to say that but I know that in this country vast numbers of people are starving or have no houses, are poverty-stricken and all that: but the point is that we as a Government and we as a House must realise that it is our responsibility that every Indian should have food to eat and a house to live in, and education and opportunities of progress. If that is so for everyone in the country, certainly it is so for these unhappy countrymen of ours who have suddenly found themselves lost in the storm that arose. We recognise that responsibility fully. How far we shall discharge it is a matter of our ability and strength, and the country's strength, and it is a little difficult for me to be definite and precise about it.

We have heard in today's debate a great many points raised on the practical aspect of the question; I should like to draw the attention of the House to certain other and psychological aspects; if I may say so. When any great catastrophe comes, a Government or a country tries to ameliorate the lot of the sufferers; they address themselves to their task with all their strength. The process of healing starts immediately after the catastrophe. Here we have been dealing with a very peculiar state of affairs; the catastrophe was a man-made catastrophe—not a natural phenomenon like an earthquake or a fire or some other calamity like that—and all the evils or man's passions followed it throughout and follow it still so that while we tried to heal, the process of destruction went on. On the one side there was a process of building, on the other of breaking up, actually, physically and even more so in men's hearts. All the time many of us thought in terms of helping certainly, but also in terms of hurting others, and when you mix up these two feelings the result is that the helping part suffers. You do not create that proper atmosphere of helping and

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru]

rehabilitation and building up, when half your mind is turned to breaking down and hurting others.

There has often been talk of retaliation. In fact all this sorry and terrible business that has happened in these three or four months everywhere, might be put in one word—"retaliation". Each person, each group, apparently thinks of retaliating so as to protect one's own interests. Now it passes my thinking and imagination how anybody can think that in the state of affairs that we have to face in India today, we can help any cause by widespread or smallscale retaliation. I have not a shadow of doubt that if, as soon as the catastrophe overwhelmed us most people thought in terms not of retaliation but of healing and stopping it, 75 or 80 or 90 per cent. of this business would have been stopped. But we did not—I am not talking about this House of course; I am talking about the passions that were roused in this process. People thought that they would protect their interests or the interests of their dear ones by hitting out and hurting others and thus by this process of retaliation possibly bringing pressure on the other party. Exactly the same feeling worked all over the place on both sides with the result that every act of retaliation brought further retaliation and the vicious circle went on.

And yet I find people talking in terms of retaliating, and yet I find newspapers and others blaming this Government for not adopting a retaliatory policy. I want to say quite clearly that so far as this Government is concerned it is not going to adopt the method of retaliation. Of course every Government has to protect the interests of its citizens, of those who look to it for help. We are going to protect them by every means; if they are attacked or if they are injured it is our business to protect them in every way. But we do not think—leaving out any higher plane of action—even in the narrower plane of expediency and self-interest that the way of protecting is the way of retaliation and injuring others.

I do not know if Members of this House or others outside when they talk or think about these problems give much thought to any future picture of India that they may have before them. After all, unless we have some such picture what are we aiming at, what are we working for, and what kind of edifice are we constructing? It is important that we should do so because when we are dealing with millions of people who have lost everything and are trying to help them and rehabilitate them, we must have some picture. I am not merely talking in terms of actual rehabilitation which is very important, but something even further than that. What exactly are we aiming at? We have seen a terrible operation—the cutting up of the living entity of India—and we have seen the still more terrible consequences of it. We may blame this or that individual—and no doubt many persons and groups have been terribly blameworthy—but the something that has happened has been on such a cataclysmic scale that it passes human blame. It is in the nature, if I may say so, of some mighty tragedy of which the Greek dramatists have written, which comes and envelopes and overwhelms a nation and where human virtues and human failings somehow count for little. This is a big thing that has happened, so that mere blame does not help nor saying that it is the result of so-and-so's ill-will or action.

In tracing these events it is easy enough to know, and we all know, what are its major causes. Nevertheless the thing that has happened has been so big and so all round in its evil nature that it does little good to excuse oneself by blaming this or that person. Let us be quite clear about this: that whatever the origin, whatever the initial errors and crimes that may have been committed, what has happened on either side in the Punjab has been terrible in every sense of the word. And the most terrible part of it has been the psychological

part—far worse than injury to property, injury to all manner of things, even injury to life. The terrible thing is how it has perverted men's minds and perverted the minds possibly of the younger generation that is growing up seeing these horrors.

Now, what is the kind of picture that we have in our minds? What are we building for? Are we building for conflicts, wars, destruction and the rest, to satisfy a feeling of vengeance which may be justified? Or are we building for some other type—building for peace and ordered progress? For my part, I have no doubt at all about this. Again, not from any high moral ground but from the narrowest ground of expediency and the national good and the individual good, if we try to lay stress on the destructive part, on the vengeful part, on the retaliatory part, we shall build nothing at all; we shall carry on this misery and this trouble till some time or other at last the nation turns to progressive and constructive endeavour.

Looking round, personally I see definitely signs of the healing process starting. Probably that is a more hopeful thing than all the work that this Government or anybody else might have done. That healing process has started—no doubt every process starts because of individuals working to that end—but probably it has started by the reaction to the shock of events, ultimately and gradually; as the passions of the moment have cooled, people have begun to think a little more deeply and realise the folly of much that has been done. May I say one thing rather personal, if I may say it? It has been a terrible time for those who have to shoulder any responsibility. It has been, no doubt, a terrible time for any sensitive human being who lives in India. The name of India—and when I say 'India' I am not referring to the Dominion of India but this country of India which will remain India, whatever political divisions may take place—became mud because of what many Indians had done—and Indians still live in Pakistan and they continue to be Indians, whether they call themselves so or as Pakistanis. The curious position arose that those of our detractors and enemies who live abroad and who often have to manufacture all manner of stories and tales against us did not have to manufacture anything. All that they had to do was to quote one person against another. All that they had to say was what certain persons in Pakistan wrote about India and what certain persons in India wrote about Pakistan. Now, we need not balance that. I am merely saying that, what appeared in foreign countries, just quotations from what Indians said against each other. Now, it may be, and I believe it is, that when such things occur, there is a measure of right on one side, more right and perhaps a measure or less evil, and more evil on the other. I need not tell the House what my opinion on this subject is, as to where more right lies or more evil. But the point is that so far as the outside world is concerned, it is there—this mud-slinging, these acts, these horrible acts. What could they think of India then? We may have been interested in clearing our honour as against Pakistan and the Pakistan people no doubt wanted to show that they were not evil-doers, but the fact remained that whatever the rights and wrongs, the whole reputation of India suffered and it became a dreadfully difficult thing to clear that reputation. Blood had flown and many millions of people had shed tears in this country. It was not easy to wipe ourselves clear of that blood till at last we approached the question, not in the way we had been approaching it, but in a spirit of healing, and not in a spirit of revengeful retaliation or of recrimination. Although recrimination may have been justified. Retaliation does not help. That is the first point which I venture to place before the House regarding the spirit in which we should deal with this problem.

The second point—and it is also related to the first one—is that in these days when we lived fevered lives—speaking personally,—I do not think I could have carried this burden at all but for one fact, and that fact was the magic

[Paudal Jawaharlal Nehru]

presence of our great Leader, Mahatma Gandhi. I have not a shadow of a doubt in my mind that just as he performed a miracle in Bengal, so also he performed his miracle here. The obvious miracle may not have occurred here, but none the less there was the miracle of his presence which affected the situation tremendously. I would beg of you, therefore, to consider this problem in this context, in regard to the future of India.

Now, coming to the problem directly, I would mention two essential facts of it which I consider most important. We have to look after the refugees, do this and that for millions of people, but whenever there is a huge problem one inevitably has to give certain priorities. Talking about everything, trying to do everything, means sometimes that you do nothing at all. What are the obvious priorities in this problem? I say the obvious priority is that the youth, the students, young boys and girls should be saved, because after all the future of India depends upon them. All honour and respect to the older generation who are suffering, but the first priority must go to the youth who should be saved not only from the point of view of life, but saved from the point of view of broader things. They must be educated, they must be looked after and they must be made proper citizens of India. I think, if I may, even as a Member of the Government criticise our own government, that we have not paid sufficient attention to this aspect of the problem. We have, of course, generally speaking, but I think far more attention should have been given to this aspect. We should concentrate our attention, even though evil may befall others, as in a war or some other calamity, to the saving of these children—boys and girls and students—and provide for their education and their future. That, of course, is also a big problem, but it must be tackled because the whole future of India depends upon them.

The second, though it is not second really, it is at least as important, is the saving of our women folk who have been abducted, and when I say that, let me repeat again, this is not an one-sided problem. Women have been abducted in both the Punjab and elsewhere. Women have been abducted by the thousand, not a few cases. Nobody knows the exact figures, but if you knew the estimated figures, both for West Punjab and East Punjab, you will be staggered at the number. Therefore, one of the highest priorities should be given for the relief of these women. Of course, attempts have been made and thousands have been rescued, but tens of thousands still remain. Now, this work cannot be done easily without full co-operation of the two Governments in the Punjab. It cannot be done otherwise. You can take an army and march in, and you may conquer and defeat the enemy, but you do not rescue anybody thereby. Therefore, we have to approach this problem from the point of view of co-operating with each other and naturally, all parties are concerned in that co-operation, and in a certain measure we have achieved that co-operation, but not enough yet. I hope that within the next few days a more efficient organisation will grow up in co-operation with both Governments for the rescue of these abducted women. These two aspects I place specially before the House for consideration.

One thing more. We want to render all possible help to these people who have suffered. Members of the House have pointed out that if you can spread out the families in all the 700,000 odd villages of India, you can absorb them. That is very interesting, this mechanical calculation, but I do not think it takes us any distance. One way of looking at it would have been, which, I think has not been considered in that way obviously, is to tackle this question of temporary shelter for people. What did they do in war-time in various countries where they had to deal with vast numbers of refugees? They were in the military fashion spread out to various families; each family had to take one or

two members. The burden was distributed just like armies are distributed in that way. No particular attempt has been made to think of that problem that way. Take the East Punjab. It has suffered greatly, but they have their millions of people living there. Why should not each family in the East Punjab accommodate one other or one, two or three persons? Accommodate a million or two million persons. Let the Government help them if necessary. Let them help them by money or by food or whatever it is, but immediately millions should be accommodated or be helped to spread out and then you may think about permanent arrangements. Unfortunately to some extent our social conditions do not fit in with this kind of thing. People do not like these difficulties to arise. They can accept somebody and not somebody else. You cannot do it at the same time as they did in Europe during the War. It is a matter worth pursuing. Your problem of temporary accommodation becomes less, not only lesser if you spread out these people, these vast camps that have grown up need not have grown up. Secondly, there is this business of large numbers of refugees going into the rest of India. Now the rest of India ought to do everything in its power to help them; that is true. Apart from vague statements and heroics, let us examine the problem from the merits. If you look at the East Punjab population—I won't go into all these figures, I will give you the result of these figures—the post migration population of the East Punjab is likely to be one million and a half less than prior to the migrations. For various reasons, whatever the population was, there were more Muslims going out and less Hindus and Sikhs coming in, and further about 6,00,000 Hindus and Sikhs from the West Punjab have spread about over the rest of India, and unfortunately large numbers of people have died and so on and so forth. The result is that at the very least the population of the East Punjab after these migrations will be one million and a half less than it was before; it may be more or less. Now, therefore, if that is so, then the question of large numbers of refugees from the Punjab not finding room in the East Punjab does not obviously arise. The question arises in another way. Punjab used to be in a sense the most prosperous Province of India, from the middle-class point of view, from the peasant proprietors point of view. In the West Punjab, the average holding was, let us say 20 or 25 acres of very good land—they have not got that in the East Punjab, neither good land nor the big holding. They are providing with I believe ten acres, not so good land and there is complaint: "We cannot do with 10 acres". When friends suggest that land should be given in the United Provinces or in the C. P. or Bengal, or wherever it may be, certainly if land is available it should be given, it has to be remembered that the average holding of the United Provinces is 2½ acres; so it comes to this; that in order to provide two persons with a room you put people in a room where they are already ten persons. You are putting two more in it. We cannot be vicariously generous; we cannot put a greater burden on the poverty-stricken people of any place merely because you want to be generous. Let us be generous, but not obviously because apart from everything else this is going to give rise, as it is giving rise, to grave discontent in various ways and an unfortunate tendency to dislike these refugees coming there. We do not want that to happen; this kind of thing sows seeds of bitterness for the future. Therefore, the problem has to be examined in all its aspects in this way and the burden has certainly to be spread out, the financial burden and the burden in many other ways is, of course, being borne by the whole of India today and it will be borne. But this business of taking land where there is no land and giving the land to somebody is not a proper way of giving relief. So far as the question arises, I see no difficulty. I think the land in the Punjab including, of course, the States in the Punjab is enough. The problem will arise in regard to the urban dwellers and I think we should try to absorb them and help them in every way in other parts of India also. In fact cities can be built in East Punjab and will be built which will absorb them, so that the problem, if analysed, is not so big or difficult of solution. People seem to think



[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru]

that somehow the East Punjab is a tiny little place where people have not got room to stay. Therefore they should spread out all over the place. The East Punjab from any Indian standard is not only enough but bigger from the population of India point of view to absorb those who come. But from another point of view, the Indian and the urban point of view, it is not big enough to absorb it. It is perfectly true at the same time because it has been shaken up—the big cities cannot absorb the population in a few villages in the East Punjab. That is a big problem and we must at any rate act promptly and we shall be able to solve it by not only building cities in the East Punjab, but by taking them to cities in the rest of India having colonies, suburban areas etc. As a matter of fact the Punjabees fortunately are a very enterprising people, more so than, if I may say so, the people in most parts of India. To them is due the prosperity of their province and with the help that they are obviously going to get from the State, I have no doubt they will make good far more rapidly than probably any other people in India might have done. So, big as the problem is, I do think that there is nothing in it which should really frighten us. But if I may come back to what I began with and say that if we tackle this problem in a spirit of retaliation, we get into trouble. Here in the City of Delhi there are lakhs of people who are refugees and all the time we are having trouble in the housing and there is a continuous pressure on Muslim houses where Muslims still dwell here to push them out. Now from any point of view, Governmental or other, it is highly improper to think that residents of Delhi, because they are Muslims, should be pushed out. It is unbecoming to put up with it. It is unbecoming for the Delhi Administration. No nation, no Government, no country can carry on if it follows that kind of policy. If a national requires protection he must be given that protection, whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim or anybody. Now it is true that there is pressure of refugees coming in and difficulties arise which in some cases are insoluble unfortunately. We must be clear about it and the Administration must be quite clear about it, that you do not solve the difficulty by creating another difficulty. That is not the way of solving the difficulty. May I finally say that in regard to some of these problems, as Members will no doubt know, the All-India Congress Committee met some days back. They gave thought to that and they passed certain Resolutions. Some of those Resolutions may be termed 'unrealistic' in part, may be, nevertheless they wanted to emphasize that outlook and I want to say that we as a Government entirely adhere to that policy and will try to follow it.

**The Honourable Shri K. O. Neogy:** I would very much like not to spoil the effect of the speech of the Honourable the Prime Minister. There were many points that were raised by my honourable friends and I should have very much liked to give my points of view in reply to them, but I have to restrain myself in this matter. I can only give the assurance to the House that all the suggestions that have fallen from my Honourable colleagues would be given the utmost weight and will have our best consideration. There are, however, one or two matters to which I cannot but refer. The first relates to the complaints that have been made against the Custodian of Refugee property. I have already referred to the matter in my opening speech. I want to assure the House that the complaints that have been voiced on this occasion have reached 5 P.M. us also, and that a suitable inquiry into the administration of the organisation is shortly going to be undertaken. I would only ask my Honourable colleagues to wait for a few days.

Rather an unkind reference was made to my staff. I am deeply obliged to my Honourable colleague Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar for having defended my staff. All that I need say in addition to what he said in that connection is that

they have given me and Government their whole-hearted and loyal co-operation, and that the cause of the refugees is very dear to them.

Sir, there has been a general discontent about the pace of the progress made. Let me tell the House that I am thoroughly dissatisfied with myself. I feel that my shoulders are not broad enough for bearing the burden that has been laid on me; and let me give one final assurance that I shall not stick on to office the moment I feel that I do not enjoy the confidence of this House.

*The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 1st December, 1947.*