I do not have any dogmatic or rigid approach to this problem, but I am afraid the Deputy Minister's reply was not quite satisfactory. There are any number of examples. For example, I saw that the Western India Theatres, Ltd., Bombay, had 36 theatres all over the country, but only 13 are left now. I am told that the Company Law Board is making an enquiry into this matter. What I feel is that the Government are not realising the gravity and the magnitude of the problem. I am not saying that the Government should immediately take steps for nationalisation. I ask where is the freedom for the real artiste and the producers. The producers and artistes are squeezed in between the topnotch artistes and the financiers. So, you must create conditions for them so that they could subsist. For that, some rethinking is necessary. That is all.

Mr. Speaker: Should I put the Resolution to the vote of the House?

Shri R. G. Dubey: I would like to withdraw it.

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

16.07 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: MINORITIES IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up the next Resolution. Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri. The time allotted is 2½ hours. What should be the time for the Mover? 25 minutes?

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri (Berhampur): 25 minutes.

Mr. Speaker: All right; 25 minutes for the Mover and 10 minutes each for the rest.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: Sir, I move:

"This House is of opinion that in view of the continuing insecurity of the life, property and honour of the minority communities living in the Eastern Wing of Pakistan and general denial of all democratic rights of the people in that part of Pakistan, the Government of India should, in addition to removing all restrictions on the migration of people belonging to the minority communities from East Pokistan to the Indian Union, also take steps to raise the issue of the democratic and human rights of the minorities in the forum of the United Nations under appropriate articles of the U.N. Charter."

I have been impelled to move this Resolution because I have found for the past few weeks from a perusal of the statements that have been made on the subject of continuing migration of minorities from East Pakistan and the problem that this country is faced with, that while there is no lack of sympathy and expressions of righteous indignation against Pakistan, for the atrocities committed against the minorities, there is very little appreciation of the vast and staggering magnitude of the problem that confronts this country and also equally little appreciation of the political and international implications of the oppression that is being perpetrated against the poor and helpless minorities.

It is very plain that the regime of President Ayub which finds itself tottering at least so far as East Pakistan is concerned, is bent upon drowning that parts of Pakistan in a flood of communal passion and violence. It is also equally plain—I should say it is as plain as daylight—that the Government of Pakistan is today bent upon using the minorities as hostages to ransom in order to blackmail India and to blackmail the United Nations Security Council in order to gain its ends in regard to Kashmir. That being the position, I would urge upon Government that they should seriously reconsider their policy with regard to Pakistan, as one Central Minister was recently im-

[Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri]

pelled to say. But unfortunately, as he confessed here, he was not one of the policy-makers. I refer to the statement made by the hon. Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, Minister of Rehabilitation who had been to Assam and West Bengal to see the flight of minorities for himself. Almost every day, we see an unending stream of minorities crossing the border and coming to India. We have to ask ourselves: what is the reason that the minorities do not want to stay in Pakistan any longer? I would here refer to the unimpeachable testimony of a man whom many of the older generations of political workers in Bengal would know, whose name was known all over India as a great revolutionary, Mr. Tailokyanath Chakravarty, who never left Pakistan even after partition, who is endearingly called as 'Maharaj' because from his early boyhood, he was a sanyasin and karmayogin who dedicated his life for the cause of freedom of what he calls Pakistan and India. As I said just now, he never left Pakistan. He was an elected member of the East Pakistan legislature but like all the other political leaders he was hunted out of political life through the operation of the E B D O. Even then he did not leave at this age, when he is past 75, he retired to his village home and engaged himself in social work and humanitarian work. He is equally held in veneration alike by Hindus and Muslims there, irrespective of parties and political opinions. When the Dacca carnage started, he was in a Hindu quarter in Dacca, on the 15th of January. Immediately he started rescuing the frightened Hindu population of that quarter and fortunately found shelter in the Jagannath College where Principal Sayedur Rahman was very helpful; with the help of Principal Rahman he could save at least 7000 Hindus. I do not know about his whereabouts now but he could smuggle out a letter which was published in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* some days back and the English translation of it has appeared in the *Hindusthan Standard* on the 19th I would give you some excerpts from that. He has written in that letter:

> "I am now in a refugee camp. I spent a total of thirty years in jail for the freedom of India-Pakistan; lived five years underground with the warrant of arrest of British police hanging over my head. That is why I have verily earned the right to live in a refugee camp today after 17 years of Independence. I needed this experience."

I do not have the time to quote extensively from this letter but I would appeal to the hon. Ministers and all hon. Members who have any sympathy for men like him and for the plight of minorities in East Pakistan to go through this letter. He describes his life in that letter, his life in the refugee camp.

> "Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, ex-Minister, Sheikh Mujibar, Mamud Ali, Zalur Hussain Manik Mian of Ittefaq and other friends came to see me in the camp. Sheikh Mujibar brought 25 pieces of loaf to the Principal. What an irony of Fate. We are citizens of this State, but cannot move about freely, are confined in a cage and friends of the other community come to see us in this cage. Members of the other community can walk in the streets freely, have opened stalls on the camp compound and are hawking goods there. I don't have that freedom, why not? What crime have I committed?"

This is the plaintive cry which is coming on behalf of all minorities there. He goes on to explain the situation:

> "What has happened this time is not rioting, which can occur

only between two contending parties....

I hope Shri Shastri would take note of this....

"but one-sided attack, looting and killing. One side attacks and the other flees in fear of life. Those who have been victims of looting or have been killed, ask 'what crime have we committed, since we do not dabble in politics, do not meddle with the activities of the people of the other community, do not quarrel with our neighbours, are citizens of this country, share its prosperity, sorrow or happiness, pay taxes to Government regularly, are loyal subjects; then why should we be killed, why our houses should be looted and burnt, our children killed before our very eyes, our womenfolk dishonoured?'

Is there to be no redress, no remedy for this? No justice? Why shall I be held responsible for anything in any other country? What contact have I with other countries? Shall innocent passengers in buses and trams be detrained, forced to come down and massacred?"

It may be said that this was perhaps a passing phenomenon and in Dacca, now the carnage has stopped and perhaps peaceful conditions have returned. That is why I have to refer to the testimony of another unimpeachable witness, this time not a Hindu, but a Christian. The other day in the capital city of Delhi itself, Rev. N. A. Kirkwood, Liaison Officer of the Church of World Service, made this statement:

"A book could be written on the atrocities, shooting, bayonetting, baton attacks and raping inflicted by the East Pakistan Rifles and Ansar personnel of the East Pakistan border forces upon the fleeing refugees. Stories of looting and of the abduction of tribal maidens by Muslim men of the area are common. More could be written concerning the reasons for the fear and insecurity which caused this mass exodus of these minority groups into Garo Hills from this border strip of East Pakistan."

This is supported by the enquiry that was conducted by 12 Members of the Assam Legislative Assembly, who had been to the Garo Hills and to whom the refugees made statements. Culling these statements, one Member of the Legislative Assembly of Assam has summarised it. What were the continuing tyrannies which is compelling minorities to cross over not only from Mymensingh District but from other districts of Pakistan—not only Hindus, but Christians, Buddhists, tribals, Santhals, Hajongs, Garos and everybody? Here is a description of the tyrannies that are still continuing:

"The tyranny was manifold. For instance, no member of the minority community was allowed to pass an East Pakistan Rifle Camp with an umbrella over his head. The minorities were compelled to salute the East Pakistan Rifle man whenever they met, they are to offer free labour in the East Pakistan Rifle camps such as sweeping, gardening, fetching water, etc. and even cleaning lavatories."

I do not have the time to go into all the details, but the economic inequities that were imposed on them needs to be noted. It is said:

"Levies of paddy were imposed on the minorities. The land of only the minorities was requisitioned without showing any reason. Cattle were taken away even from cowsheds; paddy was harvested from the fields of the minorities. The rates of tax on the minorities were much higher than those on the Muslims. Interest on loans was five annas per rupee

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per month, and if repayment was not made within six months, the debtor's land would be sold by auction. Complaints lodged with the chairman or any member of the Union Council or Government officers were ignored. These only provoked the wrong-doers to do more mischief with impunity. The village chiefs would very often advise a complainant to embrace Islam if he felt insecure as a member of the minority community."

Sir, this is enough, I think, as an explanation of the conditions that obtain in East Pakistan and force the minorities out from there.

And, what is the most deplorable and revolting feature of the whole thing is that women, particularly young girls, are being subjected to molestation and rape in areas contiguous to Indo-Pakistan border while crossing the border. I have drawn the attention of the Prime Minister, in the course of a letter, to two incidents which should go on record. Some incidents were reported on 11th March and details were published in an important Congress paper of Calcutta on 12th March, 1964 which show that the members of minority community are being subjected to horrible ill-treatment at the border station of Darsana. I had written to the Prime Minister on the basis of newspaper reports:

"Shri Narayan Chander Shah of Noakhali was coming over to India with his wife Shrimati Parul Bala. They were forced to get down at the railway station Darsana. A number of men belonging to the Pakistan Police forced Shri Shah and his wife to go near the border. Thereafter seven men of the Pakistan Police force committed rape on Shrimati Shah."

16.23 hrs.

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

I do not want to read it any further. There was another incident which was also widely reported in all sections of the Calcutta Press, that on 13th March the East Pakistan Rifles fired upon men and women near the Benapole border and eight women were killed.

Somebody might ask, is there no Constitution in Pakistan?—No constitutional or legal protection?

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): Basic democracy.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: What is the position of the minorities in that basic democracy. I have in my hands here the *Constitution* of the *Republic of Pakistan*. In the Preamble, in 4th paragraph, in section (d) which is the jimmy clause, it has been stated that the minorities in Pakistan should be adequately safeguarded. I would only ask any interested Member to go through part II of the Constitution of Pakistan. There is one section which lays down the principles of law-making and policy which roughly corresponds to the Chapter on Fundamental Rights of our Constitution. All the fundamental rights which we have in our Constitution find a mention in their "principles of law making and policy". In that chapter they have got equality of citizens, freedom of movement, right to acquire property, freedom to follow avocations, freedom of religion, protection of languages, scripts and cultures and other things. Then, in Chapter 2 entitled "principles of policy" it has been stated in article 3, which refers to the fair treatment of minorities, that the legitimate rights and interests of the minorities should be safeguarded and the members of the minority community should be given due opportunities to enter the services of Pakistan. All these noble things and high sentiments are expressed there.

But then there comes the hoax or huge joke about this chapter. In articles 6 and 8 it has been stated that the validity of a law guaranteeing these rights shall not be called into question on the ground that the law disregards or violates any provisions of the Constitution or is not in accordance with the principles of law-making. In other words, that means these safeguards or rights have no validity at all and that is how all this oppression and iniquities could be heaped upon the minorities or perpetrated with impunity.

The time has come when our friends in the West, who are very much enamoured of basic democracy of President Ayub should be told what is the actual meaning and significance of the protection of minorities in the Constitution of Pakistan. That is why I propose that this question must be raised at the proper international forum, and I think that forum can only be the United Nations. I know that in the background of the Kashmir debate in the Security Council and the attitude of the Western Powers who have a built-in majority in the Security Council, we do not feel very much enthused to refer any question to the United Nations. But, at the same time, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the United Nations also remains a great international forum. There is the General Assembly, there is the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, where these things can be raised. The charter of the United Nations refers to "human rights" no less than 7 times—in the preamble, in articles 1, 13, 55, 62, 68 and 76. In addition, articles 56 and 87 affect human rights, although they do not expressly mention it. As all these articles are there, as a member of the United Nations we have every right to raise the question of the minorities in the United Nations.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Are you sure they will take a judicious view? Are they not biassed by their own personal likes or dislikes of other countries?

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: They certainly are. But, at the same time, we need not assume that the United Nations are full of our enemies only. Our friends are also there and the whole world is represented there. We can utilise that forum to place our case before them. How is it that Pakistan can every time raise their case before the United Nations and haul us there on the dock? Even the other day, day before yesterday, in the Pakistan National Assembly in Rawalpindi, a Government spokesman said that they would take up the question of the eviction of Pakistani infiltrants from Assam; in the United Nations, if necessary. Perhaps, they are encouraged by their western friends, they are encouraged by their patrons, but if they can go to the UN, why can we not do the same? Are we so friendless? Are we so helpless?

Shri Tyagi: Yes.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: If it is so, then blame your Government. Do not put your hand on your head helplessly; blame your Government squarely and tell them that they have made a mess of everything in external affairs. In order to comfort Shri Tyagi I would like to say that we need not be ashamed of our record or feel hesitant about these things. The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations appointed a Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities in 1959. One of the former Members of this House, Dr. Arcot Krishnaswami, had the privilege of presiding over that Sub-Commission. In that Sub-Commission, the United Kingdom representative, Mr. Richard Hiscocks, is reported to have said:—

> "The U.K. representative" not Dr. Krishnaswami "wondered whether leaders in other countries for instance, Pakistan, had the courage to emulate the example of the Indian leaders (in battling against discrimination of religious minorities). He asked the Rappor-

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teur Dr. Arcot Krishnaswami of India if progressive opinions on the question of treatment of minorities manifested themselves in Pakistan and whether they would have a chance of gaining strength. Dr. Krishnaswami said there were wise and good men in Pakistan who wanted to promote an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding of minorities..... But he felt extremely doubtful if, in Pakistan where even the majority had no voice—leave alone rights—the minorities could have their rights respected."

Unfortunately, this matter was not pursued by our Government in the United Nations any farther. But I feel the time has come when we can and must place our case before this world forum.

I know, there are hon. Members both on the Government Benches and on this side of the House who are cynical of any good result coming out of the United Nations. The Kashmir question has been hanging fire for 17 years and our complaint of aggression by Pakistan has not been heeded to. But that is not the reason why we should not utilise the forum of the United Nations properly to state our case before the whole world and try to win over world public opinion to our side. If the Government feels that the United Nations cannot help us, if the House feels that the United Nations cannot help us, then there are other world forums. There are our friends in the Afro-Asian countries and in the non-aligned nations and we can place our case before them and ask them to put whatever moral pressure or other sorts of pressures they are capable of for stopping Pakistan from harassing the minorities and using them as permanent hostages.

The other day when this question of communal disturbances directed against the minorities of East Pakistan was being discussed in this House I ended by saying that I am not an emotional man but I would appeal to the Government to look facts in the face and to take some effective measures to rescue the minorities in East Pakistan from the plight that they are in. Unfortunately, in spite of profuse sympathy and the declaration from housetops that the question of minorities of East Pakistan who are coming over is a national problem, up till now we have taken no effective steps to rescue them, even with regard to the ordinary facilities, facilities of migration.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: His time is up.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: I will be ending in two or three minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has spoken for full 30 minutes.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: I will finish in two or three minutes. .....even with regard to the provision of legal facilities which were to be provided under the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement for migration. The state of affairs in the office of the Deputy High Commission with regard to the issuance of migration certificates is nothing but a scandal. No person can be granted migration certificate unless he gets a clearance certificate from the income-tax authorities and a citizenship certificate from at least the President of the Union Board which is the highest officer in the primary units of Ayub's basic democracy. You can easily realise how this clearance certificate with regard to income-tax can be obtained by a migrant fleeing for his life and that is why we see the phenomenon why people who are nearer the border are daily crossing over without any migration certificate or travel documents not only into my constituency but into every border district. Whether our Government makes any arrangement for reception or not in all places they are trying every day to cross over and I

have received an authentic news that *jathas* consisting of inhabitants of three or four or five villages are moving out in the assurance that the security of numbers can give them in order to flee Pakistan. I do not know whether they will be able to come or allowed to cross over. In many places they have been stopped and indeseribable indignity and oppression have been heaped over them. But they are determined to come. It is no use the Prime Minister saying, as he has reported to have said the other day before the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, that the minorities of East Pakistan will not be encouraged to come. I would remind the Government that it is not a question of your encouraging them to come. You have to accept the fact that they will come because they have no other go. They have either to face destruction and ruin or to come over here and live as human beings. You have to face these facts. If you do not face facts, then perhaps the whole country will soon be in flames. Already you read the trend of events in the newspapers. You must have read in today's newspapers what is happening in Raigarh. I do not want to refer to these happenings. What will be the repercussions of these events, the news of which are appearing daily in our papers? Whether we like it or not, our Government administration, even our leaderships, would not be able to control the baser passions of the people and the tragedy on a colossal scale will ensue. So, I appeal to them to take whatever measures they are capable of in order to save the harried and afflicted minorities from East Pakistan and to rescue them. It is the duty that you owe to God and to humanity and to your nation.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Resolution moved:

"This House is of opinion that in view of the continuing insecurity of the life, property and honour of the minority communities living in the Eastern wing of Pakistan and general denial of all democratic rights of the people in that part of Pakistan, the Government of India should, in addition to removing all restrictions on the migration of people belonging to the minority communities from East Pakistan to the Indian Union, also take steps to raise the issue of the democratic and human rights of the minorities in the forum of the United Nations under appropriate articles of the U.N. Charter."

There are some amendments. Shri P. R. Patel. Is he moving his amendment?

Shri P. R. Patel (Patan): I am glad that my amendment is admitted. But as my friend Shri Raghunath Singh is moving his amendment, I am not moving mine.

Shri Raghunath Singh: I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

for the words "in addition to removing all restrictions on the migration of people belonging to the minority communities from East Pakistan to the Indian Union, also take steps to raise the issue of the democratic and human rights of the minorities in the forum of the United Nations under appropriate articles of the U.N. Charter"

Substitute—

"in addition to relaxing restrictions in migration of people belonging to the minority communities from East Pakistan to Indian Union also consider steps to be taken to raise the question for enlisting the world opinion.".

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"and sponsor a resolution regarding the minority problem in East Pakistan in the U.N. Security Council.".

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta-Central): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"and particularly among Afro-Asian countries which should be clearly appraised of the role of colonialism in this regard.".

Shri H. P. Chatterjee (Nabadwip): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"and before other international forums especially those of the Afro-Asian group of countries.".

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Resolution and all these amendments are before the House. Half an hour has been taken by the mover of the Resolution. So, only 2 hours remain. There are about 14 or 15 Members intending to speak. So, each Member should take 7 to 8 minutes.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by my friend Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri. I have myself a small amendment in regard to Afro-Asian countries which, I hope, will be accepted but I do wish that Government gives serious attention to the substance of this motion and come forward with some answer which would satisfy the country and would save the situation which is daily threatening to become worse and worse. I shall try to speak with the utmost restraint, and I shall begin by saying that we in India try to operate on two bedrock principles and they are as follows. The first is that we are a secular democratic State where various religious groups can coexist with equal rights and with complete self-respect and honour. Being so, we have the courage and the strength to be sharply critical, whenever necessary, of our own shortcomings. But, by contrast, Pakistan is a military dictatorship with hardly a facade of political decency and things have happened there, which I do not wish to repeat, which underline the difference between our two countries.

The second of our principles is that—and Government cannot afford to forget it—we offer a home to our brethren from Pakistan if and when they find it impossible to live any longer under the tyrannical and barbarous policies of that Government. We wish to God that they can stay on in Pakistan, but if they cannot, we have got to share with them whatever we have got. These are the two principles upon which we have got to establish whatever policies we try to implement.

In pursuance of those policies, it is absolutely essential that, as the resolution says, Government should remove all restrictions on the migration of people belonging to the minority communities who want to come to our country. There should be no question about it. We have had this solemn assurance from Government that even without papers they can come along. How is it then that our own Indian Deputy High Commissioner is behaving in a way which has put hurdles on the way of our people coming away?

Shri Ranga: (Chittoor): How? Not now.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: It is necessary, therefore, for Government to say that

Government would not merely make a few minor changes in the migration regulations but the migration certificate matter should be treated in such a fashion that whoever wants to come away must be enabled to come away and we shall make provision for them, whatever the cost.

Shri Tyagi: What is the total number of minorities in Pakistan?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore): It is about 98 lakhs.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: It is just over 9 millions.

Shri Ranga: What can we do even if it is 12 millions or 15 millions?

The Minister Without Portfolio (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri): I may inform my hon. frienl Shri H. N. Mukerjee that there are no restrictions imposed from our side from the side of the Deputy High Commissioner, which delay the minority community people from East Pakistan to come over to our side. There are delays mainly because Pakistan comes in their way. It is neither our Deputy High Commissioner nor our policy which has come in the way.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am glad to hear that.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: May I draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the statement made by the Government spokesman in the Pakistan National Assembly that from January onwards up to 29th February, 1964, only 300 people with valid migration certificates have crossed the borders? Would he check up that fact with our own officers who are on the border?

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: It is quite wrong. I saw the figures only today. Migration certificates or permits or papers have been issued to over 64,000 persons.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am glad to hear that Government are doing whatever they can to facilitate the issue of migration certificates, but, as a matter of fact, there have been reports in the papers—I do not know how far they are accurate—that people have to wait for days and days, because only for three days in the week are migration certificate applications received and then only for three days in the week applications are granted. Then, again, no grant is made anywhere except in Dacca, with the result that people have to go from all parts of Pakistan to Dacca in order to get those migration certificates. So, in fact, there are a lot of difficulties. I know that it is rather a problem to deal with the Pakistan Government when the Pakistan Government is behaving so very shabbily and is pursuing a policy not only of pinpricks but of plain savagery when they fire on people who try to come away. That sort of thing is happening. I know it is difficult to control the Pakistan Government. But as far as is possible for us to do, we shall try to make it certain that those who want to come away are enabled to come away. That is why the Resolution has been brought up.

What are the ways and means? The Resolution asks us to take up the matter before the United Nations forum and elsewhere, for instance among the Afro-Asian countries in particular. What happens is that Pakistan perpetrates the wrongest things and gets away with it. Pakistan shouts for *jehad*. Pakistan keeps up the situation in the Kashmir border for more than 16 years now, and Pakistan treats the minorities in East Bengal as hostages and holds them to ransom all the time. But it talks in virtuous terms, appears before the world as if it is the injured party.

Now it is a most terrible thing that this sort of thing has gone on so long and so far. How is it that we are so

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

terribly friendless, as Shri Tridib Chaudhuri pointed out, that in the whole wide world people are there to listen to the talk of Pakistan and not to our case? Why should this happen? East Bengal has been held in the grip of police terror and, if not periodically deluded with the wicked cry of 'Islam in danger', the East Bengal people would perhaps by this time have thrown off the Ayubshahi business altogether. But they are not being able to do so because not only are we immobilised, but the whole wide world knows nothing at all about it.

Why is it that our instruments of propaganda are so utterly ineffective? I know, as Shri Chaudhuri pointed, that our experience with the United Nations is so very sad. But yet we have got to tell the world about it. The Security Council has 11 members, but only two friends on whom we can count, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. But among the other 9 there are certain countries who, if they are told the truth, would understand the position.

We know that Islam has not brought about the unification of all the Arab countries. The profession of Islam and speaking of the same language, Arabic, has not brought about the unification of all the Arab-speaking countries. So they are not such fools to believe that Islam is in danger in India, a country where the Vice-President himself is a member of the Mussalman community.

What have we noticed ever since the formation of Pakistan? Maulana Azad in his book *India Wins Freedom* wrote:

> "The partition of India gave Britain a foothold in India, and a State dominated by the Muslim leauge would offer a permanent sphere of infiuence—a British base".

The British have their base. The Americans are their friends and patrons, and they are not reconciled yet to the fact of Indian freedom. That we are trying to pursue an indepent policy in foreign relations and that we are trying to build an independent economy are facts which they cannot stomach and, therefore, they are behaving in this fashion.

I cannot understand this when, for instance, men like Bertrand Russell and Dr. Albert Schwitzer write to Mr. Khrushchev in the Soviet Union complaning about the treatment given allegedly to the Jews in that Soviet country. Don't they know nothing at all about these things. We invite people like Prof. Toynbee who come to this country to speak over the air. Possibly they get their air fare paid, and all that kind of thing takes place. We treat them as if they are wonderful people, and they go back and write to say that they disapprove of India's policy in regard to Pakistan!

Ever since the days of partition, when the lure of Mountbatten and Co. made us commit the original sin of accepting partition, we are suffering this kind of indignity from time to time. Over and over again in the Security Council whenever we find that the West is angry with us, Pakistan utilises the opportunity. In 1957, after Hungary and Suez, Pakistan got an opporounity, went to the Security Council and shouted against us. In early 1962, Pakistan took advantage of the fact that over Goa the western countries were very angry with us and brought up this question of Kashmir. Now they have again brought up this question of Kashmir. They are behaving in this fashion.

Why can't we put our case before the world? Why can't we say that we are trying genuinely, sometimes we fail—the news which has appeared today makes us very sad—sometimes we fail, but we are trying very genuinely to have in this country a real secular democracy, irrespective of religious differentiation while across

the border there is medieval mummery masquerading as political sovereignty, and that country is behaving in this fashion. I do believe that if we take our case not only before the United Nations, but also before the Afro-Asian countries in particular, and if we explain that the colonial policy and its hangover, as far as the Western Powers are concerned, is realy behind the patronage and support which Pakistan gets, then we shall, from a political angle, apart from the humanitarian angle, also succeed in persuading our Afro-Asian friends that this kind of nonsense should not be permitted to continue to sully the atmosphere of world politics.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा संशोधन साधारण है और उस संशोधन का तात्पर्य यह है कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में जाने से हमारा कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। काश्मीर का मामला आज संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में १७ साल से झूल रहा है। इस मामले को वहां ले जाने से कोई विशेष सफलता हम को प्राप्त नहीं होगी। इसलिए हमको सारे संसार की मानवता से अपील करनी है कि वे लोग इसमें सहायता दें।

इस वक्त मुख्य प्रश्न हमारे सामने उन लोगों के पुनर्वास की व्यवस्था करने का है जो कि बाहर से यहां आ रहे हैं। यह सबसे बड़ी समस्या है।

आप देखेंगे कि ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से चार ग्रुप्स में लोग यहां आए। पहला ग्रुप सन १९४६ से १९४९ तक आया जिसमें १६ लाख आदमी वैस्ट बंगाल में गए और चार लाख असम में गए। दूसरा इनफ्लक्स आरम्भ हुआ १९४९ से और चला १९५६ तक। इसमें २० लाख आदमी आए। तीसरा ग्रुप आया सन १९५६ से १९६३ तक। इसमें १ लाख ५ लाख आदमी आए। इस प्रकार कुल ४१ लाख ५७ हजार आदमी ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से आए। इसी बीच में अयूब साहब ने बहुत जोरों से कहा कि वैस्ट बंगाल और हिन्दुस्तान में इस्लाम धर्म मानने वालों पर अत्याचार हो रहा है। मैं उनको बताना चाहता हूं कि विभाजन के समय से अब तक सिर्फ तीन लाख मुसलमान हिन्दुस्तान से ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में गए और ९ लाख मुसलमान पश्चिमी बंगाल में आए, साढ़े चार लाख मुसलमान असम में आए और डेढ़ लाख मुसलमान लोग मणिपुर और त्रिपुरा वगैरह में आए। इस तरह से १५ लाख मुसलमान ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से हिन्दुस्तान में आए। अगर इनको यहां अपनी जान का भय होता तो वे क्यों अपना मुल्क छोड़ कर यहां आते। यह इस बात का पक्का सबूत है कि अयूब साहब और पाकिस्तान के नेता जो बड़े जोरों से शोर करते हैं उसमें कोई तथ्य नहीं है।

दूसरी तरफ आप देखें कि इस वक्त भी पाकिस्तानी नेशनल्स, वैस्ट पाकिस्तान के और ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के, जिनकी संख्या ६९,४९१ है, अर्थात करीब ७० हजार, वह हिन्दुस्तान में ओवर स्ट किए हुए हैं। अगर आप इस सब को जोड़ें तो करीब १६ लाख पाकिस्तानी मुसलमान आज हिन्दुस्तान में मौजूद हैं। अगर इन को अपनी जान का भय होता तो ये हिन्दुस्तान में न रहते।

मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि विभाजन के समय ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में हिन्दुओं की आबादी १ करोड़ ४० लाख थी, अर्थात ४३ परसेंट हिन्दुओं की आबादी ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में थी। केवल चटगांव के इलाके में ९० परसेंट आबादी हिन्दुओं की थी। लेकिन आज इन में से केवल ९३ लाख नान मुस्लिम रह गए हैं। श्रीलाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी आपके विषय में ब्योरे से बताएंगे। अब और आदमियों के लिए वैस्ट बंगाल में स्थान नहीं है। वहां भूमि का **पर कैपिटा** ४५ एकड़ है।

वैस्ट पाकिस्तान से जो लोग यहां आए और जो ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से आए उनमें

[श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

एक बड़ा अन्तर है । ईस्ट पंजाब की मुसलमानों की सारी आबादी और उत्तर प्रदेश के काफी मुसलमान पाकिस्तान चले गए थे । इसलिए जो हिन्दू वैस्ट पाकिस्तान से आए उनको यहां से गए हुए मुसलमानों के घर और जमीनें मिल सकीं और हमने उनको उन पर आबाद किया । लेकिन जो हिन्दू और नान मुस्लिम ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से आए और आ रहे हैं उनके लिए हमारे पास वैसी जमीन और मकान नहीं हैं । एक तो यह हिन्दू आ ही रहे हैं और दूसरी ओर १५ लाख मुसलमान पाकिस्तान से यहां आकर बस गए हैं । जो ९३ लाख हिन्दू इस समय पाकिस्तान में हैं वे भी यहां आ जाएंगे । ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से आने वाले हिन्दुओं के लिए हमको मुसलमानों के घर और जमीनें नहीं मिलीं । आज इन पाकिस्तान के १६ लाख मुसलमानों को पाल रहे हैं । १५ लाख लोग तो इन में से इनफिलट्रेटर हैं और करीब एक लाख ओवर स्टे किए हुए हैं । इन लोगों को यहां रहने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है । ये हिन्दुस्तान पर बोझ हैं । इतने आदमियों के लिए खाना कहां से आता है ? यह हिन्दुस्तान के लोग देते हैं । मेरा सुझाव है कि इन १६ लाख मुसलमानों को, जिनको यहां रहने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है, यहां से बाहर किया जाए और जो लोग ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से आ रहे हैं उनको यहां बसाया जाए ।

यह समस्या केवल धार्मिक नहीं है । यह पोलीटिकल समस्या भी है । पोलीटिकल इस ढंग से है कि वैस्ट पाकिस्तान में और ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में आबादी में बहुत थोड़ा अन्तर है । वैस्ट पाकिस्तान सोचता है कि अगर एडल्ट फ्रेंचाइज के आधार पर पाकिस्तान में डिमाक्रेसी कायम की गयी तो ईस्ट पाकिस्तान सारे पाकिस्तान पर रूल करेगा । लिहाजा ईस्ट पाकिस्तान की आबादी को कम किया जाए । अब जो मुसलमान वहां हैं उनको तो हटाया नहीं जा सकता, इसलिए वह माइनारिटी को हटा रहे हैं । अगर ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से ५० लाख नान मुस्लिम हटा दिए गए तो वैस्ट पाकिस्तान की आबादी ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से ज्यादा हो जाएगी और फिर अगर एडल्ट फ्रेंचाइज के आधार पर पाकिस्तान में डिमाक्रेसी कायम की गयी तो वैस्ट पाकिस्तान को लाभ होगा । वह पूर्वी पाकिस्तान पर शासन करेगा । मेरा सुझाव है कि इस समस्या को संसार के जूरिस्टस की कानफ्रेंस के सामने रखना चाहिए ताकि वे जोर दें कि पाकिस्तान में एडल्ट फ्रेंचाइज के आधार पर डिमाक्रेसी कायम हो । जब ऐसा होगा तो ९३ लाख हिन्दू भी अपने प्रतिनिधि असेम्बली में भेज सकेंगे और अपनी बात कह सकेंगे ।

ईस्ट पाकिस्तान की एक सीमावर्ती पट्टी है वह ८० मील लम्बी और आठ मील चौड़ी है । इसमें करीब ९० पर सेंट आबादी नान मुस्लिम्स की है । ईस्ट पाकिस्तान चाहता है इस पट्टी में केवल मुसलमान रहें ताकि इसमें किसी इनफिल्ट्रेशन की सम्भावना हिन्दुस्तान की ओर से न रहे । इसीलिए वह इस बैल्ट को खाली करा रहा है ।

एक बात मैं और कह देना चाहता हूं कि जो मुसलमान भाई ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के निवासी हैं हमें उन से कोई द्वेष नहीं है । न उन से हमारा विरोध है । हमारा विरोध तो वहां की हुकूमत से है जो कि चाहती है कि पाकिस्तान में डिमोक्रेसी न हो और माइनारिटीज वहां से चली जायें । हमें मालूम है कि ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में बहुत से मुसलमानों ने हिन्दुओं की रक्षा की है । हम उनके बड़े आभारी हैं । मैं इस सम्बंध में आपको हिटलर का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं जिसने ६० लाख यहूदियों को मार डाला । लेकिन आज हिटलर कहां है और यहूदियों ने अपना देश बना लिया । हमने देखा कि दुनिया ने ९० लाख यहूदियों को स्थान दिया । हमारी उसी दुनिया से अपील है कि वह उसी मानवता का परिचय हिन्दुस्तान के सम्बन्ध में भी दे । हिन्दुस्तान ने सदा सब की सहायता की है । आज देखना है कि दुनिया के कौन कौन

देश हिन्दुस्तान की सहायता करने के लिए सामने आते हैं ।

17 hrs.

श्री गुलशन (भटिंडा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री त्रिदिब कुमार चौधरी का ईस्ट पाकिस्तान की माइनारिटीज़ के बारे में जो रेजोलूशन हाउस के सामने है मैं उस की ताईद करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं । यह रेज़ोलूशन दो हिस्सों में बांटा जा सकता है । एक तो यह कि जो कम गिनती वाले लोग पाकिस्तान में रहते हैं चूंकि वहां पाकिस्तान की सरकार एक जम्हूरी सरकार नहीं है, एक डिक्टेटरशिप वहां है और एक ही कम्युनिटी की सरकार वह सही मायने में बन रही है, ऐसी जगह से जो कम गिनती वाले हमारे हिन्दू भाई पाकिस्तान से आये है, आये क्या हैं आने पर मजबूर किये गये हैं, खदेड़ दिये गये हैं, उन मुसीबतज़दा अपने भाइयों को हमें यहां भारत में बसाना है । अभी मुझ से पहले एक आनरेबुल मैम्बर साहब ने बोलते हुए इशारा किया कि हमारे पास न तो इतनी भूमि है और न ही इतने रहने के लिए मकान हैं । उन्होंने कहा कि उन भाइयों को मैं बसाऊं कहां जबकि हमारे पास जगह ही नहीं है । एक तो बात यह है ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि यह दुर्व्यवहार का मसला, ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में माइनारिटीज़ के साथ जो अत्याचार हो रहा है और उनको पाकिस्तान से बाहर खदेड़ा जा रहा है, यह मामला भारत सरकार यू० एन० ओ० में ले जाय सारी दुनिया को यह बतलाया जाय कि पाकिस्तान में कम गिनती वाले लोगों के ऊपर कैसे जुल्म ढाये जा रहे हैं । अब यह जो दूसरा पार्ट है यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि इस मामले को सिक्युरिटी कौंसिल में ले जाया जाय । आखिर को सुरक्षा परिषद ही वही है जहां कि कश्मीर का मसला इतने वर्षों से लटका हुआ है । आज भी वह कश्मीर के मसले को बगैर उसे हल किये लटकाये हुए हैं । लेकिन जहां तक उन मुसीबतज़दा भाइयों को जोकि अपना धन, इज्ज़त और अपने बाल बच्चों की जानें लुटवा कर इधर आ रहे हैं, बेघर होकर और बेआसरा होकर आ रहे हैं उनको भारत सरकार को पूरी सहूलियत बसाने में देनी चाहिए । मैं चाहता हूं कि उन के लिए जो कुछ भी यहां पर पाबन्दी हो उसे वह फौरन उठा ले । उन कम गिनती वाले भाइयों के लिए हिन्दुस्तान अपने दरवाज़े खोल दे और उनका स्वागत किया जाय । जहां भी भारत के किसी टुकड़े में उन के बसाने के लिए जगह मिलती है वहां उन को बसाया जाय । लेकिन दूसरी बात कि इस मामले को वहां यू० एन० ओ० में ले जाया जाय, मैं उसके साथ सहमत नहीं हूं । मैं उन आनरेबुल मैम्बर की इस बात से भी सहमत नहीं हूं कि हम उनको यहां बसाने के लिए, ज़मीन और मकान उनके वास्ते उपलब्ध करने के लिए, मुसलमानों से ज़मीन और मकान वगैरह खाली करवा कर उनको यहां से निकाल दें । मुझे मैम्बर साहब की यह बात बिलकुल पसन्द नहीं आई । यह तो मेरी समझ में उन्होंने पाकिस्तान वालों जैसी बात कही । यह पाकिस्तान वालों की पालिसी है, हमारी नहीं है . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह पाकिस्तानी मुसलमानों के लिए कह रहे थे ।

श्री गुलशन : ऐसा करना तो पाकिस्तान वालों का काम है । हमारा देश डिक्टेटरशिप के आधार पर नहीं चल रहा है । हमारे यहां तो लोकतंत्र है, सैकुलरिज्म है और हम उस पवित्र संविधान के मुताबिक देश का काम चला रहे हैं जिसके अनुसार इस देश के सभी नागरिकों को चाहे वह किसी धर्म या जाति के हों, समान रूप से अधिकार प्राप्त हैं ।

दूसरी बात जो है कि हम इसको लेकर यू० एन० ओ० में जाएं तो उसकी बात तो मैंने पहले कह दी कि वहां तो हम पहले ही कश्मीर के मामले को लेकर लटक रहे हैं यू० एन० ओ० तो अपना वक्त ही पूरा करती

[श्री गुलशन]

है। वहां पावर पालिटिक्स काम कर रही है और दूसरे देश हिन्दुस्तान को एक तमाशा बना कर इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं। बाक़ी जहां तक दुनिया में इस की जानकारी कराने का सवाल है तो सारी दुनिया यह चीज़ देख रही है कि पाकिस्तान में किस तरह से डिक्टेटर-शिप चल रही है, किस तरह की मुसीबत में घट गिनती वाले लोग उधर रह रहे हैं और किस तरह से उन पर जुल्म किये जा रहे हैं और उनका रुपया, पैसा लूट कर वहां से खदेड़ा जा रहा है। कोई भी मुल्क पाकिस्तान के इस रवैय्ये को अच्छा नहीं कह रहा है।

मैं एक बात यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर मंदिर में जाना हो तो जाने से पहले यह ज़रूरी है कि जो आप के अंदर कमी है, उस कमी को आप किसी को उपदेश देने से पहले दूर कर लें। हमारे देश में भी कम गिनती वाले लोग रहते हैं। मुझे इसमें संदेह नहीं कि उनको कोई ऐसा ख़तरा है कि वह यहां से निकाल दिये जायेंगे या मार दिये जायेंगे, उनको ऐसा कोई ख़तरा नहीं है क्योंकि वह जानते हैं कि इस देश की हुकूमत सही मायनों में एक सैकुलर हुकूमत है। लेकिन जो इस देश में छोटी गिनती के रहने वाले लोग हैं, जिनकी छोटी छोटी शिकायतें हैं, उनकी ओर सरकार हमदर्दी से विचार करे और उनको रफ़ा करे। मैं सरकार के ध्यान में यह चीज़ लाऊं कि आज सबसे छोटी कम्युनिटी हिन्दुस्तान में सिक्खों की है। सिक्खों ने हमेशा देश के लिए अपना तन, मन और धन न्योछावर किया है और आज भी वह कर रहे हैं। भारत की स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति में भी उनका महान् योग रहा है। उनकी भी कुछ शिकायतें हैं और अगर उन्हें दूर कर दिया जाय तो मैं समझता हूं कि हम सारी दुनिया में यह कैसे कह सकेंगे कि हमारे देश में सचमुच ही सच्ची सैकुलरिज्म है। पिछले दो, तीन सालों से उनकी काफ़ी शिकायतें चली आ रही हैं। सरकार को उनको रफ़ा करना चाहिए। अगर बड़ा छोटे को मारे तो इसमें बड़े का बड़ापन नहीं कहलायेगा। हमें उनको अपना छोटा भाई समझ कर उनकी तकलीफों और शिकायतों को दूर करना ज़रूरी है। हम ने देखा कि भाषावार प्रान्त के सिलसिले में सिक्खों ने जायज़ तौर पर मांग की कि उन्हें पंजाबी सूबा मिलना चाहिए। इसके लिए सरकार ने उन पर सख़्ती की और हम ने देखा कि उनको गले लगाने के बजाय उनके ५७ हज़ार आदमियों को गिरफ्तार करके जेल में डाल दिया गया। उनके नेताओं को मरन वर्त का कष्ट उठाना पड़ा। उनकी भाषा के आधार पर अलग सूबे की डिमांड जायज़ थी और विधान के अन्दर थी। कांग्रेस ने इस सिद्धान्त को माना और अन्य जगहों पर इस बिना पर अलग अलग भाषा के आधार पर प्रान्तों को बनाया, वही भाषा के आधार पर सूबे बनाने का सिद्धान्त सिक्खों के केस में नहीं मंजूर किया। कांग्रेस अपने पुराने वायदों को भूल गयी। एक बार स्वर्गीय सरदार पटेल ने जबकि वह होम मिनिस्टर थे पटियाला में जाकर सिक्खों को होमलैंड देने के बारे में कहा था। मेरे कहने का भाव यह है कि हमारे जो भाई हैं उनकी जो छोटी छोटी शिकायतें हों उन्हें दूर करना चाहिये। कम गिनती वाले लोगों की हर तरह से रक्षा करना और उनकी शिकायतों को दूर करना हमारा फर्ज़ भी है। हम एक पवित्र संविधान के ऊपर चलने वाले हैं। इसलिए मैं कहूंगा कि सिक्खों का जो गिला है उसे दूर कर देना चाहिए और भाषा के आधार पर उनकी जो सूबे की डिमांड थी और उसके लिए जो उन्होंने इतनी कुर्बानी की, उसे वह मंजूर कर ले।

मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारे जो भाई ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से आ रहे हैं उनको गले लगाया जाय और जो यहां कम गिनती वाले लोग हैं उनकी शिकायतों को सरकार को दूर करना चाहिए।

Shri P. R. Chakraverti (Dhanbad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, General Ayub, the exponent of the Islamic Constitution, announced only the other day that anybody who opposed the Government—the Government of the Musalmans— was a *kaffir*. This is the interpretation given by the advocate of the Islamic Constitution, and within the framework of this concept of his mind, the image of Islamic State, as is conceived by the dictator, the people of East Pakistan, I mean the Hindus and Muslims, are today crushed like anything and their persistent attempts to assert themselves are razed to the ground by this pronouncement.

Unfortunately, in the world forum there are people, the so-called advocates of democracy, who admire General Ayub's courage, his appreciation of democratic principles, and they are prompted to sponsor his case. Still, Sir, we must recount the agonies suffered by the minorities in East Pakistan. References were made by Shri Chaudhuri to another Chakravarty who spent only 35 years in prison. The later posed the question on behalf of the suffering humanity, why even after 17 years of freedom, any citizen in East Pakistan should be shabbily treated in this way, and why he should be denied the fundamental rights of a citizen? If Shri Chakraverti has posed this question today, it is for the world to understand the seriousness of the problem that a man aged 75 is facing today. He asks "am I competent to be the inmate of the refugee camp seeking shelter in Jaganath Intermediate college, because I suffered imprisonment for thirty years or more in British regime".

It is a fact that the Prime Minister announced the other day that we should not encourage the influx of refugees but that by no means deters the migration of people who are intent on coming, whether they have migration certificate or not. If they are coming in spite of the restrictions in such large numbers, then it is our duty to see how we could rehabilitate them. The question of economic and other factors come in later.

The oher day, I met the proprietor of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills. In one section of the mill, there is a five acre tank, i.e., 15 bighas and the entire tank was littered with dead bodies of the employees of the mills. The proprietor was not allowed to go there. He has lost his entire mill, worth crores of rupees. If this has happened to a great industrialist, if this happened to the employees who were gainfully employed there—they had no grudge or grievance against any one nor had they any political inhibitions——then what about the plight of other people? Indeed, there has been genocide and carnage and the innocent people have been looted, murdered and butchered.

Subsequent to Nehru-liaquat Ali pact, from 1950 to 1956, our people, 17 lakhs of them, came over to India from East Pakistan and, all of a sudden a decision was taken, that the borders should be sealed and no one from East Pakistan, crossing over the frontiers, will be entitled to any benefit. The migration certaificate restrictions were strictly enforced. In spite of that, people have come; they are coming and they will come; nobody can stop the flow from Pakistan.

I endorse the idea of Shri T. K. Chaudhuri and Professor Mukerjee that the world must be made conversant with these horrid tales of genocide and carnage perpetrated on our brothers and sisters by Pakistan. The outside world is still wanting to know how India is tackling the problem of safeguarding the interests of all people within the confines of India and, at the same time, giving shelter to others who come here and accept India as his or her motherland. It is not a question of Muslims or Hindus or Christians. In answer to my question, the Rehabilitation Minister said

[Shri P. R. Chakraverty]

"Yes, the Christians are coming; my officials have reported that they are coming in thousands and nobody is going back, as was announced boldly by President Ayub".

Sir, you can see that President Ayub has anticipated our demands when he said the other day, a few days earlier, that "we are going to ask in the world forum for lands from India because of the Muslims who are turned out of India".

Shri Tyagi: He is a clever and bold politician.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti: But who are these Muslims? They are the infiltrants, the illegal migrants who have come to India in lakhs. If, as announced by him, President Ayub is intent on claiming a portion of India for the Muslims who have gone to Pakistan, what about the lakhs and millions of Hindus who have come over this side, leaving all their properties and belongings? We were not all landless people; we had our property. In the city of Dacca, where I come from, 95 per cent of the property was owned by the Hindus. There were 3½ lakhs of people and we have left behind all our properties. Still, he anticipates that one day India will come forth boldly to announce to the world "here is my legitimate demand".

In the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, no clause was inserted so far as compensation to East Bengal Hindus are concerned, because it was stated that, if anybody goes back by a particular date, he will be allowed to realise rent from the land owned by him. But since nobody has gone back, nobody could collect the rent. As such, it is absolutely essential, it is urgently necessary, that the sufferings of the East Bengal Hindus, who were being molested, butchered, suppressed, oppressed, killed and maimed, must be known to the world outside.

Our external publicity, our representatives, our spokesmen must be fully conversant with the agony and the distress of the suffering humanity and say before the world forum, "Whether you sponsor the case of Pakistan or not, there is not an iota of democracy, practised and conceived by the present regime in Pakistan; that, it is against such regime that the Muslims boys and girls, the citizens of East Pakistan, are agitating and are facing the bullets demanding their self-assertion". It is up to us to tell the world in its bareness. We should not feel shy on that score. We should tell them that we are doing our duty. It is up to you to see that world opinion is strongly formed at least to reply to the questioning of Troilokya Chakravartty, the greatest sufferer in East Pakistan, a man who has suffered 40 years of incarceration. He is 75 years old but he asks, "Am I competent to be in the refugee camp because of my 40 years of prison life and selfless service"? This is the question that he has posed and, as such, it is up to the world to respond to this question.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the most important point for us to consider is whether we should make up our mind to go before the United Nations to raise the point that is involved in this matter. We have seen that unfortunately our publicity has been so weak that although we were the complainants when we went to the United Nations, we became the accused persons and we are now in the position not of the plaintiff but of the defendant.

The propaganda of Pakistan has surpassed ours. They have surpassed in telling better lies than even what Dr. Goebbles of the Hitlerian days could do, with the net result that our country is made to look down by all the world and we are not able to face the world and say that here we are in the right and they are in the wrong. Therefore before we proceed to the United Nations we must marshal all our facts

and we must have a proper man to do the job. Then and then alone we must proceed to the United Nations.

I should say that there should be no hesitation on our part to say that mathematically, legally, morally, factually and logically we are in the right. But unfortunately these things are not placed before the United Nations. Our propaganda machinery and our publicity are very, very weak. It is a fact.

श्री रामसेवक यादव (बाराबंकी) : श्री त्रिवेदी देशी में बोलें ।

Shri U. M. Trivedi: In 1951, Pakistan had a population of 9,239,603....

श्री रामसेवक यादव : मातृभाषा में बोलें ।

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Excuse me, that is not my *matribhasa*. My *matribhasa* is Gujarati. Please do not disturb me. .....and in 1961 the population was 9,379,669. It is an irony of fate that the Hindu population has increased by only 1.5 per cent whereas the population of the Mohammedans has increased by 36 per cent. What is this? Has the fecundity of the Hindu population been lost? These are open facts which can be proved. It is essential to know, as my hon. friend, Shri Raghunath Singh, has pointed out that nearly 16 lakhs of these people have entered into India. I say that even that figure is a very conservative figure. My estimate is that more than 25 lakhs people have come to India. Yet, we are not able to marshal our facts properly and place them before the United Nations.

What is going on? Genocide has been practised. What is the definition of genocide? This formula of genocide was accepted in the Declaration of Human Rights on the 12th June, 1951. The definition that has been given for genocide is:

"Committing acts with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnical, racial or religous groups as such. The acts which constitute genocide are killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm deliberately influencing conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction in whole or in part, imposing measures intended to prevent birth and forcible conversion of females."

All these things are being done. Each of the act has been committed. Has our Government ever taken the trouble of finding out that within our territory, within the borders of India we have people who are sending out *firmans*—Agha Khan's *firmans*? All these *firmans* are published in a book. I can read out that book and in the *firmans* that have been sent out, it has been said; kidnap women from Chittagong, kidnap Bengali women; they are very good and they must be brought to Somaliland for selling; they must be brought to East Africa for selling and they must be brought to Kuwait for selling. All these things are going on.

Shri Tyagi: Is there any official document?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Yes, official document. I will produce Agha Khan's *firmans*. You go to any place and ask the *Vazir*. There is a case reported in the Rangoon High Court and that case was originally tried by the District Judge Abigail of Bassein and the whole position was exposed, what a great wrong has been done in our country by these persons who are there. You and I have received photostat copies of letters from the progressive *Bohras* of Bombay against their own *Mullah* who exposed His Holiness, the present great man of *Bohras* wherein he had asked to support Pakistan. All these things are before us and the C.I.D. and the Central Intelligence Branch are keeping quiet about it and we are not raising voice in the proper fashion. How long are we to suffer? All these attrocities are being heaped upon us. Women are kidnapped and taken away and sold; children are kidnapped and taken

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

away and sold in the bazaars of Saudi Arabia. How long can you tolerate this state of affairs? Are we not feeling ashamed that here are our kith and kin Bengalis, Hindus of East Pakistan or Hindus of West Pakistan, whatever they may be, who are being kidnapped and sold under the very declaration of rights against slavery? Article 4 of the Human Rights is there. And yet we are not able to go to the United Nations to prove before the world that such are the horrors committed by these people. No. We are made to look small. Whose fault is it? The fault is absolutely with us, with our Government. We should hang down our heads in shame when we are not even able to get right even the right thing, even to establish right in a logical manner, in a legal manner before a body of persons who are not idiots.

Shri Bade (Khargone): This Government should resign.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Our blood is boiling. I will never say, drive out the Muslims. That is not the thing. We have accepted the human right; we have accepted the fundamental right. We are the persons who have very rightly agreed to that declaration of human rights of the United Nations. At the same time, what is there to prevent us from asking and approaching the United Nations that this Pakistan must also give the same human rights that have been given. They are talking of basic democracy there. I have learnt of so many democracies. Never have I heard of this basic democracy? Very recently, I had an occasion of meeting many Bengali Muslims and in a very low and whispering voice they have been telling me, "We are disgusted; save us, save us". It is our duty to save those poor people also, the Bengali Muslims that are there. They must also be saved. It is in their interest also that we must approach the United Nations and we must enforce the rights that are vested in us by law. We promised to the Bengali Hindus who are left there that we shall rush to their succour. Where is that succour? What succour is there? It pains me to say that we have miserably failed to discharge the duties that we owe to the Bengali Hindus on whose blood we built up this partition and we obtained our freedom.

Sir, I support this motion.

Shri P. R. Patel: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, for peace and tranquillity we dissected our motherland. We did not get peace. We talk of civilisation and yet; we have been troubled by Pakistan. Pakistan could never become our friend so long as Ayub mentality is there. I have nothing to say against the Muslims of Pakistan. But so long as Ayub mentality is there, there will not be peace and we hear from East Pakistan stories of horror. It is a shame not only to Pakistan, not only to India, but it is a shame to the whole world and humanity that this horror could be perpetrated in Pakistan and the world sleeps over it. Where is civilisation in this?

Sir, I want peace, but I do not want the peace of the grave; I do not want the peace of slaves. I want the peace of a bold nation. And I wish my Government to be strong and determined. All these things are happening because we are not decided and we are not determined. Let us face the situation boldly. If war comes, what is wrong in it? We have a population of 44 crores, and if war comes, let us face it; each and every man should face it. The time has come for every Indian, for all Indians of all races and creeds and political parties, to be determined and strong. I think that on this point the whole nation is behind Government. I think that we should make a move in the matter.

Pakistan, rather President Ayub Khan asks for land. I ask: Who should ask for land? It is we who

should ask for land for those Hindus who have come from Pakistan. To hear it from him that he asks for land is something strange. It is we who should ask for land from Pakistan, from the Ayub Government, and at the same time, we should ask for the cost of rehabilitation and the value of the properties left behind by those persons and the properties looted or damaged. How can we get it? That is a matter for consideration. I think that the only way to do so is this. If we are determined, if we are strong and if we face the situation boldly, then everything will be all right. Let us be determined first. If war comes, then what does it matter? I would prefer war rather than the peace of the grave and humiliation. I do not want humiliation. If it be said that war may come tomorrow, I wish that it may come today. But I am not prepared to suffer any humiliation for myself and for my country.

There is also another way. The East Pakistan people have asked for democracy. They are fighting for democracy. They are not happy with the Ayub Government. Let us help them.

Shri D. C. Sharma: How can we?

Shri P. R. Patel: We can help them, if we can understand it well.

Shri Raghunath Singh: We can give them moral support.

Shri P. R. Patel: We can support them, and in that way, let us help those people in establishing real democracy there. That is the way, and if for that purpose we have to spend money and we have to do many other things, let us do those things.

I must, however, admit one thing that our publicity has been very poor. I am not happy with our publicity. Even when all these things are happening, our publicity machinery is not working in the way in which it should. We are spending large amounts of money on the External Affairs Ministry....

Shri Ranga: About Rs. 16 crores.

Shri P. R. Patel: But the External Affairs Ministry is not determined as to what efforts should be made and is always hesitating and vascillating. No country and no nation can prosper or progress if it vascillates in this way. We should be determined one way or the other. If we decide that we must bear all these things and we must suffer all these humiliations like coward people, then let us not speak a word about it, and let us not discuss the matter at all. If some people from the other side, let us say that we have no place for them and that this country cannot accommodate them. Let us be clear on the matter. But because humanity demands, we must allow them and we must help them because it is our obligation to do so as brethren, then we must help them to come over and help them in all possible ways. At the same time, we must see that such things do not happen there in the future.

As it is, every time people come over from that side to our side, we have been bearing the expenditure. How long shall we bear the expenditure? Is it not desirable to bear the expenditure of war rather than to bear this expenditure all the time? Is it not desirable to take proper steps to help the people there in East Pakistan in their demand for democracy?

Why should we not spend money there? I am afraid so long as we are not decided, things will go on like this. I tell you the country is fed up with this. The people, masses, are not happy with the humiliation in which the country is put. They are discussing and criticising. The time has come when we should be very strong.

In conclusion, I would say that if the Ayub Government—not Pakistan;

[Shri P. R. Patel]

I have nothing to say against Pakistan—wants to test our courage, let it find that we are strong. If he wants to seek our friendship, let him find that it is on honourable terms. So long as we do not become strong, we shall not be respected in the world of nations and even in the UN. Unless we are strong, we shall not command respect there also.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The debate will continue on the next non-official day for Private Members' Resolutions.

17.32 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the clock on Saturday, March 21, 1964/Chaitra 1, 1885 (Saka).