

DISCUSSION RE. EXODUS OF
HINDUS FROM EAST PAKISTAN
TO INDIA

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up Shri N. C. Chatterjee's motion for raising a discussion on the exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan to India under rule 212.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): As all Members of the House are aware the problem of the exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan to India has been causing grave concern. As you know, East Pakistan was designed....

Shri Venkataraman (Tanjore): There is an exodus from the House.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I am waiting for the exodus to subside.

As you know Sir, and as the House is aware, under the Radcliffe Award, East Pakistan was created, so that it could accommodate 1.25 crores of Hindus. Unfortunately, about one-third of the Hindu population was already squeezed out. The latest situation was that in about one year's time, 3 lakhs of people had to leave Pakistan and come over to India. This meant a serious strain not merely on the economy of West Bengal but on that of the whole of India. As a matter of fact, our Second Five Year Plan would be put in great jeopardy and peril, unless you can stop this exodus and do something to avert this terrible tragedy.

5 P.M.

We heard the other day the statement made in this House by the Minister of Law and Minority Affairs regarding the exodus. On the 23rd May, he gave us the result of his talks at the recent Dacca conference. The Indian delegation was led by our Minister of Law and Minority Affairs. Along with him had gone Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, the Minister of Rehabilitation, and Mr. Chanda the Deputy Minister of External Affairs. The Pakistan delegation was led by our well-known friend Mr. Hamidul Huq Chaudhury, Foreign Minister, who comes from Noakhali.

I was not at all happy over the statement made by the Minister of Minority Affairs, and I shall presently tell you why. The exodus is continuing in spite of the statements made by Shri Biswas. I am told that there is even a fresh spate of exodus of the Hindus from

West Pakistan. Now, Shri Biswas has let slip a statement which I am afraid will cause great apprehension amongst the minority community in East Bengal. Shri Biswas had said that he was satisfied—I think he said that he was sincerely satisfied—about the sincerity of the Pakistan Government, sincerely satisfied about the *bona fides* of the Pakistan Government. But may I know from him what satisfaction in fact he got at Dacca when he went there and met the Pakistan authorities? What assurances did he succeed in obtaining from them? Were these mere platitudes, mere repetitions of old pompous phrases? Or had he really attained something objective, something tangible?

The attitude of the higher officers there has been definitely discriminatory against the Hindus. We are told that something wonderful was achieved there at Dacca. What was achieved is this. The Minority Minister says that it was agreed at that conference that the minorities were the responsibility of the Government of the country to which they belonged. It was an amazing statement. After all, a Conference was needed for two days to discover that the world was round! And it was also decided that they should look up to their own Government for the redress of their legitimate grievances. But I do not want these simple platitudes to be repeated. I do not want these phrases to be reiterated. I want to know what objective facts are there to assure the minority.

The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact was ushered in with fan-fare. But we know it was floating for some time before it sank. But to my mind this Dacca Conference Pact was sunk before it started floating at all, because the Minister of Minority Affairs has said that he was satisfied that the Chief Minister of East Pakistan was anxious to do something for the minorities. We are now told that there has been President's rule there, and parliamentary government has been completely suspended, which means that the Chief Minister of East Pakistan is now out of office and power.

Now, I want to know certain facts. We all know the great disaster to the Hindus when there was the deliberate policy of West Pakistan to secure some kind of parity between East and West Pakistan. You know, the population of East Pakistan was much bigger than that of West Pakistan. Therefore, the

West Pakistan politicians were contriving things in such a way that the population of East Bengal should be reduced, so that they may be brought on the same level, or the East Bengal population may be even less than that of West Pakistan.

Secondly, economic discrimination has been made. I want to know what assurances the Minority Minister or the Rehabilitation Minister has got on this account. Then, the Minister says that Hindu houses have been derequisitioned. You know, there is a great deal of feeling amongst the Hindus on account of the requisitioning of Hindu houses. May I know how many Hindu houses have been derequisitioned since this wonderful Dacca conference took place? Lastly, you know that in the issue of controls and permits, there has been deliberate, consistent and persistent discrimination against the minority community. The Minister of Minority Affairs is satisfied as to the sincerity of Pakistan. May I know if he is satisfied sincerely? In how many cases have there been new permits or controls or licences issued to the members of the minority community?

Then, you know that the Ansars have been mischievous, and they have been a source of trouble to the Hindus. May I know whether any assurance has been given by the Foreign Minister or the Minority Minister in Pakistan that these Ansars will be disbanded? I told the House the other day, during the Rehabilitation debate, that another trouble has been recently created to add to the misery and persecution of the minority community. Village defence forces have been organised in many parts of East Bengal, and they have been commissioned to look after the interests of minorities, and a special levy at the rate of nine pies in the rupee with reference to the Union Rate is being levied on the poor Hindus. Have these defence parties been demobilised? Has anything been done at the instance of our Ministers to see that these defence parties do not harass the Hindus? Have they secured any guarantee or assurance from the Pakistan Government to see that the Ansar chiefs will not be the chiefs of these defence parties? The Minority Affairs Minister says that their government are eager to ensure conditions in which the minorities will be able to live in happiness and security as equal citizens with the members of the majority

community in Pakistan. This is a pathetic statement. I am sorry to say that this kind of statement will do no good to the minority community. On the other hand it will add to their uneasiness. They will be more perturbed to know, and they will feel that the Indian Government are also now adopting an attitude of pathetic self-satisfaction, and are pursuing the old mirage of merely trying to appease the Pakistan Government.

We find in the statement of the Minority Affairs Minister that an advisory board consisting of MLA's of non-Muslim political parties has been appointed. I do not know what their functions and duties would be. Has anything been allotted to them? Will their recommendations have any effect with anybody?

Secondly, we are told that a Hindu officer of the Civil Service of Pakistan has been appointed as special officer for minority affairs. But is it seriously believed that with the deliberate policy of economic strangulation of the minority community, the Hindu officer will be able to do anything? Who will listen to his recommendations? How will his recommendations be implemented? We do not know what they are going to do.

Thirdly, we are told that the minority commission is going to be revived, and minority boards will be established in Pakistan. Every time these minority boards have been there, there is further persecution, and there is further torture of the minorities, and these minority commissions have not been able to achieve anything.

Then, the Minister has said that orders have been issued to derequisition Hindu houses. But let us have facts. Let us have figures. Let us know the data. Let us know how many Hindu houses have been in tact derequisitioned. How many orders have been issued? In how many cases have the orders been respected, and the orders have been implemented?

Then, the Minister says that complaints regarding the abduction of women are there, and the officers in Pakistan have been directed to recover the girls immediately. This is again pathetic indeed. Those who are really meant to be *rakshaks* have been *bhakshaks* up till now. All these years, nothing has been done. Now, the Minority Affairs Minister solemnly stands up in this House and says,

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directions have been given that the officers will recover these girls and send them to the "neutral home" in Dacca. What is this "neutral home"? I do not know what this neutral home is. Who runs this home? What is this neutral home business? It is not run, I take it, by Hindus, if it is neutral. If it is neither Hindu nor Muslim, then who will run them?

The Minister goes on to say that strict instructions have been issued to the officers of Government that there should be no discrimination against the members of the minority community. Sir, these are pathetic statements, mere pompous words, which have been issued from time to time. What I want to point out really is that our Government are playing into the hands of the Pakistan Government.

You know Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan issued a statement that the border should be sealed. He could never have made that statement without the backing of the Pakistan Government. And our Ministers are going in that direction, because the Minister says that we are also taking steps to see that these migration certificates should not be issued without a certain amount of inquiry and investigation. I do not know what they are going to do. They are saying that the Indian Delegation 'agreed that the machinery for receiving and examining applications for migration certificates will be strengthened so as to prevent abuse and exploitation of migration facilities by anti-social elements'. This is merely adding insult to injury. What does the Minister mean by saying that the migration facilities are being abused and exploited by anti-social elements? They are coming away. Why? They found that their prospect was black and that there was no future for them in Pakistan. Economically, they were ruined. Socially, they had no status. Therefore, they are leaving their hearths and homes and coming out to India. Where was this question of migration facilities being exploited by anti-social elements? I cannot understand it.

Of course, the Ministers are perfectly right in pointing out that Pakistan has trotted out a false charge that the tempo of migration is accentuated because of the allurements given out by Dr. Roy's Government or by the Government of India. That is a false charge, that is an unfounded charge. Look at the thousands and thousands of families who are in great distress at the railway station

at Sealdah and at other places in West Bengal. You have not been able to rehabilitate even to a substantial extent, those people who have come over. Our Rehabilitation Minister, Shrimati Renuka Ray was saying that the tempo of exodus was 2,000 per day or over 1,000 per day. It is impossible for our Government to rehabilitate them. The Rehabilitation Minister here admitted the other day that there were families in camps living there for three years or more. That is a disgraceful state of things. It is absolutely unfair to suggest that our Government are holding out allurements for the purpose of bringing over the Hindus from East Bengal.

If you do not seal the border, if you do not try to placate Pakistan by acceding to their demand by imposing restriction on the migration of Hindus, then you must realise the enormity of the problem. If you have not got the guts to think of exchange of population, if you have not got the guts of Sardar Patel to demand the allotment of suitable territory out of East Pakistan for settling those 50 lakhs of people or more, you will have to seriously think of rehabilitating all the other 70 lakhs who are still there. If you do not discharge your obligation, their fate will be sealed. Simply by making it difficult for the minority community to get migration certificates will lead them to the feeling that the lid of the coffin is being put and they are being finished.

What is the attitude of the 'Ansars? What is the attitude of the Muslim Leaguers? Can the Minister throw any light on that? Is their attitude not still as anti-Hindu as it was before? I want to get a categorical statement from the Ministers concerned regarding the definite assurances they have received from the Pakistan authorities. Let us know them one by one. If you have made a statement about your satisfaction as to their sincerity without any specific assurances, then my complaint is that you have betrayed them, you have betrayed the minority community in East Pakistan. My complaint is that you have really sacrificed the minority community in East Bengal.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel definitely gave assurances when Pakistan was being created. You know there was a conference held in Calcutta just on the eve of the creation of Pakistan. Thousands of men came from East Bengal. Sardar Patel sent a message. I had the privilege of organising that conference and the late Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee presided over the

conference. I remember the Prime Minister definitely pledged his word, pledged the word of the Government of India, that they will be "sharers in their joys and sharers in their sorrows". Sardar Patel gave the assurance that the Indian Government would stand by them, if there was any further trouble, further persecution and further torture.

Does not the Minister believe that Mr. Ghazanfar Ali's statement clearly shows how his mind is working and how his Government's mind is working? Somehow or other, they want to make it impossible for the Hindus to cross the border. Then there will be a policy of conversion and assimilation. Making it difficult for the Hindus to get migration certificates is tantamount really to implement Pakistan's policy of sealing the border. What are you going to do? Can you say that as a consequence of your meeting the Pakistan authorities and talk to them for two days any confidence has been restored in the minds of the minority community? Have you gone anywhere outside Dacca? Is there any organisation there to report to us daily the facts and events? Can the Minister give me figures of migration during the last two months? During the last two months, what has been the tempo of exodus? He says it has abated. Then let me have the figures for the last two months. I want to know how many migration certificates have been issued—because that is in the charge of the officers employed by our Government? I want to know how many applications for migration certificates have been received during the last two months? Has there been any decrease in the number of applications for migration certificates in East Bengal? Is it not a fact that they are continuing in the same tempo and there has been no substantial decrease, and on the other hand, there has been increase, even after the Dacca conference? If that is so, all this is mere mirage, all this is mere talk, all this is mere pompous platitude.

The Minister says in his communique that the Government of India will take early steps to tighten up the measures for the issue of migration certificates so as to prevent the chances of their abuse or their exploitation by anti-social elements. I am deeply distressed by this statement. I do not like this kind of declaration in the joint communique, which means that our Government have not done their duty and are trying to cover up their deficiency. This shows their

helplessness, their pathetic inability to cope with the situation. What is the good of saying, 'we will tighten up the machinery for the issue of migration certificates'? It is really pandering to Pakistan. You are really surrendering to Mr. Ghazanfar Ali. You are really helping those people in their evil design to make it a pure Pak State. The Government of India agreed on principle that a detailed scrutiny of each application for migration certificate would be done and all suggestions of the Government of Pakistan in this behalf would be given full consideration. Am I to understand that the migration certificate will be issued by our representative in Dacca provided there is a recommendation of the Pakistan Government to that effect?

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri Mehr Chand Khanna): No, no.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: That will be doing another harm. That will not restore confidence but will add to the sense of uneasiness and sense of lack of confidence.

One word more and I have done. We know that the Pakistan Government had issued circulars to business houses in Dacca and other parts of East Bengal really saying, 'Don't you appoint Hindus any more'. This has led to improper dismissals of Hindus from business houses, people who were occupying positions of responsibility like agents and other representatives in European business houses and other commercial firms. They were told not in so many words, but it amounted to driving out the Hindus. They were told, 'Shadow Pakistanis must be removed'. 'Shadow Pakistanis' meant Hindus. Can I get an assurance from the Minister of Law and Minority Affairs or from the Minister of Rehabilitation that they have been able to induce the Pakistan Government to withdraw this evil circular? Have they been able to see that the Hindus are not dismissed, not denied the privilege of sticking to their jobs which they had been successfully performing for years and years and decades and decades? Have they been able to induce the Pakistan Government to do justice to these people? If not, then I must say that this Dacca Pact is much worse than the Liaquat Ali Pact. I would like to have the facts; I would like to have the data. I want a categorical statement as to the assurances. I want to know how far these assurances have been implemented

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and what steps have been taken to see that they are implemented. I want to know what steps have been taken to see that if any particular member of the minority community is oppressed, our Government will get the correct data and the correct figures and the correct facts from Pakistan.

Mr. Speaker: A number of hon. Members want to speak and I will try to give them a chance. They will take 15 minutes each.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): Mr. Speaker, Sir at the fag end of this session of Parliament, we are discussing a very important issue and the eyes of masses of people in my part of the country are on this House as we deliberate. It is, therefore, an occasion when we should take good care to see that we let fall nothing which hurts our people's interests and, at the same time, nothing which aggravates the breach which, unfortunately, has come to exist today between India and Pakistan.

The other day, the Minister of Law and Minority Affairs gave a statement in the House, which, when I heard it here, I felt was good but on examination found it good only in parts. He has ended on a note of optimism which we wish to Heaven, would be justified by events. But, he seems to have forgotten the real nature of the problem and he has said very little to allay the real anxiety of the members of the minority community in Pakistan who fear that they have to cross over to India but who find insuperable hurdles put up in their way. There can be no doubt not only that there has been an influx of members of the minority community from East Bengal on an alarming scale but also that most of them were coming away because they felt they must. It is never an easy job to uproot oneself away from the soil to which one belongs.

I do not think that anybody would say—not even I hope Shri Chatterjee would say—that they were coming away only because of fear of the majority community's truculence. Actually, most reports indicate that in East Bengal, the communal atmosphere, for some time, has been fairly balanced and calm, but they were coming away largely because of insuperable economic difficulties and the virtual absence of opportunity for productive work and employment as far as the minority, particularly, was concerned. In recent months, we have found

how there has been a very serious scarcity of food and we have seen also that on account, perhaps, of Pakistan's rather ill-conceived alliances, she has not been able to tackle that problem of food scarcity in a way that she might have done. If things improved in Pakistan, in spite of Pakistan's intemperate attitude towards us—we hope they will improve—if things improved in Pakistan, naturally, the exodus would have declined. But, unfortunately, except for certain very recent indications, the situation in Pakistan has been rather unfortunate.

In so far as the conference in which the Law Minister participated has helped to raise even in a very small measure the sagging confidence of the minority community in East Bengal, we welcome its results. But, we are not happy for from all accounts, there has been what appears to be a virtual sealing of the borders in the name of restriction on the issue of migration certificates which are now subjected to very stringent scrutiny.

Sir, I wish the House to recall what I pointed out once to the Prime Minister—I am sorry he has other important work to attend to and he is not here at the moment—I pointed out once to the Prime Minister, without much effect, a report which appeared of a Press Conference held in Calcutta by Shri C. C. Desai, about the middle of March. And, there he was reported to have said that 'India cannot be driven to the position of accepting any more refugees than she could successfully rehabilitate'. I stress the word, 'successfully'. But, as far as the rehabilitation of East Pakistan refugees is concerned, it has been, even as compared with the not very successful rehabilitation of West Pakistan refugees, a most egregious failure and, if the minority in East Pakistan has to depend upon a very remote contingency of the successful rehabilitation of the refugees who have come here already, then, surely, the doors are barred upon them absolutely.

In that Press Conference, in the middle of March in Calcutta, Shri Desai admitted also that the closing of the border which was suggested somewhat gratuitously by the Pakistan High Commissioner at New Delhi—that closure of the border was no solution of the problem of continued migration of East Bengal Hindus. But, what has happened now? As far as I can find out from the reports which reach us, it practically

amounts to the same thing as sealing of the border. That cannot and should not be the intention of the Central Government. I am glad to see my hon. friend the Minister of Rehabilitation is shaking his head and I hope he can convince the House that the question of a stringent scrutiny of applications for migration certificates does not amount, practically speaking, to a virtual sealing of the border. If I can get an assurance of that sort I am sure, this evening's discussion would have produced some good result.

I do not personally like this influx of refugees from East Bengal and I wish conditions were such that these people can live where they really belong. But, if they must come away—and it seems on occasion they do appear to be under a compulsion to come away—we have no business to stop it and put up artificial hurdles. I have seen it said that Government's excuse is that some 2,70,000 East Bengal refugees are, at the moment, jostling in overcrowded camps in West Bengal and until they are removed, more must not be allowed to come. But, how and why it is that for some 18 months now, nearly a lakh and a half of refugees are being given daily doles in camps but have not been removed to some settled habitation, we have not been told. Sir, who does not know the ineptitude and, perhaps, also the heartlessness of the rehabilitation administration in West Bengal State where money which is allotted for rehabilitation purposes has been repeatedly allowed to lapse? Some of us know of a very menacing statement of the West Bengal Congress President whom I do not happen to see here in this House—possibly he was here in response to an urgent summons for the safeguarding of the Constitution yesterday, but he has gone away on more important errands. There was a report of a statement by the President of the West Bengal Congress, Shri Atulya Ghosh, that there should be a "deadline" beyond which no refugees would be permitted to come over. We know very well the way in which controls work. But, before I refer to that, I would like to say that we find a conglomeration of three different circumstances, the West Bengal Congress President's statement about the "dead line", the Pakistan High Commissioner's suggestion about the sealing of the border and our own High Commissioner's statement that we are not going to accept more refugees than we can successfully rehabilitate. If all these three circumstances combined to

produce the effect which has led to the said stringency in regard to the issue of migration certificates, then, the position is rather unfortunate.

The controls work in a particular way in our country, as we all know, in different departments. Control of migration certificates has meant, as I find, from letters I am getting not only from Calcutta but also from the districts, that people intent on migration have been sometimes driven to live on the streets in the city of Dacca. They have to queue up before officers in miserable conditions because it is a very long queue and the whole procedure moves in a very gradualistic fashion. Then, it seems that they require the personal presence of the applicants. And, you find in Dacca, applications coming from places as distant as Barisal and Chittagong and those applications are simply not being answered for lack of an interview with the applicants. I am told also that if in a family the parents stay at home and one or more of the other members of the household want to come over to India as migrants either for employment or even for education's sake, they are refused the migration certificate. But we are told that now they can get a Pakistan passport with the relevant Indian visa and come to India. But the trouble they feel is that if they come to India with a Pakistan passport and an Indian visa, naturally they will not get admission into the Indian technical institutes and they will not normally get jobs which are naturally to be given to Indian citizens by way of preference. Therefore, in that peculiar economic situation, there are difficulties in the matter of migration if the parents do not come and only some other members of the household want to come. Either you go the whole hog and the whole family comes to India, and that makes it all the more complicated. That would not be the intention of the Government. If the Government today said that if members of the minority community who come to India from Pakistan would be given special facilities for admission to educational, technological and other institutions, and there would be no particular discrimination practised in the matter of employment, surely then something perhaps might be done to help their distress. Of course, in the absence of such an assurance, I feel that Government is not behaving in the proper manner.

I quite realise that India had not reckoned with the probable size of this

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problem when in 1947 the offer was made that whoever wanted to come into India's fold would be welcome. I know there are difficulties, but difficulties are there to be surmounted and not utilised as opportunities for evasion of Government's duty. It is wrong in all conscience if today the complaint is heard, as I have heard, that the Dacca office is only issuing about 15 or 12 certificates a day and it is also insisting that intending migrants should come for a personal interview in Dacca from places which are pretty remote. I would say, let the Minister of Rehabilitation place his own house in order as far as East Pakistan rehabilitation is concerned and let Government make up its mind that if the refugees must come, if they are driven to come, they have got to be rehabilitated here, whatever the cost. When I say this, however, I do not for a moment suggest that on this issue we should whip up, as some people would like to do, antagonism towards Pakistan, which is unfortunately there already. I do not want this issue to be utilised for increasing or accentuating that antagonism. Let us not enter into a kind of competition in base provocativeness with the petty-fogging politicians who apparently proliferate in the ruling circles of Pakistan. Let us not forget that from time to time we see the silver lining in the Pakistan cloud. As far as the two Bengals are concerned, there is the silken bond of kinship, the kinship based on the language we learnt at our mother's knee. Only the other day, in Calcutta as well as in Dacca, they celebrated the birth anniversary of Nazrul Islam, a revolutionary poet, to whom Bengalis, irrespective of community, pay homage.

A few days before that, Bengalis in both Bengals recalled proudly the precious heritage of Rabindranath Tagore. If vested interests at home and abroad had not decided to fish in the troubled waters of Pakistan, we could on our own have solved our problem, and I have no doubt that if we truckle neither to communalist chauvinism nor bureaucratic bungling, we shall solve our problem.

I shall finish with a reference to one other matter. I find lately that there has been an interesting American investigation into the conditions in Pakistan, which I quote from the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta Edition, of the 29th May—it is a P.T.I. report from New York:

"There is in Pakistan weak leadership, dirty politics and administrative fumbling, but this has created a serious political situation, and if there are general elections, then there might be a successful emergence of latent neutralist sentiment."

We have seen in Ceylon what has happened. Today in Ceylon, I trust there is a breath of new hope. With Ceylon we had a very difficult quarrel over the question of Indian citizenship. That dispute we hope to be able to solve because the people of Ceylon have spoken at the last general elections with a new voice, the voice of an Asia awakened to freedom. The same thing will doubtless happen in Pakistan, if the communalists are held in lesash and at the same time rehabilitation of refugees in our country is done in real earnest. I am sure the situation in Pakistan is such—and there are some indications already—that a big change-over is in the offing in that country. We on our part should make our contribution towards normalising the situation between our two countries. I would suggest that Government should see that in the name of scrutiny of migration applications, the border is not practically sealed. I wish also to ask the Minister of Rehabilitation to sit up well and properly and do the job of work which the country somewhat doubtfully expects of him.

Shri Barman (North Bengal—Reservé—Sch. Castes): While I deal with this intricate and difficult problem of exodus to India from East Bengal, we are conscious of the situation so far as our Government is concerned in the matter. It is an intriguing problem after all, but at the same time we cannot deny that under the circumstances the leaders of India and the Government of India are doing their utmost. We cannot say that at any time they are oblivious of the condition of the minorities here. So, however, dissatisfied we might be so far as the result is concerned, we shall have, at the Centre, to say that our Government is doing their utmost.

So far as the latest conference at Dacca is concerned, so far as the joint communique that has been issued on the 6th May and the statement by the hon. Minister of Minority Affairs are concerned, first and foremost I want to draw the attention of the Government to one part of the statement. It is said here that India will take early steps to tighten up the measures for the issue of migration certificates so as to prevent

the chances of their abuse or their exploitation by anti-social elements. Then it says that while making it clear that migration certificates shall be issued only in deserving cases, the Government of India has agreed that proper and detailed scrutiny of each application for a migration certificate will be done and all suggestions of the Government of Pakistan in this behalf would be given full consideration. I want a little elucidation so far as the last portion of this paragraph is concerned. In the Delhi Pact, that is, the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, it is stipulated that the minorities of either State should be given full facilities to migrate and also other facilities that are appertaining to migration. Does this clause mean that for each and every particular case of application, our office at Dacca will have to refer the matter for the opinion of the Pakistan Government? The Pakistan Government will make certain suggestions, certainly after enquiry and then it will be for the Government of India to decide whether certificates shall be issued or not? If that be the interpretation, then I say that not a single man will ever be issued any migration certificate. When a person who has been in East Bengal since its birth applies for a migration certificate, knowing full well the conditions and the working of the West Bengal Rehabilitation Department and the way refugees are living in camps, there are reasons behind it. In most of the cases the reasons may be such that the intending migrant will not divulge it to the public. Then again if that matter be referred to the Pakistan Government circumstances may be created in which his life may be intolerable. I fully agree with the view taken by the Government of India and the stipulation that has been made here, that they shall consider all suggestions in this regard given by Pakistan. But I hope those suggestions will be in general terms and not that every particular case will have to be referred to them. Reading this in the light of the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact, I think the proper interpretation is that there will be certain suggestions made by the Government of India, there may be suggestions invited from the Government of Pakistan, but the sole responsibility of granting or not granting a migration certificate will depend entirely upon our Visa Office here.

So far as I know Pakistan—(my knowledge is confined to pre-Partition days)—it is my view that the main cause of the inability of Pakistan to give secu-

urity to the minorities there lies in the fact that there is no stable government in Pakistan up till now and that there is rivalry between different groups for coming into power. If I may enter into past history the United Front came into power in February 1954; two months later a Ministry was formed. Hardly two months after that there was some massacre in a jute mill, the Ministry was dissolved and Governor's rule was promulgated. In this connection I should invite the attention of the House that Pakistan Press is not doing justice to the minorities. As an instance I may say that in this Narayanganj jute mill massacre several hundred people were killed and many more were injured. But that was absolutely a matter between Muslims and Muslims and no member of the minority community was involved in it. But on the 17th of May 1954 the *Dawn* in an editorial under the caption "Betrayal of Pakistan" said that "communists and the agents of Hindu Bengal joined hands to execute that dastardly conspiracy". If this is the view propagated by a responsible paper of Pakistan, that even in a case where the minorities have absolutely no connection, they are accused of conspiracy, then, how can the minorities have any faith to live in a country where this sort of hostile attitude is propagated. So, it should be the duty of our Government to draw the attention of the Pakistan Government that if they are really sincere in their professions and want to honour the pledges given as early as 1950, they should ask their Press not to indulge in such irresponsible statements.

Then, for nearly a year there was no Government, so to say, because the province was under Governor's rule. After one year the United Front Ministry was again reinstated. That Ministry did not hold any session for several months. On the very first day it met in a session, the assembly was adjourned sine die and Governor's rule was again imposed. The difficulty in the case of Pakistan is that there is neither democracy functioning nor can autocracy function in these days. So, we should earnestly hope that democracy may function in East Pakistan, so that those who are at the helm of affairs may be in a position to act. So long as this sort of uncertainty continues, so long as it is left to the permanent executive to rule the country, the minorities cannot place any faith in the Government. I have read the statements of the leader of the Parliamentary

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Group of the Congress Party in Pakistan and he also has expressed the same views that parliamentary democratic Government and a Ministry may be constituted there soon.

Sir, I do not wish to dilate on matters which may not be helpful to anybody, but wish to ask a few questions. We were told that by March 1956 more than 35 lakhs of minorities had migrated to India. The figure given for the month of February is 45,534. We are all very anxious to know about subsequent events what is the rate of migration after February 1956. That is one matter.

On the 27th May, 1952 it was admitted in reply to a question that the East Pakistan Government had issued— (i) a circular requiring thana officers to report on the extent, nature and source of influence of certain members of the minority community; (ii) circular orders to commercial firms requiring them to obtain the approval of District Magistrates before giving employment to non-Muslims; and (iii) a circular order said to have been issued to District Magistrates instructing them to stop restoration of properties to returning Hindu migrants and to distribute the properties among refugees. This circular was actually issued a year earlier, that is just a few months after the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact. To that our Government lodged protests and wrote letters. The Government of India lodged a protest in March 1951, though the circular was issued much earlier, and the reply was that "the position is that the circular stands as it was".

I want to ask whether our Minorities Minister has enquired whether all the circulars have been withdrawn or not; and if withdrawn, when; and what is the condition after that. Because, these are the basic things which frighten the minorities and which make their life impossible there, and they are bound to come even if it meant difficulties and other things. So these are the basic things which must be looked into and enquired of Pakistan, whether all these have been withdrawn or not.

I understand the difficulty of our Government, but at the same time I hope that Pakistan may come to its senses and realise the effect of driving the minorities out of Pakistan. I know the hon. the Minorities Minister has placed much reliance upon the Chief

Minister of the time. I know him personally, I have worked with him in the Krishak Praja movement, and I know perfectly well and I solemnly believe that he is not at all of communal character. But how much power has he got in the administration, that is the problem. Until and unless there is a stable government established in Pakistan, our Government must time and again keep watch about the matters that are happening in Pakistan and try to do as much as possible for safeguarding the interests of our people there.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): After a perusal of the document which has been given to us I sincerely feel that Pakistan is not going to do anything and that the confidence reposed by our Minister in Pakistan is simply misplaced.

From the very inception of things we have been saying that a certain amount of complacency and credulousness is to be found in the Government of India as regards this question. When, to start with, the first exodus from East Pakistan began, we raised questions in this House often, and the reply came: no persons are coming from Pakistan. This was the Minister's reply. We knew what happened on the other side, with regard to West Pakistan. And yet Government gave us the answer that no persons were coming from East Pakistan. For years together in the beginning, this was the reply of Government. And we had to take pains to convince the Central Government that as a matter of fact the exodus was beginning and deepening. Subsequently Government began to realise and told us that about four to five lakhs of people have come and there is an exodus. And then, perhaps when the second push was there, we all knew that Pakistan meant business and that, as in West Pakistan, there will not be a single Hindu left in East Pakistan also. This was our feeling and conviction, and that conviction has proved to be too true. Today, even after reading this, after hearing the hon. Minister when he says that he is sincerely satisfied that so far as Pakistan is concerned the exodus will be stopped, I am extremely sorry to say that though I certainly believe him, I have really got no real *biswas* in his words. I do not believe that his belief is right. Not that I do not believe him. When he says it sincerely, it must be right according to his belief. But I do not believe that his belief is right.

Now, Sir, let us see what has happened. Our Government, after the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact, said that wherever a Mussalman came from the other side he will be given Rs. 200 per family. When I went to Assam on behalf of the Rehabilitation Ministry I saw in one of the camps that more Muhammadans were there and were looked after much better than the Hindus. And each Muslim family was paid Rs. 200. Have they secured this in East Pakistan Conference. Will every Hindu who wants to go back to Pakistan get Rs. 200 per family? If they actually mean business that is the way in which things should have been done, that is the way in which we behaved. But I do not find any such mention here.

Now, what is it that is mentioned specifically? The specific thing mentioned is, the Government of India condemn the entire machinery with them. It almost reads like this as if there was a confession that we are calling people. I am rather astonished that our Rehabilitation Minister was there and in his presence these things could be said. I can never believe that he does not know what is happening there. He knows in his heart of hearts that whatever Pakistan says is not coming to be true. He knows it, and I am really surprised that these things should have been believed and said there in his presence.

Then, Sir, there is some mention of a neutral home. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what is a neutral home. When abductions take place it is said—

“In case of complaints regarding abductions of women, officers have been directed to recover the girls immediately and to send them to the neutral home in Dacca.”

May I humbly enquire what is a neutral home? This only means that the abducted girls will not be restored to their parents or people; they will be kept in a home where the seducers will be able to tell them that they can come back to the seducers. What is the neutral home? The only thing I can conceive of is that as soon as an abducted girl is recovered she should be made over to her people. It is not the case so far as East Pakistan is concerned that the women were abducted eight years ago. They are being abducted now and yet they are taken to a neutral home. This shows that justice is not being done in their cases.

What else do we get? It is said that the houses would be de-requisitioned. May I humbly enquire from the hon. Minister how many orders has he secured so far as de-requisitioning is concerned? Has he got a single order in his possession to show to me that the houses have been de-requisitioned? There is no mention here, and in the reply he made in the House he said, “We were satisfied with the assurances given from the other side—which all remains to be done, and we had assurances many times”, which means in simple English that he himself disbelieves them. He knows assurances have been made only to be broken. Similarly I understand that the simple meaning is that he does not believe in his heart of hearts that these assurances will be kept. I do not know diplomatic language. So far as Pakistan is concerned, it has made thousands of promises with us, and always to be broken.

Who started the game? When Shri Jinnah was there, when he entered into a sort of alliance or contract it was said that the minorities will be kept up and preserved and their rights will be honoured like those of other citizens. This was the basis on which partition was made. What happened? In Karachi they passed an order that every Hindu's property is to be taken away. Three or four days ago I read in a vernacular paper that fifty thousand people from West Pakistan are to be turned out from Karachi and other places. I do not know how far it is true. But this was the piece of news that I read in a paper. I do not know how far it is true. I hope the hon. Minister will kindly throw some light on this question.

If this is true, when on the one hand we find that fifty thousand people are to be removed from their places, coming to East Pakistan how could it be true that these people will be stopped from coming? It will be the same policy. The Central Government there is in charge, the President's rule is there, and it is from the Central place that every policy is being directed.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Karachi is doing everything.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: It so happens, it is true, I can believe it, I know my Bengali friends, that if it is only left to our Bengali friends, Hindus as well as Muslims, there will be no trouble. But what happens is that the

[Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava]

Punjabis come from there, and those who belong to the Muslim League want to see that not a single Hindu exists in Pakistan. They have got the charge of this part of Pakistan. They push out these Hindus. I believe that not a single Hindu will be allowed to remain there. That is my strong belief. I do not want that every Hindu should come away. I want that Pakistan also should honour its commitments and that the Hindus should remain there. But, at the same time, I am perfectly certain that all of them shall have to come whatever we may do. Is it as if to condemn our Government and take shelter behind false accusation they invent, the excuse that our Government is calling those people and saying that they will get many lands here. Our Rehabilitation Minister knows better. He has seen what Shri Mukerjee has said. These people are not satisfied with what the Rehabilitation Ministry is doing. Yet, the charge is that we are calling them. For us to say that we are tightening this restriction on the movement is to proclaim to the world that we are attracting those people. I very strongly repudiate what is written here; it is absolutely wrong. I am ashamed that we ourselves say that we tighten the restrictions. I recollect what we said previously; we extended a promise to the people and we said that the 125 lakhs of people were part of us. What happened in Pakistan? Every Hindu came to know ultimately what his position would be. I would be the last man to say that the border should be sealed. All these persons have a right to come here. At the time of Partition, we took the responsibility and we said that whatever might happen, we would not let them down. So, if they want to come they shall be allowed to come.

6 P.M.

I read the statement issued on behalf of both the Governments. It means in plain English that we have, so far as we are concerned, not fully performed our liabilities. He has said that there have been failures on our side and failures on their sides. May I in all humility ask him what was the failure on our side? My submission is this. In our anxiety to see the good sides of the other party, we say these things in modesty as platitude. I am also of the same view. We need not necessarily criticise as if we are enemies. But the truth must be told. Why should we accept that we have to tighten our restric-

tions? Are the Hindus there responsible for the exodus? If the hon. Minister says this, it means that the Government of India accepts this. I am sorry this should have been agreed to by our Minister.

The next thing is this. Assurances—beautiful assurances—are there. The minorities are the responsibility of the country in which they live. What happened when Partition took place? They should have mentioned all the circumstances on account of which there was migration from East Pakistan. Nothing is mentioned about them. Why should the migration take place? People are coming because they are forced to come. Abductions take place. If they go to the police, etc. protection is not given. The properties are taken away. The houses are requisitioned. All these things happen. There is not one word about it in the statement. Migration was taking place. Now, we have stopped it. Would the houses be de-requisitioned? If the hon. Minister came with the information that ten thousand houses were de-requisitioned, I would have understood it. I would ask him. If these people go back, will they be given back their property? There is not a single word about these things. They will get into service and the age limit is extended as if it is a question just as the one relating to the Scheduled Castes here. How many persons are there who can live under these circumstances? Unless the climate changes, unless the conditions improve, how can you expect them to remain there? Four Ministers met there and by saying that 23 per cent of the posts would be reserved for Hindus, will the situation improve? This is a make-believe affair. I am very sorry it is so and our Ministers have put their faith in spite of past experience. How can we believe? They have failed before and they will do nothing. What can they do? I remember the words of Sardar Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the very first occasion. So far as Pakistan was concerned, they told us that other methods would be used. We have not seen what those other methods are. We are not likely to see. Let us reconcile ourselves to our fate. Seventy lakhs of people will have to come here.

Again, who has given these assurances? Will he remain in power? Will he be able to do these things? I do not think so. This paper shows that they have come satisfied with the assurances given there. Shri Biswas sincerely tells us that they have done the right thing.

I am sorry to say that I do not believe that and I do not think that in this matter, Pakistan will ever be sincere to us. I really admire Shri Biswas who has got such a fund of credulity to believe these words. I congratulate him for that complacency and the fund of credulity. But so far as many Members of this House are concerned, they are left cold. We are not happy or satisfied that the right thing has been done. May I enquire from him if in Dacca there was not a lathi charge in respect of these very persons who are coming? Can he deny this. These are inside stories that have reached us. If any person wants to come, no bar should be put in his way. He should be allowed to come whatever may happen to India. Our Rehabilitation Minister may have meagre resources but he has a good heart to rehabilitate them and he will do his very best. But it makes me sad to think that these restrictions will be put in. No man will leave his hearth and home unless he is driven out. No Bengali would like to come here if he can be accommodated in East Pakistan. It is entirely wrong to say that we are calling them. They are coming here, driven by necessity. Every Hindustani wants that every Pakistani Bengali should live with honour and safety in East Pakistan. I may say that I am not satisfied with this document.

Shri B. K. Das (Contai) : Sir, I do not subscribe to some of the views that have been just expressed by our revered friend Pandit Bhargava. I do not think that our Government is acting under self-deception. Nor do I believe that as a result of the conference that was held in Dacca, the cause of the minorities in East Bengal has been damaged more than ever. Of course, I share some of his misapprehensions regarding the working of the passport office there, which will be issuing the migration certificates to the intending refugees. I hope the hon. Minister, while replying, will make this point clear. We must not forget that the Nehru-Liaquat Pact still stands.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar) : Dead.

Shri B. K. Das : Of course we know, and we know it with a great sense of sorrow, that all that we wanted of the pact has not been fulfilled.

Shri Mehr Chand Khanna : On the Pakistan side.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee : On their part.

Shri B. K. Das : I am going to explain my statement. We have said it often on the floor of this House—and I remember, when I spoke last about this subject I said it—that we on our part have always fulfilled the conditions that we imposed on ourselves, but the other side has failed, and sometimes miserably, to a great cost of this country.

But what is the way out? We are dealing with a foreign country, with a foreign Government. We cannot but depend on the goodwill of that country. If it is not forthcoming, then repeated endeavours have to be made. This time, we read in the preamble to the statement which the hon. Minister made the other day, that it was on their invitation that this conference met at Dacca. We could not possibly refuse to attend that conference. Of course, we do not know the details because that is, and that must be, something confidential. But what has come out? We see that there is a ring of sincerity expressed on the other side. Some of our friends are not willing to believe it. They call it self-deception. But when I see that the hon. Minister for Minority Affairs, who has always expressed despair at the attitude of the other side, has given us this assurance that this time he has been able to discern some amount of sincerity in their attitude, we cannot but accept his optimism and we cannot but proceed on those lines. There has been economic discrimination, there has been a policy of suppression and oppression and so many other things in the past that our hearts generally refuse to believe in the promises that are coming out. But when we are committed to a certain course of action, when we say that we on our part are ready to do everything possible to advance the cause of the minorities in that country, we cannot say that what we find in the document that is before us is against our interests. They have promised that the houses will be returned. They have promised that the officer who has been appointed will look to the interests of the minorities. They have said that there will be an Advisory Board, the revival of the Minority Commission and the Minority Boards. Let us see what happens. We cannot at once expect the result. If we have waited all these years, if we have tried all these years, we cannot say that this conference is a failure. If those promises have been reiterated, let us take them at their word and let us on our part try to do whatever is possible.

[Shri B. K. Das]

Objection has been taken regarding the tightening of our machinery for the issue of migration certificates. Of course, I do think that there is a possibility of danger there. If the officer or officers concerned, who will be in charge of that department, do not act with great caution and with judgment, there is a chance of the intending migrants being made to suffer. Further, I do not know what is meant by those words in the joint communique "suggestions of Pakistan Government will be accepted or will be considered". Of course, I do not think that every single application that will be placed there will be scrutinised by the Pakistani people. That is not the idea. I think that we will be acting on a certain formula and they may also give their suggestions how that formula can be worked out in a better way. That is a possible interpretation that can be given to that expression in the joint communique.

We have been assured the other day by the Prime Minister that there is not the remotest idea in the minds of the Government of India that none of the legitimate persons who want to come away and who are unable to stay there will be prevented from coming away. The Prime Minister has assured us many times about that, and depending on that assurance we can believe that no undue pressure will be brought about in this matter of issuing migration certificates. We shall have to wait for some time to see the results of the action that the Pakistan Government takes. We find that the administration there is very weak. Every day changes are occurring and in the midst of such conditions we cannot expect that much will come out.

But I do not think for a moment that the conditions of the minorities there will become worse due to this conference or as a result of the agreement that has been reached. In fact, there has been no new agreement that has been reached excepting that probably they wanted to seal the border and this Government stoutly replied that this Government cannot be a party to such sealing of the border. From this side it has been said many times that such a step cannot be taken by our Government. In that background, if it has been agreed that the migration certificates should be issued with caution and that they should be granted only in genuine cases, I do think that there will be no difficulty for those persons who want to come over to this country. I want to have that assurance today from the

hon. Minister that that matter will be looked into and the apprehension that has been expressed on the floor of the House will be obviated by that assurance.

Shri S. C. Deb (Cachar-Lushai Hills) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not like to take much time of the House, because already various points have been raised in this discussion. My only concern is about the restriction on the issue of migration certificates. I come from a border area. I know the minds of the minorities there. I claim that the situation is not such, politically, economically or otherwise, that the minorities can stay there for long. I share the sentiments here expressed by our hon. friend Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. It is good that our Government should try time and again for creating conditions that minorities may live there with comfort and stability. If by this discussion conditions are created there in East Pakistan for the minorities to live in comfort, it would be better. But I have no faith about that. So, my point is that there should not be any restriction for issuing migration certificates, because the minorities cannot leave their homes and hearths for pleasure. Only as a last resort, they ask for a migration certificate to be issued. Therefore, there should not be any restriction. On this ground, if any agreement is arrived at, I oppose that part of the agreement.

The House knows that in East Bengal there is no democratic set-up. Conditions are not good there. The President's rule is there. The situation was different there when the Chief Minister of that province took our Minister into confidence and had a discussion and an agreement was arrived at. But we do not know what would be the position now. We also know that in West Pakistan also there is no chance of a stable Government. When the condition is such, how can the minorities there live safely and in peace? So, when they are eager to come here, they should not be restricted, and there should not be any restriction put in any way on our side. If there is any assurance by our Government on that side about restrictions, I oppose that. With these words, I resume my seat.

श्री नंदलाल शर्मा :

नमोऽस्तु रामाय सलक्ष्मणाय
देव्यै च तस्यै जनकात्मजायै ।
नमोऽस्तु रुद्रेन्द्रयमाऽनिलेभ्यो
नमोऽस्तु चन्द्रार्कमरुद्गणैभ्यः ॥

Mr. Speaker: I did not call the hon. Member. I wanted to call either Shri D. C. Sharma or Shri U. M. Trivedi. I am going to call the hon. Minister at 6.30

Shri Tek Chand: Now that he has started, he may continue.

Shri Biswas: So many points have been raised that I require some time to answer them.

Mr. Speaker: All right. Let Shri Nand Lal Sharma finish in three minutes.

श्री नंदलाल शर्मा : माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अल्पसंख्यक मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद करता हूँ, जिन्होंने अपने परिश्रम का फल सदन के सामने रखा है—इस विषय में हमारी सरकार बया कर रही है, इस चित्र को उन्होंने सदन के सामने रखा है। वह पर्याप्त है या नहीं, इस पर इस सदन को विचार करना है। वह चित्र सुन्दर इसी अर्थ में है कि जैसे इडविडा के रावण शूर्पनखा और कुम्भकरण आदि अत्यन्त विकृत रूप के बालक अवस्था में थे—जो कि बाल्यावस्था में ही बड़े विकृत रूप के थे—वैसे ही यह चित्र विकृत है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : रावण कौन है ?

श्री नंदलाल शर्मा : समय बहुत कम है, इसलिए मैं इस विषय में अधिक नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। उनका रूप वैसा ही था, जैसा कि उनका है, जिनके साथ आपका पाला पड़ा है। (Interruption) मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि यह विषय बड़ा गम्भीर है इसलिए इसको हंसी ठठोल में उड़ा देना कम से कम कुछ माननीय सदस्यों के लिए उचित नहीं है। हमारा हृदय बड़ी गम्भीर वेदना से पूर्ण है जब कि पूर्वी बंगाल में केंद्र हुए अपने बंधुओं की स्थिति के बारे में हम विचार कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस समय उनका जीवन किसी केंद्र से कम नहीं है। इस समय पाकिस्तान में किसी स्थिर गवर्नमेंट का स्वरूप ही दिखाई नहीं देता है। पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट ही नहीं रह सकी है और वहां पर प्रैजिडेंट्स रूल लागू करना पड़ा है। इस स्थिति में पाकिस्तान अपने अल्पसंख्यकों की रक्षा कैसे कर सकेगा, इसका मुझे विश्वास नहीं है—बल्कि भारत में किसी को भी विश्वास नहीं है।

पाकिस्तानी डेलीगेशन के द्वारा जो आश्वासन दिये गये हैं, वे हमारे सामने रखे गये हैं। मैं

उनमें एबडकशन आफ विमें (स्त्रियों का अपहरण) रीकव्री आफ गर्ल्स, (लड़कियों की वापसी) रेस्टोरेशन आफ सिक्योरिटी (सुरक्षा की स्थापना) और डीरेक्वीजीशनिंग आफ हाउसिंग (मकानों की वापसी) का उल्लेख पाता हूँ। इन शब्दों से स्पष्ट है कि पाकिस्तानी सरकार ने अपने अल्पसंख्यकों के मकान छीन लिये, उनकी बहु-बेटियों को छीन लिया और इस समय उन लोगों के जीवन खतरे में पड़े हुए हैं। अब भी समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ने को मिलता है कि पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में एक M. L. A. मिस्टर डे, को अच्छी तरह पीटा गया, जब कि वह अपने एक पड़ोसी को बचाने गये, जिसके घर में डाका पड़ा था। इस अवस्था में यह कितनी हास्यास्पद बात है कि पाकिस्तान सरकार की ओर से कहा जाता है कि उसने वहां की माइनारिटीज (अल्पसंख्यक) की रक्षा के लिए एम० एल० एज० की ड्यूटी लगा दी है। इसके साथ ही वह कहती है कि एक हिन्दू आफिसर आन स्पेशल ड्यूटी नियुक्त कर दिया गया है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि पाकिस्तान की वर्तमान परिस्थितियों में वह बेचारा क्या कर सकता है।

सुनहु पवनसुत रहनि हमारी

जिमि दशनम में जीभ बिचारी ॥

उन लोगों के बीचमें एक हिन्दू आफिसर जो कि उनका एक नौकर है, बया कर सकता है ? उसकी कोई शक्ति नहीं है। दूसरी ओर पाकिस्तान सरकार कहती है कि माइनारिटीज (अल्पसंख्यांक) को चाहिए कि वे भारत की ओर किसी प्रकार की आंख उठा कर न देखें और उसी बाढ़ के संरक्षण में रहें, जो कि उनके घर को खा रही है—वह बाढ़ चाहे उनको खा जाये, उनका सर्वनाश कर दे और उनकी बहु-बेटियों को ले जाये। परन्तु हम अब भी यह कहने के लिये तैयार हैं कि they are the responsibility of their own country! मैं समझता हूँ कि जिनके कारण से भारत का विभाजन हुआ था, यह उनकी जिम्मेदारी है। उनको यह कभी भी नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि वहां पर बैठे हुए हमारे हिन्दू भाई किस कारण से निराश्रित और निस्सहाय हुए हैं। उसके लिये हम जिम्मेदार हैं। १९५० के नेहरू-लियाकत अली को वेदवाक्य से भी बड़ा प्रमाण माना जाता है, पर यह स्पष्ट रूप से प्रकट है कि वह कभी का मर चुका है—कम से कम पाकिस्तान की ओर से वह सदा के लिये मर गया है। पाकिस्तान ने कभी भी उस पर अमल नहीं किया है और मुझे वह

[श्री नन्दलाल शर्मा]

विश्वास नहीं होता कि वह अभी उसका परिपालन करने के लिए तैयार है। इसके अतिरिक्त पाकिस्तान ने अपने कांस्टीट्यूशन (संविधान) के द्वारा वहाँ पर हिन्दू को समाप्त कर दिया है और कांस्टीच्यूशन (संविधान) अल्पसंख्यकों का स्थान नहीं रखा। ऐसी स्थिति में हम वहाँ के हिन्दुओं की सुरक्षा के विषय में क्या आशा रख सकते हैं ?

पाकिस्तान का शिष्ट-मंडल अब यह आश्वासन दे रहा है कि जिन लड़कियों का अपहरण किया गया था, अब उनको खोज खोज कर लौटा दिया जायेगा। यह ठीक है, परन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे ये शब्द देख कर अचम्भा हुआ है :

"Officers have been directed to recover girls immediately and send them to the neutral home in Dacca."

अर्थात् उन लड़कियों को उनके बन्धुओं और घरवालों के पास लौटाने का प्रश्न नहीं है, प्रत्युत उनको एक न्यूट्रल होम (तटस्थ आवास) में रखा जायेगा। और उस न्यूट्रल होम (तटस्थ आवास) की रक्षा करने वाले कौन हैं ? वहाँ पर भी वही लोग बैठे हैं, जो कि उन लड़कियों का सतीत्व भंग करेंगे, उनका अपमान करेंगे। ऐसी हालत में हम कैसे समझ सकते हैं कि पाकिस्तान के अल्पसंख्यकों के मन में किसी प्रकार विश्वास होगा और वह वहाँ पर सुख-शान्ति से रह सकते हैं।

हम स्वयं समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ते हैं कि न तो पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में और न पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान में कोई भी सरकार बनती दिखाई देती है। पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान की दशा कल क्या हो, इसका पता नहीं है और पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में एक पार्लियामेंटरी डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट की स्थापना नहीं हो सकती है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में जहाँ बहुसंख्यकों की सुनवाई नहीं है, वहाँ अल्पसंख्यकों की क्या दशा होगी, इस पर हमारी भारत सरकार को बड़ी गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिये। पाकिस्तान की और से सीलिंग आफ बोर्डर और इम्पीग्रेशन सटिफिकेट्स को रोकने की आवाज उठ रही है, वह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत के लिए एक धूर्ततापूर्ण प्रचार करना है और उसका उद्देश्य यह है कि पाकिस्तान संसार से कह सके कि चूंकि भारत सरकार ने हिन्दुओं को भारत में आने की छूट दे रखी है, इसीलिए वे लोग भाग भाग कर यहाँ आ रहे हैं। यह सर्वथा असत्य है और इस बोले में भारत सरकार को

नहीं आना चाहिये। पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आने वाले अभागे हमारे माननीय मंत्री श्री खन्ना के पल्ले पड़े हुए हैं और मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि इस सम्बन्ध में वह पूरा परिश्रम करेंगे। मुझे केवल यह निवेदन करना है कि यदि सरकार ने पूर्वी पाकिस्तान की समस्या को सुलझाना है, तो उसको एक कार्य अद्यय करना होगा। पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में बैठे हुए आफिसर्स से काम नहीं चलेगा। अगर इस सम्बन्ध में कोई एग्जीमेंट किया जा सके, तो सरकार अपने आफिसर्स की एक पार्टी वहाँ डिपुट करे, जो कि उस क्षेत्र में जाकर अल्पसंख्यकों की सुरक्षा को देखकर वहाँ की परिस्थिति के बारे में आपको पूर्ण पूर्ण ब्योरा दे। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि आप यह कर पायेंगे और साथ ही वहाँ से आने वाले लोगों को बसाने के लिए आप पाकिस्तान से पृथ्वी की मांग करेंगे, तभी यह समस्या हल हो सकेगी। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि अन्ततोगत्वा अखंड भारत ही इस समस्या की औषधि है। दूसरा कोई मार्ग नहीं है जिससे भारत के रहने वालों अथवा उधर के रहने वालों के दुख को आप मिटा सकें। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

Shri Biswas : Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to find that Members of this House have evinced so much interest in the question of minorities of East Pakistan. I only wish there were more frequent occasions when they could show such interest.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittoor) : May I know, Sir. . . .

Shri Biswas : I believe this is the first occasion since I became the Minister of Minority Affairs in 1950 that a discussion of this kind has taken place on the floor of the House. Any number of questions have been hurled at me. I should like to have some time to answer all of them. Nobody here knows more about the condition of the minorities in East Pakistan than myself. I venture to make that claim because I have been connected with this question and the implementation of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact since the date that Pact was concluded. Therefore, I know more about the conditions in which these minorities are living there than anybody else except those who have still their homes in East Pakistan and who pay frequent visits to East Pakistan.

Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna) : Perhaps.

Shri Biswas : I only hope it will not be said that in the statement I made before the House, I had said anything with a view to deliberately mislead the hon. Members here. Shri N. C. Chatterjee began by asking, what was the justification for the optimism I had shown in my statement. Well, I know in what respects Pakistan has given effect to or failed to give effect to the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. Knowing that with that knowledge at my disposal, I still ventured to strike a note of optimism. Why was that ?

Look at the question broadly. The action of the Pakistan Government so far has been such as to encourage the idea that whatever might have been said in the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement, nothing would please them more than if all the Hindu minorities left East Pakistan. Now, for the first time, we have a different attitude openly expressed by them before the Indian delegation. Is not that something we should appreciate? Must we not accept what we consider to be the hand of friendship being extended to us? Must we still say that as we have been disbelieving them all the time and they have not kept their promise, we should therefore retire from the conference? In that case, we should not have gone to the conference at all. The Leader of the Conference—I can refer to that because that part of the speech was open—began by saying that he recognised that the minorities were their responsibility, that the question of security was the foremost question and that sense of security must be ensured to them as otherwise there would be nothing. For the first time, we had such a frank statement from Pakistan.

Only the other day,—I refer only to one instance,—when there was a meeting here between myself and the then Pakistan Minorities Minister at Delhi,—I believe it was in 1954, shortly after the introduction of Governor's rule in that province,—when there was a new spurt of exodus, I drew attention to that fact, and asked my counterpart "What is this steady rise in migration?" He said, "I do not know, I shall go back, tour the different districts and find out the correct position." Then came the answer: "I had been in several districts and I have not been able to find any signs of migration."

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Ghayasuddin Pathan ?

Shri Biswas : I am not going to give you the name.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee : You did not believe him ?

Shri V. G. Deshpande : He believes.

Shri Biswas : If you take me to be such a simpleton that I shall believe any and every statement that is made to me, you have not known me sufficiently well. Now, for the first time, from the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, you have the statement that there is this exodus,—heavy, "alarming" exodus, that is the expression he used—and that something has got to be done. This anxiety on the part of Pakistan to retain the Hindu minorities within the borders of that province—is not that something unusual, which you have never heard from them? Is it suggested that we should not grasp this opportunity for whatever it is worth? India is interested in the minorities, in their being able to live a happy contented life in their home-land.

An Hon. Member : At what cost ?

Shri Biswas : At my cost or at your cost, it does not matter. We want their condition to be better. Therefore, when that overture comes from the other side, is it suggested that that should be thrown away? I say, we must make the best use of the opportunity we have, and our approach at the conference was on that basis. It is no question of "complacency" on our part. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava is not here. I should like to tell him that there is no question of my easily believing everything which ought not to be believed. What is the use of saying, you have not done anything in the past, therefore, we better disperse ?

Shri V. G. Deshpande : Does the hon. Minister believe them now? We want a straight answer.

Shri Biswas : Suppose all the assurances given by them fail. Do you expect that the Hindu minorities will then be in a better position than they are now? Whether you believe me or not, I say there is no chance of the Hindus being placed in a better position except with the co-operation and active goodwill of Pakistan and without definite action on their part.

I did not expect Shri N. C. Chatterjee to ask, why did I say that the minorities there are the responsibility of Pakistan? That is because the Nehru-Liaquat Pact itself declares it.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee : That is a wonderful discovery ; wonderful window-dressing.

Shri Biswas : And now we have a reaffirmation from Pakistan of their faith in the Pact.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee : I know Hamidul Huq Chaudhury better.

Shri Biswas : I say, if anything has got to be done for the minorities, it must be done by Pakistan. All that we can do is to help by way of rehabilitation if they come across.

So far as coming across is concerned, I will just only refer—that was referred to by my hon. friend—to the answer which the Prime Minister gave the other day to a question put in the Lok Sabha. That will show what is our policy. The question was : “whether it is a fact that the Hindus of East Pakistan are being refused migration certificates by India’s Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca : if so, the reasons therefor ; if not, the policy and attitude of Government towards intending migrants”. The answer was this : “No, migration certificates are not refused where after proper examination of each case the grant of these facilities comes within the rules. The policy of the Government has always been not to encourage the exodus of the minority community from East Pakistan to India. Efforts have been repeatedly made urging the Government of Pakistan to create conditions in East Pakistan to prevent this exodus. The Deputy High Commissioner for India in Dacca has also instructions to endeavour to convince the minorities to remain in East Pakistan, but where any members of the minority community insist on coming to India, certificates are issued to them after proper examination of each case.”

There has been no change from this policy at the Dacca conference, and it has been repeated. As a matter of fact, the final decision as to whether a migration certificate will be issued or not rests with India. The last word remains with our Deputy High Commissioner there. If the other side have any suggestions to make, we shall be pleased to consider them. That is all that we said. But the right to migrate remains, as guaranteed by the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, and any suggestion for sealing the border we rejected straightaway. Let there be no

doubt about that. Therefore, Members may rest satisfied that we did not sell away the interests of intending migrants.

You must not also forget the fact that so far as the exodus is concerned, that is more a burden on us than on them. Therefore, we are interested in seeing that the pace of migration slackens down. Many of you may have seen the condition of these migrants lying on the platform at the Sealdah Railway Station or living in camps and so on. Nobody is satisfied with that state of things. What can we do ? Our resources are limited as regards provision of space, accommodation etc. Some of the migrants will not agree to go over to some other State outside Bengal, and so on. There are these difficulties. Therefore, it is more in our interest that we should like the migration to abate. That is why we have always insisted that the minorities should be enabled to stay in East Pakistan. In doing so, if you think we bartered away the rights of the minority, we cannot help it.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee : Have you issued recent instructions to your representatives in Dacca which are putting fetters or difficulties in the way of granting migration certificates ?

Shri Biswas : Directions were given before the conference and the directions were on the lines which I have stated. That does not jeopardise the chances of any *bona fide* migrant intending to come away, say, on the ground that he cannot live there in security. There have been cases which were brought to our notice—I cannot go into details some of them were accepted by our side, where misuse was made of the facilities for issue of migration certificates.

Shri U. M. Trivedi : You have avoided answering this question. You have expressed satisfaction at the attitude of the Pakistani delegation. Has this Government persuaded the Government of East Bengal to withdraw and withdraw openly its secret circular to the Hindu and European business houses not to employ Hindus ?

Shri Biswas : Where are you reading from ? Who has said our delegation accepted the circular ?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee : I am sorry there is a misunderstanding.

Shri Biswas : I know about the secret circular.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee : Let me finish. Our information was that the Pakistan authorities issued circulars to business houses not to allow Hindus to remain either as agents or as employees. We want to know from the hon. Minister if as a result of the Dacca Conference those circulars have been withdrawn. Has any step been taken by the Pakistan Government not to give effect to those circulars regarding "shadow Pakistanis" or "Hindus"—whatever may be the expression?

Shri Biswas : I shall not be justified in disclosing the actual conversations that took place at the conference. But I may say that as a matter of fact, this question of granting employment to the minorities in the trades and services was considered, and assurances were obtained. We cannot do anything except accepting the assurances. When those circulars were issued, we protested against them. There was the answer that Pakistanis include also Hindus. Later on, one of their Secretaries—the Labour Secretary, I think—said 'Pakistani Hindus' are "shadow Pakistanis", and so on. All that was now rejected, and we must be therefore satisfied, I repeat again that there was a welcome change of policy on their part—because of their new attitude and their new assurances. But suppose they do not carry out those assurances or implement them, well, we cannot help it, but the minorities will be in no worse position. Let us therefore take the chance and wait and see what happens because the general atmosphere appears to be more favourable now. There must be some reason for this change. We do not know why Pakistan seems to be so interested now in retaining as large a number of Hindus as they can inside the borders of East Pakistan. Whatever the reason may be, we are not concerned with that. We are concerned with the minorities themselves, and whatever goes to help the minorities is welcome to us. That is our position.

Reference was made to the 'neutral home'. A neutral home is this. Abduction will still go on. Rapes will still occur. That cannot be helped. This is not a new feature that came into existence since the partition. We all know of the various associations in undivided Bengal which were set up for dealing with such cases in which Hindu girls were violated by Muslims. However, leave that aside. The question is this. After a girl is recovered, she has got to be sent back to her relations. In the

meantime before you can communicate with the relations and they can take her back, where will you keep her? Will you keep her in the custody of the abductor or not? We have always protested against that. But there have been cases in which the magistrate before whom the girl was taken ordered her to go back to the abductor in spite of our protests. In order to prevent such cases occurring, we said as soon as a girl is recovered she should be removed to a "neutral home", that is to say a place where she will be not in the charge of any Muslim.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Or any Hindu.

Shri Biswas : A Hindu will be in charge of that home. Communication is sent to the guardians and then the girl is made over. That is the meaning of a neutral home. All this was provided I suppose by the annexure to the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. Now it is for Pakistan to carry out the scheme as they accepted the obligation,—just as it for us also to do the same. On our part, we have honoured our commitments in every case but if the other party does not we can only plead with them, argue with them, appeal to them. We cannot do anything more. That is the position. We must not forget that basic fact. Somebody asked: "Why can we not improve the condition of the minorities?" How can we, unless the Pakistan Government can be induced or coaxed or forced to do it? As the Prime Minister said on one occasion, disputes between two neighbouring States can be solved either by war or by negotiation. The path of negotiation is the only way we can follow. There is no other way open to us, and therefore we are largely in the hands of the Pakistan Government for bettering the condition of the minorities in Pakistan,—just as Pakistan would be in the hands of the Indian Government for the fair treatment of Muslims in India. There are a large number of Muslims in the dockyards of Calcutta. Well, if we misbehave, if we do not do the right thing to these people, then Pakistan may retaliate against the Hindus within their territory. But as you know, India will never retaliate. That has never been her policy. Simply because somebody does a thing which we do not like and which is against our interests, we do not retaliate. It is not India's policy, and it will never be Indian policy to adopt retaliatory measures. Maybe, retaliatory measures would have brought dividends much earlier and much more quickly.

Shri V. G. Deshpande : That has been your conviction.

Shri Biswas : Retaliatory measures have been advocated by many, but we have consistently refused to accept any such suggestion. That is the general position.

So far as the figures of the exodus are concerned, Members had expressed their desire to have them. I could give those figures, though I cannot give the figures for the month of May, because they are not yet available to us. But if hon. Members want, I can give the figures regarding the number of migration certificates issued and so on, for the months of January, February and March. The total number of migration certificates issued in January was 19,206 in February 50,593. and in March 55,381—I am not quite sure about the last digit, it is 1 or 7. For April, I have just got the figures. The number is 22,755. So far as the number of applications for migration are concerned, the figures are as follows. In January, it was 18,182, in February 23,756, and in March, 13,850.

There is no desire to keep back any figures. Only I must have sufficient notice. It is because the time is short that I could not include all those figures. The House will remember that only a few days ago, I had made a statement in which I began by giving the exodus figures, as far as I could, not in detail but generally, tracing the whole course of exodus since the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact. I had done that in that statement, and therefore, I tried to avoid a reference to all that in the present statement.

But I shall welcome any opportunity which Members of this House may give me for a discussion. I shall place all the facts and figures before them, and they will be satisfied that we have not given away the cause or the interests of the minorities at the conference. We all thought—four of us were there—that we proceeded in the best way we could. We got something from the other side which we had not got before, therefore we were not justified in rejecting it.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava : Has the Minister forgotten section 15 of the Evidence Act? Past conduct does not belie their professions.

Shri Biswas : I am not taking a legalistic view. I am looking at this question as a human problem. If we find

there is a new approach towards that problem, why should we not welcome that? Therefore, let us wait and see. If that fails, it does not place us in a worse position than we are in at the present moment.

Shri V. G. Deshpande : Previously also, it had failed.

Shri Biswas : Why should we not avail ourselves of every chance that we get to improve the condition of the minorities in East Pakistan, because that should be our overriding concern? If we keep that in view, then every question that has been asked will be easily answered.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee : Has the Minister got the figure of the number of applications for migration certificates for the month of April?

Shri Biswas : Not yet.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee : Has the Minister got the figures as to how many applications have been rejected by the Dacca office in January, February March and April?

Shri Biswas : The question of rejection does not arise. As a matter of fact, rejection is done only where the application is not a *bona fide* application. That is in pursuance of the directions which were given by our External Affairs Ministry, before this conference took place. As I said, the more they come to this side, the problem of rehabilitation becomes more and more acute, and therefore, it is our interest to see that these applications are scrutinised and none but the genuine ones are allowed to go through. As a matter of fact instances have come to our notice where members of the same family have come in two instalments, claiming double the refugee benefits. The intention is not to allow such cases. If you come away, you should not retain one foot in one State and another in the other State. These are questions which we ourselves took up. This was not done at their instance. When we said that we shall tighten up the measures that we are taking for the issue of migration certificates we made it perfectly clear to them that the final decision was in our hands. If they had any suggestion to make, we shall be glad to consider those suggestions, but we shall decide for ourselves, and not at their bidding. We made that perfectly clear, and that position was accepted.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur) : Has the agreement been renewed ?

Shri V. G. Deshpande : May I know the number of rejected applications ?

Shri Biswas : The hon. Member should give me sufficient notice, and then I can give him the figures. There is nothing to hide. For the first time now, the hon. Member is showing so much interest in these matters. What can I do now? (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Speaker : I find that the hon. Member is interrupting too much. I must close this discussion by seven o'clock. We have only two minutes more to seven. I would request hon. Members not to interrupt. The Minister may conclude within two minutes.

Shri Biswas : I am grateful to the House for the interest it has evinced in the conditions of minorities. I only hope that Hon'ble Members will not forget this, and that this will not be the last time that they are doing so. The more they ask me questions about the conditions of the minorities, the better I feel, because I want to explain to them what the exact position of the minority community there is. There is nothing to keep back. When this chance has come to us, why should we not take the fullest advantage of it ? That is the spirit in which we must work.

MESSAGES FROM RAJYA SABHA

Secretary : I have to report the following three messages received from the Secretary of Rajya Sabha :

- (1) "In accordance with the provisions of rule 125 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 30th May, 1956, agreed without any amendment to the Life Insurance Corporation Bill, 1956, which was passed by the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at 23rd May, 1956."
- (2) "In accordance with the provisions of rule 125 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 30th May,

1956, agreed without any amendment to the Travancore-Cochin State Legislature (Delegation of Powers) Bill, 1956, which passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 28th May, 1956."

- (3) "In accordance with the provisions of sub-rule (6) of rule 162 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to return herewith the Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill, 1956, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 28th May, 1956, and transmitted to the Rajya Sabha for its recommendations and to state that this House has no recommendations to make to the Lok Sabha in regard to the said Bill."

RULES REGARDING EMERGENCY RECRUITMENT TO I.A.S.

Mr. Speaker : The House will now take up the discussion on the rules regarding emergency recruitment to the Indian Administrative Service. One hour has been allotted for this, that is to say, the discussion will go on from 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. Now, **Shri A. K. Gopalan**. The hon. Member may take ten minutes. Others will take not more than five minutes each.

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Cannanore) : I thank you for allowing this opportunity to raise this one-hour discussion on an important subject, on a matter which is of very great importance. This is a matter concerning all the educated men in this country. The Hindu, The Indian Express, the Amrita Bazar Patrika, and almost several of the vernacular papers have all written editorials protesting against these rules. These rules are irritating to the young men in this country.

The advertisement carrying the notification of the Union Public Service Commission, calling for application from prospective candidates for the special recruitment to the IAS restricts the applicants to those who got an income of Rs. 300 or more during the last one year. One can understand a minimum educational qualification or a particular age-limit or physical fitness. But previous earnings can, under no sound principles, be accepted as a qualification essential for the applicants to the IAS.