

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

## OFFICIAL REPORT

1889

1890

## HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Tuesday, 17th June, 1952

*The House met at a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

9-23 A.M.

## GENERAL BUDGET—DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

DEMAND NO. 1—MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

DEMAND NO. 2—INDUSTRIES

DEMAND NO. 3—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS

DEMAND NO. 4—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS AND EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

DEMAND NO. 104—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY—contd.

Mr. Speaker: We will now proceed to the next business. The cut motions on the Demands in respect of the Commerce and Industry Ministry were discussed yesterday, and the hon. Minister is now to reply to the debate.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): I must express my gratitude to the House for having been generous in regard to the treatment of my Ministry while the Demand for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry was being discussed. I am aware of the task that my Ministry has undertaken. It is a very big task covering the entire range of private enterprise and the export and import trade of this country and

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in fulfilling that task I am also aware that the shortcomings it is subject to are many and numerous. There are cases in which individuals are aggrieved, sometimes for legitimate reasons and sometimes for not such good reasons, and it is a process of continuously overhauling the machinery to make it more responsive to public criticism and to quicken its pace of work, and this is a matter which is continuously engaging the attention of my Ministry's officers.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

So, if criticisms are made, I must say that some of them are relevant and what we try to do is to enquire into the criticisms in the spirit in which they are offered and try to improve our own machinery. I am glad to see that in the course of the remarks that fell from the mouths of hon. Members yesterday, there was no criticism about particular acts of the administration and the criticism was largely directed towards policy. It is a welcome change from what has been the usual thing in the past that in a discussion like this matters must really relate to policy rather than to individual acts of particular officers of the Ministry.

Though, as I said, hon. Members have been generous, a few complaints have been made and I shall take up those complaints in the order in which the speeches were made.

Mr. Sivamurthi Swami spoke in Hindi and I have obtained a translation of it. He spoke on the question of the need for decentralization of industries and so did some others including the hon. Member from Madras, Mr. Raghobachari. Mr. Swami mentioned that small scale industries are not in a position to represent their grievances to Government, because they have no organization. All I can say is that where an industry is not well organized, it is certainly the duty of Government to see that their grievances are looked into and the

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Government will certainly try to do its very best in this direction. To this question, perhaps I shall refer again when I come to deal with the question of cottage industries. My hon. friend from Bengal, Mr. Guha was very kind to us. He spoke about the good work done by the Ministry but still being the considerate critic that he is, he put his own grievances or rather the shortcomings of the Ministry in as charitable a way as possible. The question of jute has been raised by a number of members, by Mr. Guha, the hon. Member from Bihar, Mr. Mishra and the hon. Member from Srikakulam, Mr. Rajagopala Rao, and each one has been looking at it from his own point of view, though I must say that Mr. Guha took a view which was one to which we cannot take any exception. I would like to mention to the hon. Member that the present Controller has not been taken from the trade and I think he knows it. He happens to be a Government servant who has no interest in the trade and I would have liked to hear from him that the present position was satisfactory.

✓ On the question of the Jute Mill machinery, the position is that we recognize that the machinery has been over-worked. It is also recognized that the machinery has to be soon replaced, but I do not think it matters much really. We have to employ a few more men because of the out-of-date machinery and in fact it might be a good thing. From another point of view, I say, that if we employ a larger number of men and we get more efficient machinery, unless the number of jute mills increases, we might be faced with the question of unemployment, but that is not the thing that is keeping the Government from encouraging the import of machinery. The matter will have to be taken up before long with the industry concerned and I can assure the hon. Member that as long as I am here, I shall give it a very high place of importance. I propose to deal with handloom industry a little later.

✓ In regard to the complaint made by the hon. Member from Bihar in respect of Bihar jute, I recognize that at present the raw jute trade is not in a very happy position and this is due largely to facts over which we have no control. Nobody paid the Government any compliment when jute prices were high and people thought that that was just their own due but when prices slumped, the Government were held responsible for all the miseries of the people, who

deal in jute. I recognize that it is the Government's integrated policy of production of jute and cotton that has resulted in the increase in the acreage of jute and I am very glad about it. We also recognize that having encouraged these people to undertake jute cultivation some kind of protection has to be given to them but oftentimes the protection that is demanded is based on peak price figures and not on normal price figures. On the particular question of Bihar jute, the hon. Member mentioned that they had no jute mill in Bihar and that is why they are faced with this difficulty. I recognize that it is so. On the other hand if transport facilities are available in plenty, perhaps that difficulty may not operate to their detriment and I can assure the hon. Member that within the limits possible and within the limited power that is available to my Ministry, we will try to do what we can to lighten the position of the Bihar jute growers.

In regard to the question of **Bimla** jute in Srikakulam the hon. Member had seen me along with another friend and the matter is engaging the attention of the Ministry. We have taken it up with the trade. The suggestion was that we should allow raw jute to be exported which would enable them to realize prices to the tune of about 300 per cent. over present prices. I am afraid, he is not correct. The world jute market is not in such a happy position. After all it must be recognized that the jute produced in Srikakulam area is not of a high quality. It is one of the low grade qualities of jute, used largely in being mixed with better quality jute. Whatever it is, it is not that the Government is not aware of the difficulties of the producing industry and we are trying to do our very best. Indications are that there might be a slight improvement in the market, but we are not banking on it. We are trying to induce the trade to give it some attention, and of course, if it happens that the trade non-co-operates, then we shall be free to permit the export of raw jute, though it will again react on us. Raw jute exported from the country means that the finished product will not go out of the country and we have to take.....

**Shri Meghnad Saha** (Calcutta North-West): May I interrupt the hon. Minister? I think the hon. Minister's information about jute is absolutely misleading. Apparently jute is not sold in Calcutta because, jute is being smuggled across the Pakistan border to the

extent of 10 lakhs of bales and in the next year there will be a glut of jute and jute will be burnt in the fields.

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** I do not think that the hon. Member has proved that my information is misleading. He wants to add to the sum total of my knowledge and I am very grateful, particularly as it comes from an eminent scientist of the calibre of Professor Meghnad Saha. But I do not think that what I have been saying is misleading at all. It may be that the glut is due to the fact that there is smuggling and with a land frontier smuggling is incidental and it is very difficult to prevent it. It is only the prices that will check smuggling or encourage it as the case may be. To revert to my point, Sir, the way in which we have to deal with the export of raw jute is very difficult. If we allow export of raw jute we are more or less putting a ban or a check on the export of the finished goods, about which we are very particular, but we cannot lose sight of the interests of the producers in the Sri-kakulam area and we are trying to do our best, so far as we are concerned.

**Shri B. Das (Jajpur-Keonjhar):** May I know if the smuggling is engineered by the Calcutta capitalists?

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** I am very sorry. I do not know there is so much smuggling. The major part of the attack came from that corner, from the Communist benches. I am rather disappointed. I thought that the attack would have a little more force, some punch in it, but I feel that it is rather wobbling, because of the reason that the hon. Member who was responsible for the attack was as he said 'new' and the information at his disposal was not adequate. He laid stress on the question of industrialization and I believe that it is the thing on which the Communist Opposition is going to ask for a division. He did not deal very much with the policy of industrialization and what he spoke was more with regard to the foreign industries in this country. In fact, a reference was made by the hon. Member to me personally. The reference was very delicately made and I greatly appreciate his sense of delicacy, but I do not mind admitting that during my 32 years of fairly active life, quite 20 years were spent by me in business and those 20 years were spent in doing business with British and American and perhaps Continental firms. He referred to my association with a particular firm whose name I shall not repeat. I plead guilty but I

do not think there is anything wrong in it. But what I would like to tell my hon. friend is that I was associated with the firm and we parted company on the 1st July 1941 and that does not make me any more friendly with them on that account. If the hon. Member wanted to know something about the activities of foreign firms in this country, I think, he had better come and see me and I will tell him more than he knows. After all, we, some of us here who were in the trade know where the shoe pinches and here as Minister of Commerce and Industry, I may assure my hon. friends opposite that we are not any whit behind them in seeing that Indian interests are safeguarded, subject only to one factor, that we want a leavening of some foreign business in this country for certain reasons and we do not want to shut out the field of development of industries. Subject to our own conditions we would welcome anybody that comes. We have laid down some conditions for their coming. The Statement on Industrial Policy, laid on the Table of the House in 1948, and the statement of the hon. Prime Minister in April 1949 still hold the field. It may be revised; it may be suitably modified. But, the essence of the policy still holds good. It is no use telling the Congress Benches that we are henchmen of the British. We are not. We feel that we do not have to be afraid of them. Not that you are afraid. You think that if you separate the British and Indian, there may be yet another enemy so far as India is concerned, and we probably may have to seek the assistance of some other people, who, you think, are your friends. We feel that we ought to treat all countries alike.

To come back to this particular question of British capital, my hon. friend was not very well informed. If he had read the report of the Reserve Bank on the subject, he would have found that the estimate was somewhere about 320 crores of foreign capital in this country. I agree that in certain industries they hold a preponderating interest. If the suggestion is that the Government should so manage its affairs that such preponderating interest is not used to the detriment of the growth of this country, or to the detriment of the people of this country, I entirely agree and I am at one with the Opposition. I shall accept any suggestion that they may make on this subject. But, if it is a question of dispossessing those interests, and getting into trouble in the international field, and risking our own sterling balances in the bargain, I think we are not going to walk into

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that trap. It is a case of my hon. friend trying to inform people who know a little more about these things than he.

On the question of British interests in this country, I have said what the policy of the Government is. So far as I am concerned, I feel that in certain cases, we have to be careful. I do not want to encourage the growth of mushroom bucket-shop industries, started by some cold weather tourists in this country. But there are certain British interests in this country who have really set up standards. They may be a few; but they are there. I have found in my experience that British industry treats labour better. They are willing to raise the scale of dearness allowance to their employees on the basis of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce index of prices. They keep their accounts better. They do not evade taxes. They do not keep a double set of accounts. Also I know of a particular interest here where the European management said, we will not close down the mills even if it happens that we lose because we know it is part of the game. It is only a question of leavening up of foreign interests in this country. So long as we have complete control over them—I am sure that this Government has complete control over every industry whether owned by foreigners or Indians—it does not do us any harm. We are looking at the whole question of foreign capital in this country from the point of view of development of this country. There is no question of sovereignty at all. The sovereignty is of this country; the sovereignty is that of the people. If foreign interests are going to interfere with the sovereignty of the people of this country, I shall recommend to my Prime Minister that foreign interests should be eliminated. I do not want to dilate on this subject any more except with regard to one aspect of my hon. friend's speech, namely in regard to Russia.

The present position is this, and I think my hon. colleague the Finance Minister had referred to it in his speech in the other House when speaking on the Budget. There is really no ban on trade with Russia. Who ever said there was a ban? Trade is still largely in the hands of private traders in this country. If they do not seek Russian co-operation or Russian business, we cannot go and tell them, go to Russia. If we have any information at our disposal, say, that newsprint is cheaper in Russia, we certainly pass on that information to the trade and

ask them to seek that market for getting their supplies. Except in the matter of foodgrains, trade is largely in private hands. What is the use of telling Government that you must trade with Russia? Why does not the Russian Trade Commissioners, canvass business as others do? It is up to them to do so.

Reference was made to payments. So far as our present trade with Russia is concerned, I can give a list. Exchange of 50,000 metric tons of Russian wheat for 5,000 tons of Indian tea in July 1948; exchange of 81,000 metric tons of wheat for 5,000 tons of tea, and 1,000 tons of castor oil etc. in January 1949; 200,000 tons of Russian wheat and 20,000 tons of Russian maize for cash in sterling, in March 1949; purchase of 25,000 tons of wheat from U.S.S.R. in December 1949; in 1949, the Industry and Supply Ministry made certain purchases of fertilisers from Russia on payment of sterling to Russian account.

This is on Government account and it is a question of barter. I may also say that the only cash payments were made in respect of these goods for freight and insurance. It was computed in terms of dollars and paid in sterling. Government have not laid any embargo on Russia doing any trade. In fact, in the recent Exhibition in Bombay, Russia brought goods and sold goods for the sum of nearly Rs. 27 lakhs. We do not know whether the money has been remitted. Probably not. Probably the money is still in this country. Hon. Members opposite know probably better. In regard to Russia, there is no prejudice at all. When we say that trade is free, we are perfectly willing and prepared to allow our industry and trade to deal with Russia. It is up to them to approach them through the usual channels. I do not want to take any more of the time of the House on this particular question because I believe I have answered what my hon. friend wanted.

I come to the remarks made by my hon. friend Mr. Raghabachari from Madras. I was listening to his speech with great interest because it was very clear. Some portion of what he said is quite true, I agree. Essentially, there is a conflict between small-scale and large-scale industries. If this veneer of civilisation is peeled off man, he becomes a primordial being and there is a conflict between man and man. That is why we have civilisation; and law and order. Essentially there is a conflict. But, the purpose of the Government of a country like India is to

resolve those conflicts, to synthesise the differences and to see that we permit everybody to live. On this question of small scale and large scale industries, the ultimate purpose of Government is to raise the standard of living of the people, and in the process to provide employment to all people. We must allow some room for cottage industries, for small scale industries and for large-scale industries. The philosophy that my friend wanted to import to the Members of this House is one that we recognise. But then, there is the question of methodology, the implementation of that philosophy. On that, there may be a lot of difference of opinion. I would like to tell my hon. friend that at the moment the Government in the various Ministries are engaged in seeing what they can do to give a proper place in our scheme of things for village industries, *khadi*, handicrafts, handloom industry, small scale industries, etc. It is a question of trying to fit them in and work on the basis of trial and error, and go on improving our methods and changing our ways if necessary. It is a matter which is engaging the attention of Government and it is given, what we call in files, top priority. I think we are having a number of conferences on this question. I can assure my hon. friend that I recognise the reasonableness of his criticism. I value his advice, we are not neglecting this question and we are engaged on it now. But, all that he says cannot be done. The oil-burning lamp we can encourage. But, I believe if we can provide electricity in the villages, the villagers would certainly prefer the electric light to oil-burning lamps.

A reference was made by him to import of Sulphuric Acid. Well, I am not going to blame him. After all, a person is not supposed to know all things. I myself made a mistake in trying to pronounce the name of a type of non-ferrous metal. The tongue sort of refused to co-operate. And if he does not know about Sulphuric Acid, it is no crime. But I can assure him that we do not import Sulphuric Acid. Somebody must have given him the information about some other article. We are importing sulphur which is the base for Sulphuric Acid. We do not import Sulphuric Acid. We have got 40 odd plants making it both by the Chamber and contact processes. It is not enough for our needs, but it is there. We do not import Sulphuric Acid.

On the question of the position of industry as a whole *vis-a-vis* my Ministry I am very grateful for the very reasonable speech of my hon. friend Mr. Somani. The House should not

mistake that the Government is very considerate to his interests, that they are doing everything that they want, and that is why he made a reasonable speech. Well, I can tell the hon. Members of the House that gratitude, according to the modern version, is a lively sense of favours to come. Very possibly from that point of view, the speech is very reasonable, and I can assure my hon. friend that if the same reasonable attitude is adopted by industry as a whole, he would find that Government would certainly co-operate, but they must not forget that there are two factors there. One happens to be labour with which they are connected. The other thing happens to be the consumer. My hon. friend made some reference to prices. He says, if you allow higher prices, in the beginning then we can come down to economic prices later. In the process, you will lose your own trade, you will lose the consumer. We did reduce prices in May of coarse and medium cloth, and we gave a slight increase, a very slight increase, in regard to manufacturing costs. The public seem to think that we are favouring the mill-owner. They do not realise that there has been a reduction from 5 to 24 per cent., and what has been added on is only 0.9 per cent. to 2.95 per cent. I saw a leading article in one of the big newspapers of India which has taken into account some statement of mine in Coimbatore. This is a capitalist man; he feels some gratitude for what the mill-owners of the town did for him 15 years ago, and therefore, he must shake off his inhibitions. Well, that is not so. I did not express any gratitude to the mill-owners. I said Coimbatore had been kind to me. I did not associate Coimbatore with the Coimbatore mill-owners. That is the type of criticism Government have to face. If my hon. friend recognises that fact, he will realise that so far as fixation of prices of controlled commodities is concerned, Government is trying to reconcile a number of conflicting interests, and ultimately we have only in mind the consumer's interests, subject only to the preservation of the industry.

I am sorry to take more time of the House, but I would come to the speech made by my hon. friend Mr. More. I rather like to listen to him. I have heard him speak three times. I like somebody who is very fresh, and I have a little partiality for books; I am a little book worm myself in a sort of way. So I like anybody who quotes from books even though it may be very near to that adage of somebody quoting Scripture. It is a very interesting intellectual exercise to listen to

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him. When Mr. More gets up, I always anticipate he will have some book coming from underneath. Well, he said the industrial policy of Government is neither national nor rational. It is a beautiful rhyme. It is good for a banner headline, but that is where it begins and where it ends. The Government is a national Government, and it has no other interest except national interest. If he seeks to convince the House and the public outside that Government's interests are anti-national, that they are tied to the apron-strings of the British or American or Russian interests, I think he is just attempting the impossible, at any rate, for the time being. I am pleased to hear the sound, it is very nice: "it is neither national nor rational". It is not true nonetheless.

I expected from Mr. More something more than what he chose to give us. Of course, he disclaimed more or less any affiliation with the groups that are sitting near him, and he assured us that he will not go underground. It is a good thing. I should be sorry if he went underground. He said we continue the British policy. He did not tell us exactly where we are continuing the British policy. Do you want to change the map of the country? Everything has to continue. Mr. More and I continue. We have not changed, but we continue. So also, the environment in which we are functioning has to continue. It is a purely relative term. If my hon. friend had spoken as some hon. Members of the Communist Party have spoken that we are allowing British interests to continue in this country, I could understand it. True, we are allowing British interests to continue, subject to certain conditions, provided they play ball. But he did not do that. The gravamen of his attack was really that this budget did not provide anything for industry. How can Government provide anything for industry, unless it is some State industry? We have, for instance, Item 104 on the Demands. There is provision of Rs. 2 crores and odd for the setting up of a pig iron plant. That is all the Finance Minister could provide. He cannot do anything else and say: out of defence expenditure, I am going to give so much to the Ahmedabad Mill-owners, so much to Kanpur, so much to South India. It is not a question of distributing largesses.

Again, there is the point of view expressed in regard to disappointment in respect of the Five Year Plan. The plan envisages only expenditure on the public sector. If hon. Members say that that is not enough, that more money must be spent on the public

sector, that the plan must provide for more money, I agree it would be understandable. But if you say we ought to finance industrialists, I would say that if they ask the Industrial Finance Corporation, they will provide money. My hon. colleague, the Finance Minister is ever engaged in assisting industrialists to find money either here or from elsewhere so that industry can be expanded. And if you look at the achievements of the country as a whole,—I will not say Government—the report submitted by my Ministry, the Administration Report, which, notwithstanding a few howlers, has given some information, you will find the country has been progressing. There is **one thing you can see at any rate to the credit of Government: Government have not stopped the progress of industry. The country has been progressing.**

You can take this question of the Sindri plant. I have more or less grown up with it since the inception of the plant. I knew it when the Gouging Commission came which was to report on the feasibility of establishing a Sulphate of Ammonia plant; also in 1940 when we made the first technical agreement for the erection of the plant. I also know the handicaps of the particular industry. Now, after partition, gypsum is not available to us from Pakistan. In spite of it, in a period of three years what we have done is really remarkable, and a thing which every **one should be proud of, rather than be ashamed of.**

What else does Mr. More want? He says defence industries are essential. I agree. So does my colleague, the Finance Minister. Even more so, the Defence Minister, and above all, the Prime Minister is very keen on it. Please tell us on what lines we are to proceed. We are trying all the time. We want to develop the automobile industry primarily because we think it is an ancillary industry so far as defence industries are concerned. The question of planning is for the purpose of seeing that industries in particular sectors are developed in a planned and co-ordinated way. And, of course, he quoted something which is against us. He quoted a book by Prof. Agarwal, a colleague of ours. He said Mahatma Gandhi said key industries should be owned by the State. There we are one. The industrial policy statement of 1948 says the State must own key industries. What we do is: we are apportioning our resources so that we do not spend on some industries which have already been started, and run by private industry. One particular clause

in that industrial policy statement has evoked a lot of fear on the part of the industrialists, which is meaningless. The statement merely says that after a period of ten years, there will be a review. The review does not mean that the State is going to take over all private industries. It only means that a review will be made as to whether private enterprise is pulling its weight. As the hon. the Prime Minister has repeatedly stated, there is no point in taking over all private industries. We can use our resources for other and better purposes. When a time comes when we have so much of money, and we find it lying idle, which we can invest usefully, we will then take over these industries. If my hon. friend Mr. More has reflected over the matter, he would have found that he is entirely in agreement with the policy of Government. The Government is merely doing what he has in his mind. He may like to quicken the process. If he gives any suggestions, I for myself would be willing to accept them.

I am very grateful to my hon. friend from Bombay, Mr. V. B. Gandhi for the very constructive speech he has made. I think he also dispelled these attacks that have been made on us both in regard to our imports and also in regard to our exports. While the criticism is made that we are exporting raw materials from this country for the purpose of stockpiling by war-minded and war-mongering nations, hon. Members forget that 57 per cent. of our exports consists of manufactured goods. Another hon. Member from the Communist party said that we are importing quite a lot of stuff, but no machinery at all. If the hon. Member wants, I shall give a statement showing that so far as consumer goods are concerned, including grains, pulses, and even bicycles, our imports come to about 22 to 23 per cent. of our total imports, and all our imports come in the form of raw materials for the purposes of manufacture, and an appreciable portion of capital machinery.

Coming again to the speech of Mr. Gandhi, it was suggested that a Conference of textile interests was envisaged. I may tell hon. Members that there is no such thing as that. There is some kind of vague talk in the U.K. about it. But no move has been made by us, so far as we are concerned.

There was something said about our foreign Consular Service. I agree that what we have is not probably what one wants it to be. I would like personally to have a Foreign Consular Service which is very effective and

very helpful, but we are just in the process of building it up, and we are definitely proceeding in the right direction. The allocation that my Ministry has asked is for posting First Secretaries (Commerce) to Washington, Peking, Tokyo, Ottawa, to mention only a few important places. We are therefore moving in the direction in which the hon. Member wants us to move.

Lastly I come to the speech of my hon. friend Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhury. He gave me an invitation to come to Assam. Personally I would like to do so, as my knowledge of this State is not very good. I would certainly like to go to Assam, time permitting. But that is not necessary for me to appreciate the difficulties of Assam. I think the Ministry, and also the Prime Minister are very keen in helping Assam. It is not so much that by every Minister going to Assam we are going to help Assam. In regard to the question of yarn, we know the position in Assam. We are not insensitive to their needs. On the question of galvanized iron-sheets, the position now is that we might be able to meet, as he says, sympathetically any demands made by his State. We have in the past tried to do so to our best both in the year 1951 and 1952. We have allotted to Assam to the exclusion of similar claims from other States. At the present moment, I can assure him that any demand that comes from his State for allocation of galvanized iron-sheets would be very sympathetically considered. I have attempted to controvert some of the major criticisms that have been made in regard to the policy pursued by the Government in respect of commerce and industry. If I have not mentioned anything with regard to the criticisms of certain hon. Members, I hope they will pardon me for that, because it was not intentional. I have already taken about 42 minutes for my reply. I do not want to impinge on the time allotted for the next Demand; I end my speech here. Once again let me mention to the House my gratitude for the fairly general and generous receptions that I have had in this House, and I hope the Demands will be passed without any cut.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall now put all the cut motions together to the vote of the House, unless any hon. Member wants any particular motion to be taken up separately. The question is:

“That the demand under the head ‘Ministry of Commerce and Industry’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

The motion was negatived.

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**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall now place all the demands together to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the order paper in respect of Demands Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 104 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1953, in



respect of the corresponding heads of Demands entered in the second column thereof."

The motion was adopted.

[As directed by Mr. Deputy-Speaker the motions for Demands for Grants which were adopted by the House are reproduced below—Ed. of P. P.]

**DEMAND NO. 1—MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 47,13,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry'."

**DEMAND NO. 2—INDUSTRIES**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 93,30,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Industries'."

**DEMAND NO. 3—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,49,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics'."

**DEMAND NO. 4—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS AND EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,41,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry'."

**DEMAND NO. 104—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,22,23,000 be granted to the

President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1953, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry'."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now proceed to discuss the demands relating to the Ministry of Rehabilitation. The demands are 78, 79, 80 and 125.

**DEMAND NO. 78—MINISTRY OF REHABILITATION**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,00,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1953, in respect of 'Ministry of Rehabilitation'."

**DEMAND NO. 79—EXPENDITURE ON DISPLACED PERSONS**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,72,92,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1953, in respect of 'Expenditure on Displaced Persons'."

**DEMAND NO. 80—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF REHABILITATION**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,000 be granted to the President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1953, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Rehabilitation'."

**DEMAND NO. 125—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF REHABILITATION**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,00,000 be granted to the

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

President, out of the Consolidated Fund of India to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1953, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Rehabilitation'."

There are some agreed cut motions of which notice has been given to me.

*Evacuee Property in Hyderabad*

**Shri Madhao Reddi** (Adilabad): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Rehabilitation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Displaced Persons from Eastern Pakistan*

**Shri T. K. Chaudhuri** (Berhampore): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Rehabilitation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Yol Camp Inmates*

**Sardar Hukam Singh** (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Rehabilitation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Verification of Claims*

**Sardar Hukam Singh**: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Rehabilitation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Policy*

**Shri K. Subrahmanyam** (Vizianagaram): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Rehabilitation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Position of Displaced Persons*

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani** (New Delhi): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Rehabilitation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Condition of Displaced Persons from East Bengal*

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** (Hooghly): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Rehabilitation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: All the cut motions moved above are placed before the House. I have received notice of cut motion No. 732 by Jonab Amjad Ali, to discuss the failure of the Government to implement the Indo-Pakistan Agreement, April 1950. I am afraid this relates to the Ministry of External Affairs. Therefore I rule it out of order.

The House will now proceed with discussion of both, the demands and the cut motions that have been placed before the House.

**श्रीमती सुचेता कृपालनी** : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस रिहैबिलिटेशन की बहस के लिये मैं समझती हूँ हमारे माननीय मंत्री ने कल अखबारों में एक बयान निकाला। उस की रिपोर्ट हमारे पास तो आ चुकी है, लेकिन पब्लिक के लिये वह बयान अखबारों में दिया गया। उस के पढ़ने से ऐसा मालूम होता है कि रिहैबिलिटेशन का काम अब बहुत थोड़ा बाकी है। उस बयान में कुछ आंकड़े दिये गये हैं जिन में से कुछ का खुलासा मैं यहाँ रखूंगी।

रिपोर्ट में बताया गया है कि पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से आये हुए लोगों में से ९३.४ फी सदी को जमीन मिल चुकी है। मैं ईस्ट बंगाल के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहूंगी क्योंकि वहाँ के लिये तो मेरे और भाई हैं वह बतायेंगे। ९३ फी सदी शहरी रिफ्यूजीज को मकान मिल चुके हैं, एक लाख साठ हजार फैमिलीज को एम्प्लायमेन्ट एक्सचेंज (Employment Exchanges) के जरिये नौकरी मिल चुकी है। करीब ८०,००० को सेंट्रल और प्राविन्शल गवर्नमेंट में नौकरी मिल चुकी है, एक लाख छप्पन हजार को छोटे कर्ज दिये गये हैं और नौ, दस हजार को थार० एफ० ए० के जरिये बड़ लोन्स (loans) दिये गये हैं। इस सब को देखने से मालूम होता है कि अब कुछ ज्यादा काम ही बाकी नहीं रहा है। जैसा अंग्रेजी में कहा जाता है कि पसी

थिंग इज प्रेटी इन दी गार्डन आफ रिहैबिलिटेशन (Everything is pretty in the garden of rehabilitation)। उस बयान में आप पायेंगे कि करीब ९०-९५ फी सदी मामला हल हो गया है। अगर इतना काम हो गया है तो मैं समझती हूँ कि रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री का मामला भी हल हो गया, और वह पांच छः महीने में खत्म हो जायेगी।

इसी रिपोर्ट में बताया गया कि ईस्ट पाकिस्तान से जो लोग आये हुए हैं उन का भी मामला इतना नहीं तो इस से कुछ ही कष्ट हल हो चुका है। ईस्ट बंगाल के बारे में तो हमारे और भाई बतायेंगे क्योंकि मुझे बहुत पता नहीं है, सिर्फ वेस्ट पाकिस्तान के रिफ्यूजीज के बारे में जो फिगर्स आप ने दिये हैं उन को जब हम रिफ्यूजीज के बीच में पढ़ते हैं तो उन पर इस का क्या रिऐक्शन (reaction) होता है इस को मैं बतलाना चाहती हूँ। आप कहते हैं कि ९०-९५ फी सदी मामला हल हो गया है, अगर यहां के मेम्बरान हमारे साथ चले और मुहल्लों में घूमें तो आप देखेंगे कि रिफ्यूजीज भूखे नंगे अधमरे गलियों और कूचों में रहते हैं, उन की बहुत खराब हालत है, और बिना दवा दारू के मर रहे हैं। उन की हालत दिनों दिन खराब होती जा रही है। आप यह न समझिये कि जो कुछ आप कर रहे हैं मैं उस को मिनिमाइज (minimize) कर रही हूँ। मुझे मालूम है कि मिनिस्ट्री का काम बहुत अच्छा हुआ है, बड़ा जबर्दस्त काम आप ने किया है। इतना बड़ा काम हल करना मुश्किल होता है, लेकिन जो आंकड़े हमें बतलाये गये हैं उन की पढ़ कर मुझे बड़ी हैरानी हुई। कल ही आप का बयान निकला, है, साथ ही साथ एक दूसरे माननीय मंत्री का बयान उस में था दूसरे सिलसिले में। खाने के सिलसिले में क़िदवाई

साहब ने कहा है कि गवर्नमेन्ट के स्टैटिस्टिक्स (statistics) अनरिलायबल (unreliable) हैं। अगर उन का कहना ठीक है तो उस ख्याल से तो हमारे रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट र (Rehabilitation Minister) के फिगर्स (Figures) भी गलत होंगे।

पुनर्वास मंत्री (श्री ए० श्री० जैन): मेरे यहां तो ठीक है।

श्रीमती सुषेता कपलानी: मुझे तो मालूम नहीं, दोनों ही गवर्नमेन्ट बेंचें (Government Benches) पर बैठे हुए हैं, फैसला कर लें। तो मैं सिर्फ कुछ बातों की तरफ आप का ध्यान दिलाऊंगी। बहुत कुछ हो चुका है यह ठीक है लेकिन बहुत कुछ होना बाकी है। जो कुछ हमारे रिलीफ और रिहैबिलिटेशन के काम में ऐनोमालीज (anomalies) हैं उन की तरफ भी मैं आप की तबज़्जह दिलाना चाहती हूँ। पहिले आप लें ररल रिहैबिलिटेशन (rural rehabilitation) को। चार पांच लाख लोगों को पंजाब और पंप्सू में ज़मीन मिल चुकी है। यह जो ज़मीन मिली है वह जो ज़मीन वह लोग छोड़ कर आये हैं उस की ६५ या ७० फी सदी है। लेकिन पंजाब वाले लोग शिकायत करते हैं कि उस ज़मीन की क्वालिटी (quality) ठीक नहीं है, और भी शिकायतें हैं, लेकिन तो भी ६५-७० फी सदी को ज़मीन मिल चुकी है। लेकिन जो अनडिवाइडिड प्राविन्सेज (undivided provinces) हैं, जैसे सिंध, फ़ाटियर और बिलोचिस्तान, वहां के रिफ्यूजियों की तादाद करीब २० लाख है, उस में से ७-८ लाख देहाती आबादी है। उन को जो ज़मीनें दी गई हैं, वह किस हिसाब से? इधर तो लोगों को ६५-७० फी सदी ज़मीनें मिली हैं और उधर दस, दस

[श्रीमती सचता कृपलानी].

एकड़ जमीन दे कर कहते हैं, कि अब तुम जाओ। और इस तरह से रिफ्यूजी रिफ्यूजी के बीच में भेद किया जाता है, इस को खत्म करना चाहिये। अगर यह बात नहीं है तब तो ठीक है। लोग तंग रहते हैं, परेशान रहते हैं, बेइन्साफी है इस के लिये शिकायत करते हैं।

अब आप लीजिये शहरी रिहैबिलिटेशन को। शहरी रिहैबिलिटेशन में ज्यादातर चीज जो आप ने की है वह यह कि लोगों को आप ने मकान दिये हैं और कुछ कर्जे दिये हैं जो पेटी लोन्स (petty loans) कहलाते हैं और जो प्राविन्शाल स्कीम (provincial schemes) के अन्दर आते हैं। वह कर्जे हैं पचास, साठ, सौ, दो सौ, चार सौ, या पांच सौ रुपया। इतने रुपये से आज कल कोई बिजनेस (business) नहीं हो सकता है। हाँ, ठेला चला सकते हैं, छाबड़ियाँ लगा सकते हैं, रेड़ी वाले हो सकते हैं या सामान ले कर फुट पाथ पर बैठ सकते हैं। आप ने उन लोगों को इतना रुपया दे कर एक बहुत बड़ी तादाद खोँचा वालों, छाबड़ी वालों और रेड़ी वालों की बना दी है। और कुछ लोग जो कुछ उतने रुपये से नहीं कर सके वह उसे खा गये हैं। तो यह तो आप का लोन है जिसे आप डैड लोन (dead loan) समझिये। जब मोहन लाल जी सक्सेना यहां पर थे, तो उन के दिल में कुछ रिजर्वेशन (reservation) था, एक मॅन्टल रिजर्वेशन (mental reservation) उन के दिल में था कि वह जो पेटी लोन्स दे रहे हैं वह वापस नहीं मिलेगा। अब मोहन लाल जी सक्सेना की जगह दूसरे आदमी आ गये हैं। अजित प्रसाद जी जैन, वह बड़े होशियार हैं। उन्होंने सोचा कि जो कि डैड लोन है उस का कुछ हिसाब तो लगा लें। उन्होंने उस को liquid investment

में बदल दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि जो कम्पेंसेशन (compensation) मिल रहा है उस पूल (pool) पर पहला चार्ज (charge) यह होगा। तो गवर्नमेन्ट का हिसाब किताब यह हुआ कि जो लोन वापस नहीं मिलने वाला था वह अब मिलेगा।

अब आप आर० एफ० ए० को लीजिये। उस की हमें कुछ वाकफियत है। इस में करीब दस हजार को लोन दिया जा चुका है। उस में आप ने बड़ी सख्त पाबन्दियाँ लगा रक्की हैं जिस से कि लोग बहुत परेशान हैं। लेकिन फिर भा थोड़ा बहुत दिया भी जा रहा है। इस पर ६ फी सदी सूद लिया जा रहा है, हालांकि जो पैसा खर्च किया गया है उस से रिफ्यूजियों को मदद जरूर मिली है लेकिन वह पैसा सरकार ने हमें इमदाद के तौर पर नहीं दिया। वह तो सरकार की इन्वेस्टमेंट (investment) है, जब रकम वापस आयेगी तो सूद भी वापस आयेगा। यह है आप के लोन्स का हिसाब।

अब आप मकानों को लीजिये। रिपोर्ट में बतलाया गया है कि कुल रकम का ३१.३ फी सदी मकानों पर खर्च किया गया है। कुल १४६ करोड़ का आप का खर्च है। उस में से ३१.३ फी सदी मकानों पर खर्च हुआ। बहुत अच्छी बात है लेकिन मकान मालिक कौन है? हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार, चाहे प्राविन्शाल गवर्नमेंट या इंडिया गवर्नमेंट। जहां जमीन पड़ी थी उस के आप मालिक बन गये और मकान बनवा लिये। और उस का आप किराया लेने लगे। किराया भी किस हिसाब से चार्ज करते हैं? मकान बनाने का खर्च जैसे आज पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० (P.W.D.) करती है,

१५, १६ फी सदी सुपरविजन चार्ज (supervision charge) लिया जाता था, अब वह घट कर आठ फी सदी हुआ है। इस के बाद जो कंट्रैक्टर (contractor) बनाता है, हमारे देशमुख जी का हिसाब है कि २० फी सदी उस कंट्रैक्टर के लिये लगाया जाता है, इस के बाद कुल पर ६ १/२ पर सेंट लगा कर मकान का किराया लगाया जाता है। सारे रिफ्यूजीज हाय हाय कर रहे हैं कि जो किराया लगाया जा रहा है उसे हम नहीं दे सकते। लेकिन इस से क्या? आप मकान मालिक हैं इसलिये आप को, सरकार को, हक ज्यादा हासिल है वनिस्वत दूसरे मकान मालिकों के। दूसरे मकानदार को अगर किरायेदार किराया न दे तो वह कोई जुल्म नहीं कर सकते। लेकिन सरकार के पास अस्तित्व है। अगर कोई किराया न दे, बम्बई में आप ने एक ऐक्ट पास किया है, मूवमेंट आफ रिफ्यूजीज ऐक्ट (Movement of Refugees Act), रिफ्यूजीजों ने इस ऐक्ट को गुंडा ऐक्ट का नाम दिया है। सरकार को हक है कि अगर किसी ने किराया नहीं दिया तो किसी रिफ्यूजी को हटा कर और कहीं डाल दें। किसी मकान मालिक को यह हक हासिल नहीं है, लेकिन सरकार जो है उस को हर मामले में ज्यादा हक हासिल है।

फिर देखिये कि आप लोगों को खरीदने के लिए मकान देते हैं। इन में से कुछ तो आप आउट राइट सेल (outright sale) से देते हैं और कुछ हायर ऐन्ड परचेज सिस्टम (hire and purchase system) से। पर मैं ने यह गलत कहा कि हायर परचेज से देते हैं। मुझे कहना यह चाहिये कि, देते थे। इस से लोगों को कुछ आसानी हो जाती थी। अभी राजेन्द्र नगर के लोगों की यह डिमांड (demand) थी कि उन का पीरियड

(period) दस साल से बढ़ा कर १५ साल कर दिया जाय। मगर यकायक न मालूम क्यों, न मालूम आप को क्या इन्सपिरेशन (inspiration) हुआ कि आप ने यह हायर परचेज का सिस्टम बन्द कर दिया। उस की वजह से आज रिफ्यूजीज रो रहे हैं। वह कहते हैं कि हमारे पास आउट राइट परचेज के लिये रुपया नहीं है, हमारे लिये हायर परचेज का सिस्टम कर दिया जाये। हां दो जिले हैं, दो खुशकिस्मत जिले हैं, अगर मैं गलत हूँ तो मुझे करेक्ट (correct) कर दिया जाये, जहाँ अब भी यह हायर परचेज का सिस्टम जारी है। वह कौन से जिले हैं? एक तो देहरादून का जिला है और दूसरा सहारनपुर का।

वित्त राज्य मन्त्री (श्री त्यागी): यह किस ने कहा है।

श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी : अगर मैं गलत हूँ तो आप मुझे करेक्ट कर सकते हैं। तो यह वह दो खुशकिस्मत जिले हैं, एक डिप्टी फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर का जिला है और एक रिलीफ मिनिस्टर का जिला है। मैं चाहूंगी कि रिफ्यूजीज अपने अपने जिले से एक मिनिस्टर यहां भेज दें ताकि उन की सुनवाई हो जाया करे।

श्री ए० पी० जैन : यह बिल्कुल गलत है।

श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी : आप ने कहा कि हम ने १० फी सदी लोगों को मकान दे दिये हैं। मेरे पास कुछ जगह के स्टैटिस्टिक्स (statistics) हैं। सब जगह के तो मैं इकट्ठा नहीं कर सकती। मैं ने कुछ गवर्नमेंट सर्वैंट्स (Government servants) को कहा कि तुम लोग अपने स्टैटिस्टिक्स हम को दो। इन लोगों का बहुत दर्दनाक हाल है। यहां पर

[श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी]

एक जगह है किचनर होस्टल। वहां पर कुछ गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स को एकोमोडेशन (accommodation) दिया गया है। एक एक आदमी को १० × १० का एक एक कमरा दिया गया है। जहां बड़े बड़े हाल हैं उन में पार्टिशन (partition) कर के कमरे बनाये गये हैं। उन में न बाथरूम (bathrooms) हैं, न किचन (kitchens) हैं और न कोई प्राइवसी (privacy) है और उन मकानों की जिन्दगी भी खत्म हो चुकी है। उन को तो तोड़ देना चाहिये था। लेकिन यह लोग उन मकानों में बैठे हुए हैं। लेकिन इन का किराया उन लोगों से उतना ही लिया जाता है जैसे कि यह मकान ठीक हालत में हों। अभी तक जो डिस्प्लेस्ड गवर्नमेंट सर्वेंट्स (displaced Government servants) को एकोमोडेशन के मामले में प्रायोरिटी (priority) मिलती थी यानी यह कि अगर पांच सरकारी मकान खाली हों तो उन में से एक डिस्प्लेस्ड परसन्स (displaced persons) को दिया जाता था, वह पिछली फरवरी से वापस ले ली गई है और आज डिस्प्लेस्ड गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स और दूसरे गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स बराबर हैं। आप को यह ख्याल करना चाहिये कि यह डिस्प्लेस्ड परसन्स वापस जाने वाले नहीं हैं, उन की यहां पर अपनी कोई जगह नहीं है। अगर आप उन का यकायक हटा देते हैं तो उन के पास कोई जगह नहीं है कि जहां वह जा सकें। जब वह रिटायर हो जाते हैं या रिट्रेंच (retrench) हो जाते हैं तो उन के लिये कोई जगह जाने को नहीं होती। तो यह लोग इस बुरी हालत में हैं। आप कहते हैं कि हम ने ९० फी सदी को एकोमोडेशन दे दिया है लेकिन जहां तक इन गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स का सम्बन्ध है

उन को १५ फी सदी एकोमोडेशन मिला है। अगर मैं गलत कहती हूं तो आप मुझे करेक्ट कर दें।

श्री ए० पी० जैन : मैं आप को करेक्ट करना चाहता हूं। जो मैं ने फिलार दिया है उस में यह शामिल नहीं है। यह तो उस ९० फी सदी के अलावा है।

श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी : अब ऐम्प्लॉयमेंट (employment) का सवाल है। आप कहते हैं कि हम ने २८ हजार आदमियों को evacuee shops दिये हैं और २१ हजार को नई दुकानें दीं हैं। ठीक है। इस से बहुतों की मदद मिली है। मगर इस सिलसिले में मैं कुछ बातों की तरफ आप की तबज्जह दिलाना चाहती हूं। बहुत सी दुकानें ऐसी जगह दी गई हैं कि जहां पर कोई तिजारत नहीं है। आप ने जो इविन रोड पर यहां दिल्ली में दुकानें दी हैं उन में कोई बिजनेस (business) नहीं है। यह तो यहां दिल्ली का किस्सा है। इसी तरह से उत्तर प्रदेश में भी बहुत सी ऐसी जगहों पर लोगों को दुकानें दी गई हैं कि जहां पर कोई तिजारत ही नहीं है। उन दुकानों में ताले पड़े हुए हैं क्योंकि वहां कोई काम ही नहीं है। इविन रोड की जो २९६ दुकानें हैं उन में से पचास, साठ फल और सब्जी वालों को छोड़ कर और लोगों के पास कोई बिजनेस नहीं है और वह लोग कहते हैं कि हमें ऐसी जगह हटा दिया जाये जहां पर कि काम हो। अगर कुछ जगह पर कोई तिजारत है भी, जैसे कि क्वीन्स के की दुकानों में कुछ काम होता है और वहां लोग कुछ कमा रहे हैं, यहां जो नये नये मिनिस्टर आये हैं वह उन को हटाना चाहते हैं। मेरा मतलब

श्री अजित प्रसाद जी से नहीं है, मेरा मतलब दिल्ली राज्य के नये मिनिस्ट्रों से है। यकायक इन लोगों को जोश आता है और यह उन को वहां से हटाना चाहते हैं। इस तरह की रोज बदलने वाली पालिसी ठीक नहीं जिस में इन लोगों को बार बार हटाया जाता है। इस से इन का बहुत नुकसान होता है।

दो तीन दिन पहले एक जलसा हुआ था जिस में श्री मेहर चन्द खन्ना साहब ने कहा कि ५७ हजार लड़कों को हम ने टेक्निकल ट्रेनिंग दी है। लेकिन इस सिलसिले में मैं एक सवाल सरकार से पूछना चाहती हूँ। यह जो ५७ हजार लड़कों को टेक्निकल ट्रेनिंग दी गई है इन में से आज कितने ऐसे हैं जो तिजारत कर सकते हैं और गेनफुल ऐम्पलाइमेंट (gainful employment) में लगे हुए हैं। उन की सब से बड़ी जरूरत यह है कि उन के बनाये हुए सामान का मार्केटिंग किया जाये। यह लड़के कुछ सामान तो तैयार कर लेते हैं पर उन को सरकार की तरफ से कोई मदद नहीं है कि यह सामान बिक सके। तो मैं वह फिगर जानना चाहती हूँ कि इन ५७ हजार में से कितने लोग गेनफुल ऐम्पलाइमेंट में लगे हुए हैं। अगर मिनिस्टर साहब अपने जवाब में मुझे यह बता देंगे तो मैं बहुत खुश हूंगी।

एक और सवाल ऐम्पलाइमेंट के सिलसिले में पूछना चाहती हूँ। आप ने कहा कि ८० हजार सेंट्रल और प्राविन्शियल गवर्नमेंट और रेलवे ऐम्पलाइज को आप ने नौकरी दी। इस सिलसिले में मैं आप से एक बात कहना चाहती हूँ। सरदार पटेल ने इन लोगों के लिये दो तीन बार यह डिक्लेरेशन (de-olaration) दिया था। मैं उस को इन

लोगों के मेमोरेंडम (memorandum) में से पढ़ कर सुनाती हूँ :

“(a) preference for displaced Government servants would rank next only to that for Central Government optees in the matter of placement,

(b) questions relating to their leave and pensionary rights would be decided soon,

(c) they would be confirmed after a probation of three months,”

I want you to take special note of this,

“and (d) nothing would be allowed to remain in the way of their settlement except Government's commitments to its existing staff who might have rendered longer service in similar grades.”

यह सब उन का कहना था। अभी तक उन के लिये कुछ नहीं किया गया है। अभी तक उन को कनफर्म (confirm) नहीं किया गया है। आज डिस्प्लेस्ड गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स की यह हालत है। अगर आज उन को किसी बात में प्रायिटी (priority) दी जाती है तो सब से पहले रिट्रेंचमेंट (retrenchment) के मामले में। तो यह गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स की हालत है जिन को कि आप ने बसाया है। अगर उन को रिटायर (retire) कर दिया जाता है या उन को रिट्रेंच कर दिया जाता है तो उन को कहीं जाने को कोई जगह नहीं मिलती।

फिर एक बात और है। कैबिनेट (Cabinet) का यह डिसीशन (decision) है कि डिस्प्लेस्ड गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स की सुपरएन्युएशन (superannuation) के मामले में कुछ रिलैजेशन (relaxation) कर दिया जाय। खास कर अगर साइंटिफिक या टेक्निकल परसोनल (scientific or technical personnel) का हो, अगर उस की तन्दुस्ती ठीक हो तो उस को एक्सटेंशन (extension) दिया जाय। लेकिन मेरे पास एक किस्सा है C.P.W.D के एक सुपरिटेन्डिंग इंजीनियर

[श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी]

(Superintending Engineer) का जिस को ऐक्सटेंशन देने के लिये तीन तीन चीफ इंजीनियरों (Chief Engineers) ने सिफारिश की लेकिन उस को हटा दिया गया । उस परिवार के पास यहां जाने के लिये कोई जगह नहीं है और वह बहुत तकलीफ में है । अगर काफी लोग इस ढंग से रहेंगे तो आप समझ सकते हैं कि उन का गवर्नमेंट की तरफ क्या एटी-ट्यूड (Attitude) रहेगा । और इस से कितना डिसकंटेंटमेंट (discontentment) फँलेगा । आप इस तरह से (discontentment) का एक केन्द्र बना रहे हैं ।

फिर इन लोगों के पोस्टल इश्योरेंस (postal insurance) का सवाल है । उस के बारे में मैं आप को कुछ बताना चाहती हूँ । आप ने कहा कि इन लोगों को इस पोस्टल इश्योरेंस में से कुछ इंटरिम रिलीफ (interim relief) के तौर पर दिया जायगा । लेकिन आप ने कहा कि यह रिलीफ सिर्फ उन्हीं लोगों को दिया जायेगा जो कि ३१-३-४८ तक यहां आये हैं । लेकिन सिध के रिफ्यूजीज इस तारीख के बाद आये हैं । अभी तक इन के लिये कुछ नहीं किया गया । जो उन के प्राविडेंट फंड (provident fund) और लीव-एरियर्स (leave arrears) थे उन के बारे में आप ने फंसला किया कि उस का ५० पर सेंट आप देंगे क्योंकि इतना ही आप समझते हैं कि पाकिस्तान से मिलेगा । उस का हिसाब इस तरह से है :

*Provident Fund—*

Amount due to Govt. of India	68 lakhs
Amount due to Pakistan	51 „
<i>Arrears of Pay—</i>	
Amount due to Pakistan	48 „
Amount due to Govt. of India	43 „

तो गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की तरफ १११ करोड़ है और पाकिस्तान की तरफ ९९ लाख है । सिर्फ १२ लाख का फर्क है । तो क्यों न उन लोगों का पूरा सैटिलमेंट (settlement) कर दिया जाय ? अगर आप ऐसा कर देंगे तो उन को बहुत ज्यादा सहूलत हो जायेगी ।

अब मैं आखिर में सैटिलमेंट आफ क्लेम्स (settlement of claims) के बारे में कहना चाहती हूँ । रिफ्यूजीज यह चाहते हैं कि उन के इस क्लेम्स के मामले को जल्दी तै कर दिया जाये । मुझे इस बात से खुशी है कि इस बार हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह फ्रैंक ऐडमिशन (frank admission) कर लिया है कि पाकिस्तान से हम जो भी नेगोशियेशन (negotiation) करते हैं उस में वह बाजी मार ले जाते हैं और हम पीछे रह जाते हैं । हम उन को मना नहीं सकते । हम जो आफर (offer) करते हैं वह उस से इन्कार कर देते हैं । लेकिन मैं कहती हूँ कि यह सैटिलमेंट तो आप को किसी न किसी तरह करना ही है ।

आज रिफ्यूजी की सब से बड़ी पुकार इस बात पर है । आज आप बाहर जाइये तो देखेंगे कि वे खड़े हैं और बड़े बड़े प्लेकार्ड्स (playcards) लिये हुए हैं और चिल्ला रहे हैं कि हमारे क्लेम्स का सैटिलमेंट किया जाय । वह चाहते हैं कि उन के क्लेम्स का सैटिलमेंट जल्दी से जल्दी हो । चार किस्म की जायदादें हमारी वहां हैं, रूरल लैंड, अर्बन, इममूवेबिल, अर्बन मूवेबिल और इंडस्ट्रियल कंसर्नस् । ये चार चीजें हैं लेकिन अभी सिर्फ एक ही चीज पर तहकीकात की गई है यानी अर्बन इममूवेबिल (urban immovable) जायदाद की । अगर आप ने सब जायदादों



की तहकीकात नहीं की तो यह मालूम नहीं हो सकेगा कि हमारा टोटल क्लेम (total claim) क्या है। हम को तो यह भी मालूम नहीं है कि अबन इम्मूबिल का टोटल कितना है और जो मुस्लिम प्रापर्टी आप के हाथ में है उस का क्या टोटल है। पिछली दफा एक सवाल में ने पूछा था लेकिन इस का जवाब गोल में दिया गया था और इस को मिस्ट्री में रखा गया था। तो मैं आज मिनिस्टर साहब से यह कैटेगोरिकल रिप्लाई (categorical reply) चाहती हूँ कि वह बतावें कि क्लेम का total क्या है। आज लोगों के दिल में शक है और वह समझते हैं कि हम को दसवां हिस्सा मिलेगा तो यह जो disparity है इस को कैसे पूरा करेंगे। हमें यह साफ साफ बताना चाहिये कि आप इस को कैसे हल करेंगे। क्या सरकार इस को अपनी तरफ से दे कर हल करेगी? फिर यह सवाल होता है कि आप क्लेम को किस ढंग से सेटिल करवायेंगे, किस तरीके से सेटिल करवायेंगे। यह सब से बड़ा सवाल आज रिफ्यूजीज के दिल में है जिसे मैं आप के सामने रखती हूँ।

मैं तो जो कुछ कहने को है बोल चुकी। मेरी ऐनालिसिस (analysis) तो सिर्फ यह है कि १४६ करोड़ आप ने रिफ्यूजीज पर खर्च किया। उस में से ३१ फी सदी आप ने मकानों पर लगाया, जो आप का इनवेस्टमेंट (investment) है जिस का रिटर्न (return) आप को मिलेगा। २२.८ फी सदी तो आप ने लोन्स में दिये हैं, जो आप का इनवेस्टमेंट है और जो कि मय सूद के आप को मिलेगा। बच जाता है ४५ फी सदी। इस ४५ फी सदी में आप लोगों को लाये हैं उस का ट्रांसपोर्ट (transport) का खर्चा है, कैम्पों वगैरह का खर्चा है, डॉल्स (dolls) वगैरह

आप ने दिया उस का खर्चा है और जितने खर्च हैं वे सब शामिल हैं। इस में एक खर्च और शामिल है और वह है वेस्टेज (wastage) और करप्शन (corruption) का। तो यह सब खर्च ४५ फी सदी के अन्दर है। अब आप देखें कि रिफ्यूजीज के पत्ले क्या पड़ा है। उस के हाथ में क्या आया यह मैं पूछती हूँ। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहती हूँ कि जो कुछ खर्च आप का हुआ है वह ज्यादातर आप का इनवेस्टमेंट है और यह न समझना चाहिये कि रिफ्यूजीज के ऊपर इस से कोई अहसान हुआ है। आज कल क्या हालत है, आप ने क्या वातावरण पैदा कर दिया है? स्माल लोन्स (small loans) आप देते नहीं, आर० एफ० ए० लोन्स में आप सक्ती लाये हैं। इस बारे में मैं ने फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर के पास represent किया है, मकान बेचना आप ने बन्द कर दिया। सिर्फ आउट राइट सेल के अलावा मकान नहीं देते हैं, कैम्प वगैरह भी बन्द हो चुके, कुछ एक दो ईस्ट बंगाल वालों के लिये तो हैं लेकिन इधर नहीं हैं। तो रिफ्यूजीज की आज हालत क्या है? जो आज बसे नहीं हैं उन की हालत तो १९४७ से भी बदतर है क्योंकि वे अपने जेवरों को बेच कर खा चुके हैं और मुफलिसी में पड़े हुए हैं। इसलिये आप को इन सब बातों का पूरा ख्याल कर के क्लेम को जल्दी ही सेटिल करना चाहिये। अगर क्लेम नहीं सेटिल कर सकते हैं तो, चाहे सरकार कहीं से लाये, उन को कुछ न कुछ दे, वे मुफलिसी की हालत में कहां तक रहेंगे? वम मुझे इतना ही कहना था।

(English translation of the above speech)

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** Sir, I understand that the hon. Minister has issued a statement to the Press on the progress made in the

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rehabilitation work so far. Speaking for ourselves, we have been supplied a copy of that statement and the Press has been used as a forum for the general information of the public. The statement in question gives one the impression as if very little remains to be done with regard to rehabilitation work. Certain figures have also been given therein to which I shall refer here briefly.

In the report on rehabilitation work, it is stated that allotment of land has been made to 93·4 per cent. persons—I will not make any reference to East Bengal. There are several hon. brethren here who will take up that aspect of the problem—that 93 per cent. of the total number of urban refugees have got houses by now; that 1,60,000 persons have secured employment through Employment Exchanges while 80,000 persons have been absorbed in the Central and State Services. It has further been stated that 1,50,000 persons have been granted small loans while nine to ten thousand have secured big loans through the R.F.A. All this leads one to the impression that not much is left to be done. Everything is pretty in the garden of rehabilitation. In the statement in question, 90 to 95 per cent. of the problem is claimed to have been solved. Taking it as such I think that the justification for the continued existence of that Ministry is also over and normally it should be expected to be wound up within five to six months.

The report also states that the problem of rehabilitation of refugees coming from East Pakistan has also been considerably solved though not to the same extent as in the case of refugees from West Pakistan. I do not claim much knowledge of the conditions of the East Bengal refugees. As such, I leave it to my other hon. friends. I want to confine myself to the reaction of the refugees from West Pakistan in respect of these figures given in this report. The claim that 90 to 95 per cent. of the refugees from West Pakistan have been rehabilitated, will become untenable the moment some hon. Members of this House go round the streets and *mohallas* populated predominantly by the refugees. You will find them starving, half naked, half dead and passing their days in most deplorable conditions in narrow lanes and streets. They are dying for lack of any medicines and their condition in general is worsening day by day. Please do not think that I am in anyway trying to minimize all that the Government are doing. I for one agree

that the Ministry's work has been praiseworthy. They have done very hard work. It is really very difficult to handle a problem of this magnitude. The figures given in the statement have, however, surprised me. Only yesterday this statement has been given out in the Press alongwith another statement by another hon. Minister on some other subject. In regard to food, Shri Kidwai has held Government statistics to be unreliable. Assuming that to be correct, the figures quoted by the hon. Minister of Rehabilitation may also be wrong.

**The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain):** They are correct in my case.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** Well, I do not know. Both the hon. Ministers are occupying the Government benches. They may settle the issue mutually. So it is true that a good deal has been done, but much more remains to be done still. I may draw your attention to certain anomalies also that exist in the relief and rehabilitation work done by us. First take up the case of rural rehabilitation work. Allotment of land has been completed in respect of four to five lacs of persons in the Punjab and Pepsu. The total land allotted to them constitutes 65 to 70 per cent. of the land left behind by them in Pakistan. In addition the refugees settled in the Punjab complain of the inferior quality of these lands. There are several other complaints also. Anyway, they have been given 65 to 70 per cent. of their holdings left behind. The number of refugees coming from undivided provinces such as Sind, Frontier Province or Baluchistan is nearly 20 lacs, out of which seven to eight lacs constitute the rural population of these provinces. What is the basis adopted for allotment of lands in their case? On one hand, you allot 65 to 70 per cent. of the previous holdings, while on the other, you want people to be contented with ten or twenty acres only. This discrimination between a refugee and a refugee must stop. It is alright if my information in this respect is wrong. People complain because they are going without food and clothing and because they are victims of harassment and injustice.

Next take the issue of urban rehabilitation. The main work done in this behalf is that people have been provided with houses and in a number of cases such loans have been advanced, as are generally known as "pretty" loans and come within the purview of financial schemes. The amounts so advanced vary from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500. In the present day conditions,

it is very difficult to run any business with that sum. Of course, they can drive carts or become vendors, ply small trade on *rehris* or sit on the foot path with petty merchandise. By advancing these petty sums as loans, you have turned a considerable number of our people into petty vendors or have driven them to other types of very petty trades. Those who have not been able to do any trade with that sum, have used it for their other personal needs. That is the good your petty loans have done to these people. You may regard them as dead loans. The ex-Minister Shri Mohanlal Saksena, had some mental reservation regarding the recovery of these petty loans. His successor, Shri Ajit Prasad Jain is, however, a much cleverer person. He took stock of the position in this respect and turned them into 'liquid investment'. He declared such loans to be the first charge on any compensation that may be decided to be paid to the persons concerned. Thus Government money that was previously considered to be unrecoverable, is now made, recoverable.

Turning to R.F.A., we claim to have some knowledge of its working. As many as ten thousand persons have been advanced loans by it. The conditions imposed are very stringent and harassing for those to whom the loans have been advanced. Yet the people are asking for these loans. Interest on them is charged at the rate of six per cent. The sums so advanced have undoubtedly helped the refugees in a way but they have not been advanced in the shape of financial assistance. There have been advances in the shape of investment recoverable with interest by the Government. That is what your loans actually amount to.

Now take the issue of houses for the refugees. The report says that 31.3 per cent. of a total sum of 143 crores of rupees represents the expenditure incurred in respect of houses. Quite good. But the question arises who is the house-owner? It is either the Government of India or the State Government concerned. You assumed ownership of all vacant lands and got houses constructed on them. Then you started realising the rents thereof. And on what basis were these rents fixed? Regarding the houses constructed by P.W.D., 15 to 16 per cent. of the total cost was charged as the supervision expenses. These charges have now been reduced to eight per cent. In the case of the houses constructed by the contractors, this charge is made at the rate of 20 per cent., according to Shri Deshmukh. After including all these expenses, 6½ per cent. of the total thus reached is fixed

as the rent of a house. The refugees are raising much hue and cry that they are unable to pay such high rent. But the Government remain unmoved, for they as landlords enjoy far more rights in comparison to other ordinary landlords. A private landlord cannot tease his tenant in case of default in the payment of rent, but the Government enjoy powers to cause harassment in a number of ways. In Bombay they have enacted a legislation known as the Movement of Refugees Act which the refugees call as 'Goonda Act'. Under that Act, the Government have the power to evict a tenant in case of his failure to pay the rent and ask him to shift anywhere else. But no private landlord has any such rights. As for themselves, the Government have reserved more rights in respect of everything.

Next they have constructed houses for sale to the refugees. Some of these houses are sold outright while others are allotted—rather used to be allotted—on a hire-purchase system. It gave people some convenience. Recently the people of Rajinder Nagar demanded that the period of ten years may be increased to fifteen years in their case. But for reasons known to themselves only the hire-purchase system was abolished quite abruptly. The Refugees' contention is that they have no money for the outright purchase of these houses and, as such, want the hire-purchase system to be applicable to their cases. Still,—of course I say it subject to correction—two of the districts are fortunate even now inasmuch as the hire-purchase system is still in force there. They are Derha Dun and Saharanpur districts.

**The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi):** From whom have you gathered this information?

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** I may be corrected if I am wrong. So, these are the two Districts—one from which the Minister of State for Finance comes and the other to which the hon. Minister of Rehabilitation belongs—which are still fortunate in that respect. I would like to suggest to the refugees to send one Minister here from each of their respective areas, so that their grievances may receive sympathetic consideration.

**Shri A. P. Jain:** It is entirely wrong.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** The Government maintain that allotment has already been made to 90 per cent. of the persons. I have here with me statistics in respect of some places. I am unable to gather them for all the places. I asked certain Government

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servants to supply me the statistics concerning them. Those persons are in pitiable conditions. There is one Kitchener Hostel in New Delhi where a number of Government servants have been given accommodation. Each individual has been given a 10'×10' room. Big halls have been converted into smaller rooms by erecting wooden partitions. No bath-room or kitchen is attached to these rooms, nor is there any privacy. The building so improvised has already outlived its utility. It should have been dismantled by now. Yet it continues to be occupied by the refugees and the rent is still charged on a basis as if the building were in quite good condition. The priority that was being given to the displaced Government servants in the matter of allotment of residential quarters, namely to make allotment to one displaced Government servant after every five other cases, has been withdrawn since February last. The position at present is that the displaced Government servants are being treated at par with other Government servants. You should pay some regard to the fact that these servants have no place of their own nor can they return to their original homes. Should you decide to evict them or retrench them abruptly, they will have no residential accommodation. That is how they are in a critical position. Contrary to the claim that 90 per cent. of the displaced persons have been accommodated, the percentage of the displaced Government servants, who have been given any accommodation, is only 15. I stand corrected in case I am wrong.

**Shri A. P. Jain:** I want to correct you. My figures do not include figures about the displaced Government servants. These figures are excluded from those given by me.

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** Next comes the problem of employment. According to your figures as many as 28,000 persons have been allotted evacuee shops while 21,000 have been given newly constructed shops. So far it is correct. Many persons have been helped that way. There are, however, some points to which I want to draw your attention. Many of these shops are situated in localities where no trade is possible. The shops allotted on Irwin Road are unable to do any business. This is the story of shops in Delhi. So to say, shops have been given to many people in Uttar Pradesh at places where no business is possible. Most of them are locked because of this very reason. Barring 50 or 60 fruit sellers' or vegetable vendors' shops out of a total of

296 on Irwin Road, there is no business in the rest of them. These people want to be allotted alternative shops in localities where some business may be possible. Even speaking about the localities where some business is being done—say in the Queensway shops—the new Ministers want to remove these people from such sites. By 'New Ministers' I do not mean to refer to Shri Ajit Prasad Ji. I am referring to the Ministers of Delhi State. As if out of some sudden inspiration they want to eject them from these shops. So frequent changes in policy are causing only harassment and losses to the people who have to shift to alternate sites every now and then.

Two or three days back, Shri Mehar Chand Khanna declared in a public meeting that so far 57,000 youngmen have received technical training. I have, however, one question to put to the hon. Minister. May I know how many of these 57,000 trained persons are in a position to run their own business or are engaged at present in a gainful employment? Their greatest need is that the articles manufactured by them should be marketed. These youngmen can, no doubt, manufacture many articles, but they are not receiving any help from the Government in respect of the marketing of their articles. That is why I repeat my question regarding the number of such persons engaged in a gainful employment.

I have one more question to ask with regard to employment. You have told the House that as many as 80,000 Central, State or Railway employees have also been absorbed by now. Late Sardar Patel had made a declaration with respect to these people on two or three occasions. I would like to read out an extract from the memorandum submitted by these persons—

“(a) Preference for displaced Government servants would rank next only to that for Central Government optees in the matter of placement.

(b) questions relating to their leave and pensionary rights would be decided soon,

(c) they would be confirmed after a probation of three months.”

I want you to take special note of this:

“and (d) nothing would be allowed to remain in the way of their settlement except Government's commitments to its existing staff who might have rendered longer service in similar grades.”

But they have not been confirmed till date. Government made promises only but did not mean to do anything concrete. That is the present position of these Government servants. The only priority they are given is in the matter of retrenchment. That is the way you have rehabilitated these Government servants. If they are retired or retrenched then they have no resources to live on nor any place to go to.

There is again another aspect of this problem. There is a Cabinet decision that some relaxation should be allowed in the matter of superannuation for these displaced Government servants. In particular they have decided to allow extension in the case of scientific or technical personnel. I have, however, an instance of a certain Superintending Engineer of C.P.W.D. who did not get extension despite recommended by three Chief Engineers. He was removed from the service despite these recommendations. The family in question is facing much difficulty in finding a place to live. You may well imagine the attitude of such people towards the Government. In case so many were left in conditions like that, it will cause much discontentment. You are thus creating a veritable source of discontentment.

Then comes the issue of postal insurance of these people. I may submit certain things in that connection. You have stated that some part of the sums so insured will be given to people as interim relief. You have, however, qualified this decision by a condition that the relief will be given to only those persons who had migrated to India by 31st August 1948. Now the refugees from Sind have come here after that date. Nothing has been done for them up till now. So far as their provident fund and leave arrears are concerned, you have decided to give them 50 per cent. of the total sums to their credit. It is based on the ground that only that much is expected to be received from Pakistan. The accounts stand at present as hereunder:

*Provident Fund—*

Amount due to Government of India—68 lakhs.

Amount due to Pakistan—51 lakhs.

*Arrears of Pay—*

Amount due to Pakistan—48 lakhs.

Amount due to Government of India—43 lakhs.

Thus, the total sum due to Government of India is 1.11 crores of rupees

while the sum due to Pakistan is 99 lacs. It is a question of a balance of only 12 lacs of rupees. In these circumstances there is no reason why these people should not be given the sums due to them in full. It will go a good way towards their relief.

In conclusion, I take the issue of settlement of claims. The refugees want this issue to be settled as early as possible. I am glad that the hon. Minister has made a frank admission that Pakistan always gets the better of all negotiations and everytime we are the losers. For us it is not possible to bring them round to our viewpoint. They always refuse every offer on our part. I may, however, warn you that this issue has to be settled one way or the other.

This is their demand to day. Just now outside this House you will find them carrying big placards with "Settle our claims" writ in bold letters on them. They want a most speedy settlement. The properties left in Pakistan can be divided into four categories: rural lands, urban immovable, urban movable and industrial concerns. Yet information has been completed in respect of only one category namely the urban immovable properties. It will not be possible to assess India's total claim in the absence of complete information in respect of all the four categories. Till date we do not know the total value of the urban immovable property left behind or the total value of Muslim evacuee properties in our possession. Last time I had put a question to this effect, but the answer was only an ambiguous one and the issue was left shrouded in mystery. To-day I seek a categorical reply from the hon. Minister as to what our total claim is. People are entertaining misgivings that they may receive only one-tenth of their total claims. How will this disparity be removed then? We should be plain regarding the procedure we want to adopt for the solution of this issue. Will the Government themselves contribute money so as to solve it? Next, the question arises as to what method is to be adopted for the settlement of the claims. This is the burning issue of the day, which is agitating the refugees' mind most and hence I draw the attention of the House to it.

I have said what I wanted to say. According to my analysis, 31 per cent. of a total expenditure of 146 crores of rupees was spent on construction of houses. It is an investment on which you may be sure of a return. Then, 22.8 per cent. of the money has been advanced as loans which again is an

[Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani]

investment recoverable with interest. A balance of 45 per cent. only is left. This includes the transport expenses which were incurred in evacuating the people. Again it comprises expenses incurred on the opening and running of camps, doles given to the refugees and all other sundry expenses. There is one more item in it and that is of wastage and corruption. All these expenses are included in this. You may realise what the refugees have actually received. I want to know how much the refugees have actually received? I want to tell the hon. Minister that most of the expenditure has been by way of investment and that should not be regarded as an act of beneficence towards the refugees. What are the conditions at present? What kind of atmosphere have you helped create in the country? You do not sanction small loans. You have become more strict in the grant of loans from R.F.A. I have represented the matter to the hon. Minister of Finance. The sale of houses has been stopped. The houses can be purchased now only on an outright purchase basis. Barring one or two for the East Bengal refugees, all camps have been closed. What is then the refugees' condition today? Those who have not settled till date, are worse off than they were in 1947. It is so because they have disposed of their jewellery also towards maintenance and nothing but poverty is their lot today. You should, therefore, keep all these things before you and settle their claims at the earliest possible. Should you, however, find it difficult you must give them some interim relief—no matter where the money is to be paid from. They cannot be expected to pull on for long in such conditions of poverty.

**Pandit L. K. Maitra** (Nabadwip): I have always held the view that at least two subjects should be viewed from a special angle, the matter of refugees and the matter of food. For the moment I will speak on refugees and their rehabilitation and I feel that it is our moral duty to discuss this subject with all solemnity and seriousness. It would be a disaster for the country if rehabilitation of refugees became matter of party politics and the refugees, the sport of political parties. Every hon. Member should carefully bear in mind while dealing with refugees, that he is dealing with the species of uprooted humanity which has been the helpless and hapless victims of partition for which we politicians are responsible. And therefore it is the responsibility not only of the Government but of every political being in the country to see that the

freedom that we enjoy today, the freedom that we have got at the sacrifice of these people, is utilised in the first place for alleviating the miseries and sufferings of these people. From this point of view I look upon the portfolio of refugee rehabilitation as a sacred trust, and I feel that the hon. the Rehabilitation Minister should have that moral consciousness and discharge his duties in a missionary spirit.

Having said that I am free to admit, that the record of achievement of the hon. Minister in his department is certainly worthy of credit. Let us not try to minimise that. Let us render unto Caesar what is Caesar's. I have very carefully read the speech of my hon. friend Shri Ajit Prasad Jain and the pamphlet that he has circulated about the working of his Ministry. I can understand what he means. Many Members here do not know the things that happened in 1947. If we carry our minds back to those grim and dark days, then we will have the right perspective for this problem. At one time it was felt that the problem was so baffling that it would not be within the competence of the Government to tackle it at all. Today I am glad to see the progress and to declare that I appreciate the work so far done by the hon. Member's Ministry.

The hon. Minister asserts that a colossal sum has been spent. No doubt it is a colossal sum. Rs. 146 crores have been spent on the refugees and their rehabilitation. But I am sure not a single hon. Member in this House would grudge a pie of that amount. In fact nobody would have grumbled if he had spent double the amount. From the figures that are available to us it appears that 75 lakhs of displaced people have come to India and they have to be rehabilitated. It will be seen that on these 75 lakhs, the over-all expenditure so far has been Rs. 146 crores. Now if you make a calculation, you will find that it works out to about Rs. 195 per head of the refugees spread over a period of five years, and it comes to about 38 rupees per head per year. Let us not forget that only the other day we passed a Defence Budget for 200 crores of rupees for the current year; and if we have in the course of the last five years spent Rs. 146 crores, we must remember that we were out to salvage the portion of humanity that was left to the tender mercies of the forces of disorder, destruction and anarchy. Therefore, I would submit that nobody should grudge that amount. We should on the contrary be prepared to spend much more. So far as the

results are concerned, I think it must be admitted that rehabilitation of refugees from West Pakistan has on the whole been appreciable and the figures are impressive. A good deal more remains to be done but as the Ministry is not yet wound up it must complete the process which it has carried out successfully so far.

I find with deep regret—and here I do not want myself to be misunderstood by anybody, particularly by my distressed friends from Western Pakistan—that the picture that has been given of rehabilitation of refugees from Eastern Pakistan is not at all so impressive. I will draw the attention of the House to the figures supplied by the hon. Minister in his speech and in the pamphlet. Take, for instance, housing. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, here we find that they have been able to provide house accommodation for 90 per cent. of the refugee population. I am talking of the urban section of the population; of the rural population, 94 per cent. have been resettled on land. Government embarked upon an extensive building programme and completed ten townships each with a target population as noted against it:—

Faridabad—40,000
Gandhidham—25,000
Rajpura—15,000
Nilokheri—8,000
Tripuri—6,000
Kubernagar—30,000
Bairagarh—12,000
Ulhasnagar—1,30,000
Pratapnagar—20,000
Govindpuri—30,000
Chandigarh—60,000
Hastinapur—10,000.

All carefully planned and executed, Apart from these 150 suburban extensions have been completed. Also 20 suburban extensions have been developed in Delhi commanding an area of 3,000 acres, fully equipped with all the civic amenities. By the end of 1952 over 27,000 tenements and shops have been completed and about 5,500 are in hand. About 1,600 plots have also been leased out.

This is a very good record, very impressive, but compare it with what you have done for the unfortunate refugees from Eastern Pakistan. I am reading from page 6, paragraph 20 of the report:

“As regards the displaced persons from East Pakistan the

general policy adopted is to provide the building sites and to grant the house-building loans, leaving the actual construction to displaced persons themselves.”

And as against the ten townships of the magnitude I have described,—

“Two new townships have been built by Government at Habra-Baigachi and Fulia with 1,100 and 850 houses respectively. Apart from these, the State Governments in the eastern region have also constructed over 7,200 houses.”

I respectfully ask: Does it compare in any way with your achievements here? I do not for a moment suggest, let me be frank with the hon. Minister and with the House, that this has been done deliberately, that discrimination has been intentional. Nothing of the kind; it has happened unconsciously, and the reason perhaps is that these distressed people living about Delhi have easily caught the ear of the Government and they have got their own powerful men in the Rehabilitation Ministry, they can push on, they can press on; and the Ministry also is perhaps motivated by the idea that it must bring about a spectacular show and therefore it concentrated its whole attention here. Will you tell me how you expect refugees coming from Eastern Pakistan, shorn of all belongings, with some doles from you for house-building start their own construction? Where is he to get his building materials from? Mr. Deputy-Speaker, as one who has worked for the refugees and has been in contact with them for the last four years, my experience is very bitter, very disappointing. Loans have been given to these people of Rs. 750, Rs. 800. And not all at once but in several instalments. They cannot unaided get their building materials like cement, corrugated iron sheets, bricks etc. The building materials are in short supply and controlled and their cost is prohibitive. The result is, these amounts are consumed by the refugees; and having spent them out they go back to Pakistan because they are left with no means, or wherewithal to live upon. And then, they again get kicked out from Pakistan and again come back. May I ask whether it could not be possible for this Rehabilitation Ministry to have an organisation, a full-fledged organisation a branch of the Ministry, in the Eastern Region to plan out and execute, with the co-operation of the people there, housing extension, building of premises and shops etc.? Then there would have been a different picture for the people

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from Eastern Pakistan. I have got with me figures for other matters as well. I have now been dealing with housing. Nothing practically has been done with regard to housing. I have seen it for myself. Would you tell me the potential capacity for housing people at Fulia? Fulia is two miles from my house. It can at most accommodate about 1,000 people, and a small show of a polytechnic has been set up there. It cannot be called a township or a city, it is nothing compared to the big cities or townships that you are building here. About Habra-Baigachi there is nothing worth mentioning. I was present when the Rehabilitation Adviser, our esteemed friend, Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee met together in Calcutta 3 years ago to evolve a scheme for the settlement of refugees in West Bengal. There I first heard the name of Habra-Baigachi. Some houses sprang up there but, mind you, these are but apologies for houses. Compared to the kind of things you see in Delhi or nearabout it in the townships, these are nothing. Before I came to speak on this, I asked many Bengal Members, "Have you seen that Habra-Baigachi business?" Nobody could tell me, "Yes". You find a reference to it in the Departmental report; it was like a post-script to the whole report.

That is about housing. Take the employment question. In the report I find that the employment exchanges have so far secured 1,60,000 placements for the refugees from Western Pakistan but only 29,000 for people in the eastern region. For a proper appreciation of the position I think I should tell you what is the percentage of refugees from both sides. The total number of refugees is something in the neighbourhood of 75 lakhs. Out of that 49 lakhs are from Western Pakistan and the rest, about 25½ lakhs, from Eastern Pakistan. Now, look at the disparity. I can tell you that many refugees from East Bengal came to Delhi in quest of employment. I cannot tell whether they got any. I would ask the Minister to tell me how many persons he has been able to employ in the Central Government services or ancillary services from among the displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan. I have tried on several occasions to get figures for this but I have not succeeded so far.

Then take the question of grants. The total amount of grants given to West Punjab refugees is Rs. 49,85,88,000. For the East Bengal refugees it is Rs. 16,44,53,000.

Take loans. The total amount loaned to refugees is of the order of Rs. 33 crores and 41 lakhs. Out of this amount, those from Western Pakistan got Rs. 22 crores and odd and those from Eastern Bengal only Rs. 10 crores and odd. About the small loans scheme, I may point out that the total amount sanctioned for 2 lakh and 56 thousand persons from Western Pakistan was a little over Rs. 10 crores, and the actual amount paid was very nearly the same, viz., Rs. 9.95 crores. Come to Eastern Bengal refugees. Rs. 4.25 crores were sanctioned, but they in the Ministry do not know what is the amount actually disbursed. Having worked in the Rehabilitation Finance Administration for four years, I know the difference between the sanctioning of a loan and its actual disbursement. Out of the sanctioned amount, nobody knows what has been the actual disbursement. That is not given in the report. It shows either that there has been no information collected, or some other thing. I do not say the Minister is responsible for it. He is a friend of mine, and I know that he is imbued with the right spirit and I admire him for that. But something must be wrong with his Ministry. Was it not up to them to give these figures in the printed brochure? Should they not give a complete picture? Or is it because they think that East Bengal refugees are no concern of theirs, no concern of the Rehabilitation Ministry? Do they say, "We are going to pay some money. Let them feel their own way." I hope that that is not the attitude of the Ministry.

Of late it is noticed that whenever anybody speaks here about East Bengal refugees, my hon. friends from other provinces do not join. They think that exodus from East Bengal has completely stopped and with that everything is all right. On our part, we feel helpless. I do not know the official or the agency that supplies the figures of movement of persons between the two Bengals. You say, "So many came from East Bengal and so many went back during such and such period." Who is collecting all these figures? You will say that it is from a Government agency. I do not know which is that agency. The impression created by these figures is that there is no longer any question of migration of East Bengal refugees. My heart breaks to see that. Upto about August, 1950 whenever this question of refugees would be raised in this House, hon. Members from different provinces would stand up and espouse the cause of the displaced persons equally warmly, whether they be from East



Pakistan or West Pakistan. They all felt that it was a call of humanity which knew no political or geographical frontiers. But since the last year and a half I find that the unfortunate Hindu of East Bengal has been almost forgotten by this House. Excuse my saying so. Now-a-days if there is a solitary voice trying to bring this matter to the notice of the House, it is promptly muzzled and the House goes with the feeling that the troubles or miseries of refugees from East Bengal are over.

Twenty-five lakhs of people have been, according to the Government's own estimates, received in the eastern region States. Out of that, 22 to 23 lakhs have gone to West Bengal; about 2 lakhs to Assam and a few thousands to Manipur and Tripura. Everybody knows—or ought to know,—unless West Bengal is a matter of utter indifference to him—that it is a small province with hardly 30,000 square miles of space. The West Bengal Government in one of its recent statements made it clear that it had taken in more than 23 lakhs of people and that their rehabilitation had reached the saturation point. And what kind of rehabilitation is it? People come trekking across and they have to shift for themselves as best as they can. My hon. friends Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and several others made a tour of Assam and West Bengal. I think they saw vividly with their own eyes the miseries and sufferings through which the refugees from Eastern Pakistan were passing. You go even today to Sealdah Station. What do you see? Pakistan has announced that it is going to have the passport system, and every Hindu knows, unless he is a fool, that this is a device to expropriate the properties of Hindus to scare away the Hindus from East Bengal so that ultimately the Pakistan Government may grab the properties left behind by them, as they did in the case of Non-Muslims from West Pakistan. In panic people have started coming. You cannot get at the figure of these people from the returns that you get from Railways or your other agencies. The borderline between Eastern and Western Bengal and Assam is so thin in many places,—a few yards only that. People have only to cross this border to come over here. They have not to travel by rail or motor at all but simply to walk over. If the Government goes away with the impression that all is well on the eastern front, and that more Hindus are going back to East Bengal than are coming in and consequently, no problem is there then they are living in a paradise of illusions. I appeal to the hon.

Minister in the name of humanity to devote more attention, increased attention, to the rehabilitation of these unfortunate people from Eastern Pakistan.

I shall take three minutes more, Sir, as I do not think anybody else from my part is going to speak on Bengal matters. Bengal Government, as I was telling you, has made it clear that West Bengal is physically incapable of taking more people. You can well understand the density of the population in a tiny, little province of 30,000 square miles with about 2½ crores of people. Therefore, I appeal to this House and through this House to the Government of India to see that some outlet is found for the Refugee population in the neighbouring provinces of Assam, Bihar and Orissa. At the same time, let the Ministry provide additional funds and expedite the disbursement of the amounts earmarked for the rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees. But first of all give us some living space. The Germans before the second World War used to shout for "Lebensraum". Today, the people of West Bengal are crying for a little living space under the sun and if you refuse this legitimate demand, deny them the right to live, the right to make their contribution to the country, then I do not think things will be easy for this Government. I am not talking in anger. I am talking more in sorrow than in anger. I appeal to the hon. Minister to apply his mind a little more seriously to this problem. There is a grave menace. More people are coming. He will have to find money for them. Let me tell him this very clearly. He must understand right from now that with the introduction of the passport system in East Bengal together with the policy of systematic squeezing out of Hindus, there is bound to be a fresh exodus from Eastern Bengal. You must be prepared to have more and more people coming in here and they will have to be absorbed. Notwithstanding the Rs. 46 crores you have spent so far, notwithstanding all that you have been doing, you have not been able to solve the problem of Rehabilitation in the way the country wants you to solve it. I give you full credit for your achievements, but a good deal remains to be done. Do not rest on your oars. Do not have complacency. This is a problem which must be tackled vigorously from all sides and if you succeed in doing that, if you succeed in rehabilitating the people and giving them succour, then and then alone we shall have the satisfaction that these sacrificial goats at the altar of freedom have been somehow provided for. I am sorry to use such an irreverential expression, but it is a

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fact that the refugees are the sacrificial offerings before the altar of freedom. Let us all realise that the refugees from east and west are our own kith and kin and it is by our combined effort that we have been able to achieve this freedom. Let us look after them as best as we can when they are in distress. It is that path of brotherly service that we must follow. If we deviate from it, we will be betraying them and posterity will not forgive us.

**Dr. Khare (Gwalior):** This bright motto which is engraved on the panel just above your seat "*Dharma Chakra Pravartanaya*" has prompted me to begin today my, not maiden but multipara, speech with a Vedic quotation:—

विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुःखानि परासुव  
यद्भद्रमन्तन आसुव

Because we are dealing with a subject consisting of misery, distress and unhappiness, it is fitting that we should begin with a Vedic prayer. I am sure, Sir, you will also appreciate it because I gather so from your *namam*. I also claim to be a pundit, not of the western type but of the eastern variety. Therefore, nobody need be surprised by this quotation being used by me. When I entered this hall my attention was rapturously attracted to this quotation and I was wondering whether I am entering the Parliament House of a secular Government or a theocratic State. Still, Sir, after all there may be some inconsistency in it. The great Soul has taught us to believe that consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds and it follows therefore as a necessary corollary that inconsistency is the soul of greatness. I therefore congratulate this great Government for this great gesture, although it is inconsistent with its secular pledges and promises. So far as I am concerned, this has gladdened my heart, but whatever the ideas of the Government may be, it will inspire people like me to gradually change this secular ideal into an ideal of Government based upon sublime principles of liberalized Hinduism, which is nothing more than an universal religion. The definition of *Dharma* or the word *Dharma* in essence, means nothing else than help or relief to distressed humanity. This really brings me to my subject. There is no doubt that this problem of rehabilitation is a very grave one and also a big one and perhaps it has never occurred in the annals of the world so far. I must say frankly that this problem is created on account of the

greed of political power, which led to the acceptance of the unfortunate partition. No one can deny that statement and I am surprised that promises were given to these people at the time when things were occurring in Pakistan. They were told:

डटे रहो, हम तुम्हारी मदद करेंगे,

but nothing was done. After all they had to come away on account of genocidal activities of Pakistan, leave their hearths and homes and come to India in misery or suffer death and starvation etc. Our Government did give promise of full protection to our people in Pakistan who are now refugees but did not keep it. After all breach of promise is one of the characteristics of this Government or the *dharma*, which the Government follows. Now I do not want to enlarge upon this, but I must say this much. Whatever is done either for power or for pleasure, a time arises when one has to repent it at leisure and this is the mentality of some of my friends opposite. They have told us that the problem is very nearly solved. Wonderful. After all, they speak with pride of their achievements. Poet Tulsidas has said:

दया धर्म का मूल है, नरक मूल अभिमान ।

This problem really demands *daya* which you can put forth and not *Abhiman* on account of which you say that you have very nearly solved this problem. I contest that this problem is not solved. It remains still unsolved. On hearing the very instructive speech of Mrs. Kripalani, I feel absolutely startled and surprised with the facts disclosed. But there is no reason to be surprised because our Minister says that on the question of evacuee property pool, the attitude of Pakistan is not helpful. Why do you say that with tears? You ought to know, if you are a human being that the attitude of Pakistan will never be helpful till the end of the world. You ought to revise your policy. Do not have this impotent, weak-kneed, imbecile policy in dealing with Pakistan in all matters and unless and until you revise your policy, this question and many other questions concerning Pakistan shall never be solved till Doomsday. Ours is a secular State and in every matter we must indulge in self-effacement and must indulge in granting everything that the enemy demands. You may go to Heaven, if you like prematurely, but you cannot solve your world problems with this policy, unless and until you change your policy. I

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am sure about this. What do the figures given and the speech made by Mrs. Kripalani disclose? It discloses that this Government is usurious in its loan transactions, commits black-marketing in the sale of houses to refugees, the conditions of lease are onerous and that people do not come forward to take the lands. I tell you that this problem cannot be solved. By the heat of Pakistan and the pressure of the Jamait-ul-Ulema Hind, the evacuee property pool will be evaporated and there will be nothing left. My fervent prayer and in fact my advice, if I may say so, is: Change your policy. Be firm to Pakistan and adopt a policy of reciprocity. Then and then alone you can solve this problem; it will be never solved otherwise. I know I am speaking very bitterly, but it is true and straight and unless you change this policy, this refugee problem will be eternal. I was ridiculed when in December 1949 I prophesied that East Bengal is going to suffer the same fate as West Pakistan, the same holocaust, and genocidal activities of Pakistan. They cursed me as a reactionary, as a communalist and what not. I am a reactionary. Reactionary means 'Prati-kriya Vadi'. I am a reactionary because you are bent upon performing the "Kriya" of the mother land.

हमारी मातृभूमि की तम क्रिया करना चाहते हो, हमको प्रतिक्रिया करनी पड़ेगी।

तुम क्रिया करना छोड़ दो, हम प्रतिक्रिया नहीं करेंगे।

[You want to perform the 'Kriya' (obsequies) of our motherland, and we shall have to come down to 'prati-kriya' (reaction). If you stop performing the 'Kriya', there will be no 'prati-kriya' (reaction) on our part.]

Therefore, I was ridiculed, criticized and abused. My prophesy has come true and within two months the holocaust was set ablaze in East Bengal and many of our Bengalee brothers and sisters had to leave their homeland. I tell you that another holocaust is sure to appear as my hon. friend, Pandit Maitra told the House a few minutes ago. Let us be prepared for it. Do not wind up your office. Enlarge your activities, extend them and also strengthen your hearts with a little more *daya* and a little less pride. I have done.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat):** I rise to discuss the budget on

Rehabilitation, which has been presented in a manner to show, as it were, that the problem has been solved. When we listened to Mr. Jain's speech over the All India Radio, we came to the same conclusion that all is well with the world or very nearly so. That is why when we look into the figures for the various Government camps still running in East Bengal, we find that under the Central Government there is only one camp 'Fulia', about which my hon. friend, Pandit Maitra has given certain facts. In the various brochures which have been given to us, we find at various times various figures. At one time we are told that 43 camps with about 70,000 refugees are still under the Government and at another time we are told there are 14 camps with only 44,000 refugees. We are more or less led to believe that rehabilitation is very near completion. I would also like to repeat what Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani said, that figures are very deceptive. The figures which have been given, at least in regard to East Pakistan refugees is 25 lakhs. It is difficult for us to get exact figures because there are other means besides trains by which refugees come in from East Bengal. In my own constituency, I saw hundreds of refugees coming across the river. I am told that the total figures with the Government are those generally of people coming by trains.

**Shri A. P. Jain:** These are census figures.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Even according to the census figures, we who are in the know of things, in the sense that we visit these areas and we know the large numbers of people who are there, at least in East Bengal, we find it very difficult to accept that there are only 25 lakhs of refugees. I would suggest that there should be some sort of a Commission to enquire into the actual number of refugees, at least from East Bengal.

As far as the solution of the problem is concerned, I would also say this. I am only going to talk about East Bengal, that is the part of the country which I know; it is better for me to talk about that. I would like to add that something has been done for the refugees from West Pakistan. I do not grudge that. I have seen some of the hutmments in Delhi. Shall I call them huts? They are not places worth living for human beings. I think much remains to be done. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani has made out a good case on that subject. I would only say that much remains to be done. But, very much more remains to be done in the case of refugees from East Bengal.

## [Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

Coming back to facts as they stand today in East Bengal, if you were to visit Sealdah, you will see for yourself how men, women and children are living there. If you were to visit the various border areas, across the river, you will see the conditions. In the Sealdah station I have seen with my own eyes a refugee woman vomiting blood. She was a T.B. patient; she had no place to go to. I have seen such sights recently too. See the transit camps. There was a transit camp in one of the jute sheds in Cossipore. We found almost everyday babies dying 20 or 25 at a time and the corpses were huddled up. That kind of thing you will see again in the border areas, if we are to have passports, introduced for in that case there would be considerable influx. I do not know what the hon. Minister proposes to do in this matter. It is no use saying that this is a matter for the State Government and it is not something which the Central Government has to care for. You cannot deny that there is hunger in the refugee camps. You can show figures and say that you have given jobs for so many people. Even that figure is very small. Even according to the Minister it is 29,000. You may also say from figures that so many people have been given loans, shops have been erected, etc. If you were to visit these colonies, you will see the terrible conditions in which they live, and their terrible hunger. You will find refugee children and even pregnant mothers dying of anaemia and such other diseases, into the details of which I need not go now. These are well known.

Let us take resettlement on land. We have been told that 2 lakh families have been rehabilitated on land. What is the land that has been given to them? They have been sent to Andamans and sent to places like Salboni outside Bengal. You may say that when beggars come, they cannot be choosers. But I would say this. The East Bengal peasant comes from an area which is very fertile. He is used to a certain climate and to certain conditions. Here, something completely different is given. You see the arid regions to which they are sent. Naturally, we find very large numbers of them come back. The hon. Minister said that they are lazy and that they do not want to work. May I say, Sir, about the great self-help movement that the East Bengal refugees have organised in building their colonies? It is one of the most wonderful movements in our times. If we give an opportunity to these people who have shown that self-help and

initiative, you will see that they would build themselves up. But you must give them the type of land to which they are used. Even in my area, Sunderbans, I have talked to the Union Board Presidents. They say, they have offered land in these areas but the Government has done nothing about it. They continue sending our people outside Bengal.

Take the case of fishermen. As you may know, Sir, in East Bengal, a very large number of people take to this trade. They are very deft fishermen. When they have come across here, we find that the Government goes in for deep-sea fishing. I do not know how deep the sea is or how much fish you get there. I say it is an extravagant waste. Instead if these fishermen were given a fleet of ships or at least boats and the implements to work and if Government opened shops where they could sell their catch it would help to rehabilitate them. Nothing of this, has been done. You may be able to give some figures; but, if you were to visit these areas, you will see fishermen dying, fishermen who would be useful today in supplying us with fish which is one of the most important articles of food for the Bengalees.

Take the case of artisans. You know that in East Bengal we have such wonderful weavers, the Dacca muslin weavers. What is happening to them? Take the conch shell bangle makers. They have been producing these things for centuries; today, these people are dying out. They should have been organised on a co-operative basis with direct Government help. They should have been supplied with yarn and helped to set up looms. Government should also have helped them in marketing these products. Much has been said about the Government loan scheme in Bengal. We find that loans are given piecemeal. You are granted a certain loan; but you are not given the amount altogether. Money is given piecemeal with the result that generally the people eat up the loan and in the end they are left high and dry.

There is the question of rehabilitation by the erection of shops. There is a big agitation against the removal of refugee shops in Queensway. My previous speaker has referred to that. I find the same whimsical way of wasting money in Calcutta. You know there they have constructed a large number of bamboo shops. None of them has been rented because they have been constructed in areas where there is no business. Lakhs of Rupees have been spent there in this wasteful manner.

Take the women's camps. We are told that there are 38,000 inmates there. As far as Bengal is concerned, the hon. Minister, in answer to my question said that there is not a single vocational training centre run by the Central Government in Bengal. He mentioned about two centres, Rajpura and Faridabad run here. You say you are giving vocational training. You give them loans. You spend a certain amount of money; I do not deny that. But, have you spent it well? You teach them a little embroidery; you teach them a little dairying; and you give them a loan. You say you have put them on their feet and they are left to fight their way out by individual struggle for existence. Thousands of rupees have gone to institutions like, I would mention, the All India Womens Conference in Calcutta. It is a good institution in some ways. But as far as rehabilitation is concerned, we know they have not been able to do it. Even their accounts are not very well kept. Their centres are not self-sufficient. Even for running the Centres, they have been given thousands of rupees from the Rehabilitation department. Their organisation have been rewarded by making their members relief officers and Ministers.

That is the way we are trying to rehabilitate. If we go to Auckland House which is the place where the office of the Rehabilitation Department is housed, we find that many hundreds of refugees are sitting out there. There are cases of nepotism, bribery and corruption going on there. I do not know when the Minister goes, if they are there, but anyway anybody with eyes to see can see. It is utter waste, and this lack of having a plan to integrate the refugees into nation building services has cost us crores of rupees. I would like to mention just one thing here. The number of women who have found employment is not known even to the Ministry.

I would now make some suggestions. Firstly, the question of co-operatives. It is no use giving people vocational training and leaving them to their own resources. We must have not only co-operatives, but must give subsidies to them. In the present state of affairs, there must be a period of time during which proper subsidies are given, without which they can never properly function. Secondly, there must be a marketing board under Government without which any sort of self-help or self-sufficiency in rehabilitation is out of the question.

I would also come to the question of employing women in the health and educational services. The general lines

along which rehabilitation takes place as far as women are concerned, is in the way of giving them a little teaching in embroidery, a little printing and things like that. But I feel that we should have such things as village health services, teach them to become nurses, give them elementary teaching in educational services, so that they can really be put to nation-building uses.

Then we find in the budget we have expenditure on miscellaneous schemes for rehabilitation amounting to Rs. 94 lakhs only. We feel, and I would repeat it here that this is only because we are having such a huge and inflated budget for defence. I feel, and I repeat it here, Sir, that unless you cut that down, you cannot have more for nation-building services, for rehabilitating these people. Unless we spend more on education, more on health, on rehabilitation, we cannot have a rear which can fight and stand up to any sort of aggression.

Then coming to educational grants, I find it difficult from the figures given to us to find how much exactly is given as educational grants to East Bengal. I find there is a certain amount spent on West Pakistan refugees. That is little too. Still as far as East Pakistan is concerned, I find very little has been given. I feel that it is a very very essential point upon which I must stress. Our young children have been uprooted from East Bengal, and East Bengal had a higher percentage of literacy than West Bengal, and I feel that it is very essential we should make these grants.

**Shri A. P. Jain:** If you want I can give the figures for educational grants. It is Rs. 97,50,000 for the refugees from East Bengal.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** I would say it is necessary in view of the fact that the rates of school fees etc., are going up, we should continue these educational grants, and I would specifically ask that they should not be satisfied with loans.

**Shri A. P. Jain:** It is all grant, and not loan. Against Rs. 130 lakhs for the West, it is Rs. 97,50,000 for the East, the number of refugees from the West being twice that from the East.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** There is a certain movement for self-help which I have seen in the sphere of education. I have seen refugees from East Bengal having built schools in the colonies, rural schools. One of the most wonderful of these is a small school I saw in a far off village of Sambhunagar but that school has not got one pie in the form of grants.

[Shrimati Renu Chakravartty]

Then, I come to the most important question upon which I would specially ask the hon. Minister to bestow his thought, and although it might seem to come within the purview of the State Government, it has become such an important question, that the Centre should intervene; that is my submission, Sir. That is the question of giving recognition to the colonies. There are lakhs and lakhs of people from East Bengal who have through their own initiative, their own self-help movement, re-established themselves, built their own houses, and established schools, roads, sanitation, in and right through the districts of Bengal. These colonies have got to be recognised. The West Bengal Government has brought forward an excuse of the Constitution and has said: we cannot give these colonies recognition because they have been built on land which has to be compensated at rates, which I am afraid, the East Bengal refugees at the moment are unable to pay. And it is very, very urgent that these colonies which provide for the majority of the East Bengal refugees must be recognised, and that is something upon which the Centre will have to come down. If you insist that you are going to stick to the point of giving compensation, then it is up to the Central Government to give that money, but the refugees colonies must be recognised. They cannot be evicted as Bengal now has passed an Act, and there is a great agitation there against this. The refugees' associations have demanded a tripartite conference of the Government, of the zamindars and the refugees, and they are prepared to sit round a table and discuss the matter out.

And I would just like to add one word here about the way land is being acquired in certain areas—I know the Government is trying to acquire land. We know big zamindars are not being touched. Both Hindu and Muslim of the big zamindars have not been touched. Where colonies have been established, these colonies are not being recognised on the plea that these have to be compensated, and that they cannot be taken over. On the other hand, we find small land holders, both Hindu and Muslim are being put to great trouble, their lands are being acquired, and their means of livelihood are being jeopardised.

So I would end on this note that it is not a question that more has been given to West Pakistan and, less has been done for East Pakistan displaced persons. We would ask that a suffering man wherever he may be, in East

Pakistan or West Pakistan, must have his rights, he must be re-established. These people have shown such wonderful tenacity, perseverance and industry, and such mettle must not be allowed to die. Let the Government take the help of all parties, and root out the fatal noose of corruption and nepotism, and help them really to rehabilitate themselves. Let not future generations point to us the finger of accusation and say that we were murderers of people who were the innocent victims of an imperialist game.

पंडित ए० आर० शास्त्री : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, विस्थापितों की जो समस्या है इस के सम्बन्ध में मंत्री महोदय की मांग है वह मांग तो स्वीकार करनी ही चाहिये। और इस सम्बन्ध में जितने कटौती के प्रस्ताव हैं वह सब अस्वीकार होने ही चाहियें इस में तो कोई दो राय नहीं हो सकती। मैं यह नहीं समझता हूँ कि यह ऐसी समस्या है जिस पर कोई विरोधी दल या सरकारी दल में मतभेद हो सकता है। यह एक ऐसी समस्या है जिस पर यह पूरा भवन एक मत हो कर इस विषय पर विचार करेगा कि विस्थापितों की समस्या को कैसे हल किया जाय।

वास्तव में जो रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने है सन् ५१ और ५२ की इस सम्बन्ध में, उस के आंकड़ों को देखने से और जो काम हमारे सामने है उस से हम इस नतीजे पर पहुंच सकते हैं कि सरकार ने संकट काल में जितना वह कर सकती थी उतना किया है और इस के लिये उस को सभी दलों के लोग और सभी व्यक्ति धन्यवाद देते हैं इस में कोई संदेह नहीं है। किन्तु जब मैं इस विषय पर विचार करता हूँ तो मुझ को यह बात अखरती है कि हम ने इस समस्या का समाधान करने का एक सीधा सादा

और सस्ता रास्ता निकाल लिया और उस से समस्या के जो जटिल पहलू थे वह मुलझे नहीं उलझते ही गये। जिस समय पाकिस्तान और भारत का विभाजन हुआ, पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान के दो देश बने, उस विभाजन के संध्याकाल में २५ लाख विस्थापितों की समस्या हमारे सामने आयी और हम ने निहायत कुशलता से दस बड़े बड़े नगरों को बसा दिया और उन में विस्थापितों को ला कर अच्छी तरह सुखमय जीवन व्यतीत करने की सारी सामग्रियां इकट्ठी कर दीं।

हम ने देखा कि हमारा यह काम उस समस्या को सुलझाने जा रहा है, उस समस्या का समाधान करने जा रहा है। जिस तत्परता से और जिस कुशलता से हम ने एक सुयोग्य सेक्रेटैरियट बनाया और जिस सुयोग्य मंत्री को हम ने इस काम में लगाया उन्होंने अपने कार्यों को बड़ी कुशलता से चलाया। उजड़े हुए लोगों को फिर से ला कर बसा दिया, किसी को आशा नहीं थी कि इस आसानी से बसा लेंगे। हम बसाते रहे और लोग उजड़ते रहे और फिर हम उन को बसाते रहे। आज पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से आये हुए लोगों की समस्या समाप्त हो गई है, ऐसा कहा जाता है। लोग आ गये हैं और बस गये हैं और आंकड़ों को देखने से पता चलता है कि हम ने कर्जा भी दिया, हम ने कुछ ट्रेनिंग भी दी, हमने ७४-७५ हजार ऐसे बच्चों और वेवाओं को जिन का कोई पुरसांहाल नहीं था संरक्षण दिया, उन को खिला पिला रहे हैं, उन में ३८ हजार पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से और ३६ हजार पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये जो ऐसे अनअटैचड ( unattached ) हैं कि उन का कोई पुरसांहाल नहीं है, न आसमान में और न जमीन में। लेकिन हमारी सरकार

ने उन को संरक्षण दिया। "जिस को न दे मौला उस को दे आसफउद्दौला" जिस को कोई नहीं दे रहा है उस को हमारी सरकार खिला रही है। इसलिये यह सरकार उस के लिये बधाई की पात्र है। लेकिन यह जो हम ने हल निकाला यह हल क्या उस समस्या का समाधान करता है। इससे जो लोग उजाड़ रहे हैं उन को उजाड़ते रहने का प्रोत्साहन मिलता है। बीमारी जहां है वहां उस के रोकने की व्यवस्था न हो तो आप चाहे उन को महल में बसा दें और चाहे मड़ैया में बसा दें या सड़क में छोड़ दें, वे वैसे के वैसे ही रहेंगे। मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान तो इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि रोग का पूरा निदान होना चाहिये, बीमारी की बुनियाद पर जाना चाहिये। वह जो ऊपर के सिमटम्स (symptoms) हैं उन को ठीक करने से काम नहीं चलेगा। जो रिपोर्ट है और जो बयान आया है उस को देखने से तो यह मालूम होता है कि यह समस्या हल हो गई है और अब कुछ हल करने को रहा नहीं है लेकिन स्वर्गीय महात्मा गांधी के यह वचन थे, जो कि मैं फिर दुहराना चाहता हूँ कि इस समस्या का समाधान तब तक नहीं होगा जब तक कि विस्थापित अपने घरों में न बस जायेंगे। यह शब्द नोट किये जायें। यदि आवश्यकता हुई तो मेरे पास पुरानी फाइलें पड़ीं हैं उन को निकाल कर दिखा दूंगा कि यह बात उन्होंने न कही थी और मैं समझता हूँ कि वास्तविक निदान यही है और इस रोग की चिकित्सा तलाश करनी पड़ेगी। पहले पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान से कुछ समस्यायें हमारे सामने आईं, उन का मुलझाव हम ने निकाल लिया। अब पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से समस्या उठी है। रोज पढ़ते हैं कि इतने आदमी आये, अभी निकला है अखबार में कि १,२०० आदमी सियालदह स्टेशन पर पड़े हैं। अब सवाल यह है कि हमारे ऊपर

[ पंडित ए० आर० शास्त्री ]

जो इस देश के शासन की जिम्मेदारी है वह जिम्मेदारी किस तरह से पूरे तौर पर निभ सकती है अगर इस तरह लोग दूसरे देशों से निकाले जायें और उन के बसा लेने की जिम्मेदारी हमारे ऊपर हो जाये। खाली यहूदियों को फिलिस्तीन में बसाने के सवाल पर एक समस्या उठती है और वह समस्या सारे राष्ट्रों की समस्या बन जाती है, राष्ट्र संघ उस पर विचार करता है लेकिन इतनी बड़ी समस्या का समाधान हम ने किया, इस समाधान में हम ने खर्च किया, १ अरब ४६ करोड़ कुछ लाख या कुछ इस से ज्यादा और हम ने अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभाई, हमारे गरीब मुल्क में मुसीबतें आईं, विपत्तियां आईं, विभाजन हुआ और उस विभाजन के साथ यह खूरेजी हुई, जो लोग निर्दोष थे बच्चे और अवलायें थीं उन का बंध हुआ, इस में उन की कोई भूल नहीं थी, भूल राजनीतिक है और हम राजनीतिज्ञों की है। हम बैठे बैठे शासन चला रहे हैं, लेकिन मारे गये निरीह। हम उस समस्या का समाधान पूरा का पूरा अपने ऊपर ले लेते हैं, और उस का उपाय ढूँढते हैं, कुछ दूकानें बना देते हैं कुछ गकान बना देते हैं और हम समझते हैं कि इस तरह इस समस्या का समाधान हो जायेगा। इस समस्या का समाधान उस समय तक नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि जो विस्थापित हैं उन की जो सम्पत्ति पाकिस्तान में रह गई है, लूट ली गई है, दवा ली गई है, उस का पूरा पूरा मुआविजा, उस की एक एक पाई कीमत जो कि बाजार के मूल्य से होती है, पाकिस्तान न चुकाये और तब तक हमारे ऊपर आर्थिक संकट आयेगा और यह राष्ट्र उस के बोझ से दबेगा और परेशान होगा। तो रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री का जो विभाग है उस का काम इन लोगों के बसा देने से ही समाप्त नहीं होता, वह काम जारी रहता

है और वह जारी रहता है इस लिये कि इस समस्या का पूरा पूरा हल निकाला जाय। जो रिपोर्ट है उस के १२वें पन्ने पर एक जुमला आया हैजि स को पढ़ कर मुझे दुःख हुआ। ४६वें पैराग्राफ में लिखा हुआ है: "No progress could be made with regard to immovable property in Pakistan. The stalemate still continues" यह सन् ५२ के मार्च तक की रिपोर्ट है। अब कोई समाधान शायद निकल आया हो में नहीं जानता। लेकिन परिस्थिति यह है कि इवैक्यू प्रापर्टी (evacuee property) के समाधान का कोई रास्ता निकलता ही नहीं, पाकिस्तान मानता नहीं और हमारी बेबसी है कि हम मना सकते नहीं। फिर हो कैसे? तो सरकार ने जो किया उस के सम्बन्ध में तो कोई आवाज उठ नहीं सकती। जिस संकट से हम गुजरे उस संकट काल में जो कुछ किया जा सकता था वह किया गया। उन को वहां से लाना, फिर उन को यहां ला कर बसा देना और जीवकोपार्जन के लिये थोड़ा बहुत कर्ज दे देना ये सब काम तो हम ने किये लेकिन आज जो नम्र निवेदन में माननीय मंत्री महोदय से किया चाहता हूं वह यह है कि अभी वह यह न समझ लें कि समस्या का उन्होंने ने समाधान कर दिया है। वह यह समझें कि जब तक वह विस्थापितों की क्षतिपूर्ति को पूरी तरह से नहीं करा लेते और यही नहीं कि उन की क्षतिपूर्ति करा लें बल्कि जो उन में से पाकिस्तान में रहना चाहते हैं, अपने घरों में वापस जाना चाहते हैं, जैसे यहां पर मेव आये और आ कर फिर बसे और यह मानवता का एक सब से बड़ा काम है कि हम अपने उजड़े हुए घरों में फिर से



बस जायें तब तक समस्या का समाधान नहीं हुआ। “रिहैबिलिटेशन” (rehabilitation) शब्द का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि एक आदमी अपने घर से उजाड़ दिया जाय तो उस को दूसरी जगह बसा दिया जाय। अगर डिक्शनरी में रिहैबिलिटेशन के यह माने हों तो मैं समझता हूँ कि मैं इस का दूसरा अर्थ भी दे सकता हूँ। “तर्को वै ऋषिषक्तः” अर्थ तो बुद्धि से दिया जाता है। रिहैबिलिटेशन के माने फिर से बसाना है लेकिन जिस आशियाने से उजड़े हैं उसी में बसा देना, यह इस के सही अर्थ हैं और इसी में इस की सार्थकता है। उजड़ आये हमारे दूनीचन्द साहब लाहौर से, एक बड़ा महल छोड़ कर वहाँ से आ गये और हम ने उन को एक प्लैट में जगह दे दी तो यह बसाना नहीं हुआ, यह रिहैबिलिटेशन नहीं है, यह रिहैबिलिटेशन है, यह फंसाना है, बसाना नहीं है। यह मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि हमारा एक कर्तव्य है और उस कर्तव्य को पूरे तौर से हमें अनुभव करना है। हम एक राष्ट्र हैं, हमारे पास शक्ति है और उस शक्ति से हमें विस्थापितों को संरक्षण देना है।

एक बात की ओर मैं सरकार का और ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ और अपने उत्तरदायित्व को ठंडे दिल से समझ कर कहता हूँ। योल कैम्प को हम ने हटा दिया, उस में से हजार परिवारों को कहीं और बसा दिया। और तीन हजार परिवार कुछ और हैं जिन को बसाने की व्यवस्था करनी है और उन को हटाने में कुछ खर्च हुआ होगा। तो यह क्या कि काश्मीर के रहने वालों को काश्मीर से हटा कर कहीं और बसावें। काश्मीर में तो लोग जाते हैं आबोहवा बदलने के लिये, स्वास्थ्य सुधारने के लिये और काश्मीर को लोग पसन्द करते हैं लेकिन काश्मीरी ही काश्मीर में न रहने पाये और वहाँ से उस

को राजस्थान की गर्म हवा में या उत्तर प्रदेश की गर्मी में भेज दिया जाये और काश्मीर के आदमी की बसाने की यह व्यवस्था कर दी जाये, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। सरकार ने इस तरफ़ क्यों नहीं ध्यान दिया कि ट्रान्सपोर्ट का खर्च भी कम होता और काश्मीरी को काश्मीर में रहने का स्थान मिलता। उस कैम्प को तोड़ कर उन्होंने ने बसाने की जो व्यवस्था की है यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आती।

मैं यही नम्र निवेदन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। जहाँ तक इस सरकार को धन्यवाद देने का सवाल है, हमारे सामने जो सरकारी आंकड़े हैं और जो इतना बड़ा काम हमारी सरकार ने किया है और वह भी विशेष परिस्थिति और विशेष संकट के समय में, तो वह इन सब कामों के लिए अवश्य धन्यवाद की पात्र है। मगर किसी दूसरे नव निर्मित राष्ट्र के ऊपर इस तरह की समस्या आ जाती तो वह इस के बोझ से दब कर ही मर जाता। कहां तक वह इस तरह के रोज़ की समस्याओं को सम्भाल सकता। मगर हमारे राष्ट्र के नेताओं ने अपनी बुद्धिमत्ता और कुशलता से जिस शानदार तरीके से इस उलझन को दूर किया और दूर करते जा रहे हैं वह बहुत ही सराहनीय है। हम ने इस समस्या को मुलझाने में यू० एन० ओ० (U.N.O.) से किसी प्रकार की भी सहायता नहीं मांगी और न हम ने कोलम्बो प्लान (Colombo Plan) के मातहत रुपया ले कर इस काम को पूरा किया। हम ने अपने बल पर ही इस सारी समस्या को हल किया कल हमारे मौलाना साहब ने कहा था कि हमारी जेब खाली है, दिमाग़ खाली नहीं है। बात बिल्कुल सही है। तो हम को इस समस्या को हल करना है। मगर यह समस्या ऐसी है जिस का समाधान

[पंडित ए० आर० शास्त्री]

करने में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मदद लेनी चाहिये। इस का कारण यह है कि जब कभी हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के बीच में किसी तरह का झगड़ा शुरू होता है तो वह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न बन जाता है मगर पाकिस्तान इस समस्या को ऐसा रूप दे देता है कि उस का हल निकलना ही मुश्किल हो जाता है। वह इस तरह की मुश्किलता या झगड़े पैदा कर देता है कि जिस तरह से वहां पर जो हमारे आदमी हैं उन के लिये रहना कठिन हो जाये। वह लोग कभी ७ हजार कभी ८ हजार की टुकड़ियों में इधर आते हैं क्योंकि इन लोगों के लिये पाकिस्तान सरकार ने इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा कर दी है कि वह वहां पर इफ्जत के साथ रह ही नहीं सकते हैं।

पहिले यह सारा देश एक था मगर पाकिस्तान के बनने से दो देशों में बंट गया। आज दोनों देश राष्ट्र संघ के सदस्य हैं। तो फिर यह काम क्यों राष्ट्र संघ अपने ऊपर नहीं लेता। इस समस्या के समाधान करने में राष्ट्र संघ का हाथ होना चाहिये। क्योंकि इस तरह से उजड़ कर जो लोग हटाये जाते हैं और हमारे देश में आते हैं तो उन को मकान देना और दूसरे तरह की मदद देने की जिम्मेदारी इस राष्ट्र संघ पर होनी चाहिये। जब हम दोनों देशों के दूसरे मामलों को राष्ट्र संघ के अन्तर्गत आने वाले मामले समझते हैं तो इस समस्या को हल करने में क्यों न राष्ट्र संघ सहयोग दे। यह बात मेरी समझ में अभी तक नहीं आई।

हमारे सामने जो तालिका दी गई है उस में १४६ करोड़ की रकम है।

जो ७५ लाख रिफ्यूजी पर हम ने खर्च की है। सन् १९४७ से ले कर सन् १९५२ तक जो अप टु डेट (up to date) फिगर है अगर उस को वर्क आउट (work out) किया जाये तो यह मालूम होगा कि ६ वर्ष के अन्दर हम ने हर एक आदमी पर ३३ रुपये के हिसाब से खर्च किया। यह मेरा हिसाब होता है। १४६ करोड़ ७५ लाख हम ने रिफ्यूजियों में बांट दिया तो इस की रकम २०० से ऊपर होती है जो हम ने ६ वर्ष के अन्दर खर्च की है। यह रकम हम ने मकान बनाने में, कर्जा देने में और दूसरी तरह की सहायता देने में खर्च की। मगर हमें सोचना यह है कि क्या हमारा काम खत्म हो गया है। क्या इन दुखित लोगों की सहायता करना अब बाकी नहीं रहा। हमारे सारे देश का ४ १/२ अरब रुपये का बजट होता है और हम उस में से काफी रकम उन लोगों की सहायता में खर्च कर रहे हैं। यह सब बातें सही हैं मगर इस समस्या का पूरा समाधान अभी नहीं हुआ है। अभी हमें काफी इस ओर ध्यान देना है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार ने बहुत शानदार काम किया है। वह इतिहास में रहेगा। लेकिन तब तक हम अपने कर्तव्य को पूरा नहीं मान सकते जब तक कि इन लोगों को पूरी तरह से और अच्छी तरह से नहीं बसाया जाता।

अभी मेरे एक मित्र ने कहा कि अब इस मिनिस्ट्री को समाप्त कर देना चाहिये। मगर मैं कहता हूँ कि इस मिनिस्ट्री का काम तो अब शुरू होता है। जो हमारी प्रापर्टी की समस्या है उस को इस ने पूरी तरह से हल करना है। जो लोग चाहते हैं कि उन को

बसाया जाय उन को भी हर प्रकार की सहायता करनी है। सब से मुख्य काम इस मिनिस्ट्री को यह करना है कि वह जो हमारा रुपया पाकिस्तान के पास प्रापर्टी का और दूसरा रह गया है वह सब पाई पाई बसूल हो। गवर्नमेंट को इस काम को करने में कोई भी प्रयास बाकी नहीं रखना चाहिये। अगर हम ने यह काम नहीं किया तो अब तक जो कुछ हम ने कार्य किया है वह सब व्यर्थ होगा और वह इतिहास में एक उज्ज्वल रिकार्ड नहीं होगा।

(English translation of the above speech)

**Pandit A. R. Shastri** (Azamgarh Distt.—East cum Ballia Distt.—West): Sir, there cannot be any two opinions about the position that the Demands put forth by the hon. Minister in connection with the refugee problem should be accepted and all the cut motions to these Demands should be rejected. I do not think it is a problem on which there should be any difference of opinion between the Government and the opposition. Keeping in view the nature of this problem, I hope, the House would unanimously consider the ways and means to solve the problem of the refugees.

In fact, after going through the report for the year 1951-52 we come to the conclusion that the Government have done all that they could do during the period of emergency; and there is no doubt that persons of all shades of opinion thank them for doing so. But whenever I think over this problem one thing that pinches me is that we have found a general and a cheap way to solve this problem, with the result that the complicated aspects of the problem become more and more complex. When the partition of the country took place and two new States of India and Pakistan were carved out of it, it brought us a problem of twenty-five lakhs of refugees in its wake. We very efficiently managed to construct ten big cities provided with all sorts of facilities and rehabilitated the displaced persons there. We saw that our endeavours were going to ease the situation and to some extent settle the problem. The earnestness and skill with which we established an efficient Secretariat

for this purpose and kept it under the charge of an able Minister is not unknown. He did his work most efficiently. Persons rendered homeless, have been rehabilitated. Nobody expected that they would be rehabilitated so easily. While on the one hand we went on rehabilitating them, on the other hand more persons were being rendered homeless and we were continuing the work of rehabilitation. Today, it is said, that persons who came from West Pakistan have all been rehabilitated. People came and were settled, and from figures we see that we gave them loans, provided them with training facilities, and gave protection to some seventy-four or seventy-five thousand unattached children and widows. We continue to maintain them. Out of this number there are about thirty-eight thousand unattached persons from the West Pakistan and about thirty-six thousand from the East Pakistan. They are unattached and have no friends and relatives in this world. But our Government gave them protection. Any person who is not being provided by anybody is being provided by our Government. So this Government deserves our congratulations. But the question is whether or not the solution that we have evolved is the right solution. It is a source of encouragement only to those mischievous persons who uproot these unfortunate people from their homes and hearths. If the root-cause of the disease is not cured it is no use giving shelter to these persons in palaces or in huts or leaving them shelterless on the roadside. Their condition would remain the same. I draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the fact that the disease should be cured fully and its root-cause should be found out. Mere curing of the symptoms of the disease will not do. From the reports and statements one gets an impression that the whole problem has been solved and there remains nothing more to be done. But I would repeat the words uttered by the Father of the Nation, the late Mahatma Gandhi when he said that this problem could not be solved fully unless the displaced persons were rehabilitated in their original homes. These words should be noted. If necessary I can show it from the old files here that he did say those words and, I believe, therein alone lies the real remedy. First of all we were confronted with the problem of rehabilitating displaced persons from West Pakistan. Now has cropped up the problem of East Bengal refugees. Everyday we receive reports that so many persons have arrived.

[Pandit A. R. Shastri]

Reports have appeared in the newspapers that 1200 persons are lying at the Sealdah Railway Station. Now, the question is how can we fulfil our responsibility as administrators of this country if people from other countries, turned out from their original homes, go on coming over to this place and the responsibility of their rehabilitation is laid on our shoulders? A problem of this nature arose in Palestine as well when it was decided that only Jews would be allowed to settle down in Palestine; and as we know, that problem became an international problem and was placed on the agenda of the U.N. as well. But so far as we are concerned we solved such a big problem single-handed and in solving it spent something like 146 crores of rupees or more, and discharged our responsibility. Several calamities befell our poor country, many catastrophes overtook it. The partition of the country took place and it was preceded and followed by bloodshed on a wide scale. Innocent persons including women and children fell victims to it. It was none of their fault. The fault was that of politics and of politicians. We ran the Government but innocent persons were killed. We undertook full responsibility for solving that problem and sought ways and means to achieve that end. We built some shops and houses and thought this problem would be solved in that manner. This problem cannot be solved so long as Pakistan does not pay every pie of the amount of compensation for the properties left by the displaced persons there, and which have been ultimately looted and grabbed. A financial crisis would overtake this nation which it would not be able to withstand and would be in difficulties if the amount of money is not paid to it. So the work of the Ministry of Rehabilitation does not end with the rehabilitation of these persons alone, but it continues because an overall solution of this problem has to be sought. There is a sentence on page 12 of the report which pained me much. It is written in paragraph 46 that "no progress could be made with regard to immovable property in Pakistan. The stalemate still continues". This report relates to the period ending March 1952. They might have come to some decision after that, I do not know. But the position is that there is no way of solving the problem of evacuee property. Pakistan does not agree and we are helpless. What can then be done? No voice need be raised against

what the Government did in this connection. Whatever could be done has been done to tide over the crisis through which we were passing. We took all possible steps to bring them over to this place and to rehabilitate them. We gave them loans so that they may be in a position to earn a living for themselves and for their families; but my humble submission to the hon. Minister is that he should not think yet that he has solved the problem in its entirety. He should know that so long as he not only manages to give full compensation to the displaced persons for their properties left in Pakistan, but also manages to provide all facilities to those of the refugees who want to return to their original homes in Pakistan in the manner in which Meos have been provided in India, this problem cannot be treated as solved. The word "rehabilitation" does not mean that a man who is uprooted from one place should be settled in the other place. If that is the dictionary meaning of this word, I can give it another meaning as well. 'Tarko Vai Rishirukta' Meaning to a word is given by reason. Rehabilitation means to settle a man afresh, but to settle him in the very home from which he has been uprooted is its more appropriate meaning. Therein lies its real meaning. Our Shri Doonl Chand was uprooted from Lahore. He came here, leaving a big mansion behind him. If he has been provided with a flat here, that is not rehabilitation. It is debilitation; you do not rehabilitate him but only entrap him. My humble submission is that it is our duty and we should realise that we are a nation. We have power and we have to give protection to the displaced persons with the help of that power.

I would like to draw the attention of the Government to one thing more and I do so with a cool consciousness of my responsibility. We have liquidated the Yole refugee camp. About 1000 families have been settled somewhere. There are three thousand families more which are to be rehabilitated. We may have to spend some money for shifting them from one place to the other. I do not understand why refugees who come from Kashmir are not being settled on the soil of Kashmir but on the contrary are sent elsewhere for rehabilitation. People go to Kashmir for change of climate, for improving their health and for other such purposes; that is why people have such a liking for Kashmir. But the very people who have come from Kashmir

are not being settled there. On the other hand, they are sent for rehabilitation to Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, where they suffer so much on account of the climatic changes. This is the thing which I certainly fail to understand. Why did the Government not pay attention to this problem? It would have saved a lot of money by way of their transport expenses and at the same time Kashmiris would have been enabled to live in Kashmir. I do not understand what arrangements have been made to rehabilitate those persons who were living in that camp.

Sir, these were the things I had to say. As regards the question of thanking the Government, I would like to say that the Government certainly deserve our thanks for all their achievements which are reflected in the official statistics. Had any other nation in its infancy been confronted with a problem of this magnitude it would certainly have gone under. They would not have been able to handle the day to day problems of this nature. But the magnificent manner in which our national leaders efficiently managed to remove one hurdle after the other is certainly praiseworthy. We did not ask any help from the U.N.O for solving this problem, nor did we complete this work with the help of any aid under the Colombo Plan. We solved this problem with our own resources. The other day our Maulana Sahib said that it was not that our brains were empty but our pockets were empty. That is quite true. We have to solve this problem and in an attempt to solve a problem of this magnitude, we should seek international help. Generally speaking, whenever there is any dispute between India and Pakistan, it takes the form of an international dispute. It is an open secret that Pakistan has always been putting hurdles in solving the problem. She creates difficulties and disputes in such a manner that it becomes difficult for the minority to stay on there. They come out in batches of sometimes seven to eight thousand because the Pakistan Government has created such a situation for them that they cannot live honourably there.

Formerly it was only one country but the Partition led to the creation of two countries. At present, both the countries are members of the U.N. Why does not U.N. then take this matter into its hands. U.N. should have its hand in solving this problem. It should be the responsibility of the U.N. to provide these people who come to this country after being up-rooted

from their homes, with homes and other amenities. When we treat other disputes between these two countries as international disputes and think that they come under the jurisdiction of the U.N. there is no reason why the U.N. should not help us in solving this problem.

The statement of figures that has been placed before us shows that a sum of rupees 146 crores has been spent on about 75 lakh refugees. This amount has been spent from the year 1947 to 1952, and if we work out the figure per capita we would come to know that we have spent a sum of Rs. 33/- per head per year. My calculation comes to this that we distributed a sum of Rs. 146 crores among 75 lakh refugees, it comes to Rs. 200/- per head which has been spent during a period of six years. We spent this sum on construction of houses, giving loans and providing other facilities. But we have to consider whether our work has actually come to an end. Is there no need of further helping these suffering brethren? Our total budget comes to about 450 crores of rupees and we are spending a fairly good amount of money from it on the relief of these persons. To say all that is no doubt true but it is equally true to say that this problem has not been solved completely. We have still to pay a good deal of attention towards this problem. I admit that our Government have done a magnificent work and it will have its proper place in history but we cannot say that we have fulfilled our duty so long as these persons are not rehabilitated fully and properly.

One of my friends has just now suggested that this Ministry should be wound up now. But my impression is that in fact its real work starts now. It has to solve the problem of our property; and those who need resettlement facilities are to be helped. The main work of this Ministry now is to recover every penny of our money from Pakistan that is lying with them in the form of property and other things. Government should leave no stone unturned in achieving that objective. If we will not do that, all our efforts done in this direction so far, would go in vain and it would not be so brilliant a record in retrospect.

लाला अचिन्त राम : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष  
महोदय, आज के दिन यहां पर रिहैबिलिटेशन  
(rehabilitation) के सवाल पर  
विचार किया जा रहा है। कुछ कंट  
मोशन्स (cut motions) भी पेश हुए

[ लाला अचिन्त राम ]

हैं। यहां पर जो कट मोशन पेश किये गये हैं वह तो सब रिजेक्ट (reject) हो जायेंगे और जो डिमान्ड (demand) हैं वह पास हो जायेगी। यह तो कोई बात नहीं है।

देखना तो हम को यह है, कि आज के दिन में हम कुछ फायदा उठा सकते हैं या नहीं। रिपयूजियों को आज के दिन हम किसी तरह का फायदा दिला सकते हैं, उन को बसाने के लिए, उन के हकूक कायम करने के लिये या उन की दूसरी जो सहूलियतें हैं उन को देने के लिए हम यहां पर कुछ कर सकते हैं या नहीं। आज के दिन में उन की मुश्किलताओं को हल करने में कोई रास्ता निकाल सकते हैं या नहीं। अगर इन मुश्किलताओं को दूर करने में हम आज के दिन कुछ कामयाब हो गये तो अच्छा होगा नहीं तो हमारे लिए यह दिन किसी तरह से फायदेमन्द साबित नहीं होगा।

अभी दो दिन हुए कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने रेडियो पर रिहैबिलिटेशन के मामले पर एक ब्राडकास्ट (broadcast) किया था। वह बड़ा इंस्ट्रक्टिव (instructive) था। मैं ने दूसरे दिन अखबारों में उन का ब्राडकास्ट पूरे तौर से पढ़ा। पहिला रिएक्शन (reaction) जो मुझ पर पड़ा वह यह था कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने रिपयूजियों के लिये बहुत काम किया है। मुझे इस से बहुत खुशी हुई और एक खुशी की लहर मेरे अन्दर दौड़ गई और मुझे अच्छा मालूम हुआ। उन्होंने ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि ९९३ फी सदी लोगों को देहात के अन्दर जगह मिल गई और काम मिल गया। ९० फी सदी को जो वेस्ट पंजाब (West Punjab) से आये थे शहरों के

अन्दर जगह मिल गई। तीन लाख ३७ हजार आदमी जो ईस्ट बंगाल (East Bengal) से आये थे उन को गांवों के अन्दर जगह मिल गई। करीब ३३ कराड़ रुपया का लोन (loan) दिया गया। सब से बड़ी खुशी की बात उन के भाषण में मुझे यह मालूम हुई कि ३८००० निराश्रित स्त्रियों को जिन का कोई पुरसां हाल नहीं था उनको आज सरकार खिला रही है। इस के साथ ही साथ वह १६ हजार आदमियों को मेंटेनेंस एलाउन्स (maintenance allowance) दे रही है। इस के अलावा और भी आंकड़े दिये गये हैं। उन्होंने ने अपने भाषण में आगे कहा कि हमारे २५ लाख आदमियों को, जो शहरों के अन्दर रहते थे, केन्द्र और प्रान्तीय सरकार द्वारा नौकरी दिलाई गई। जब मैं हिसाब लगाने बैठा तो ऐसा मालूम हुआ कि इस में पांच लाख बढ़ गये हैं। खैर यह अच्छा हुआ कि इतने बढ़ गये हैं। जो उन्होंने ने रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि २५ लाख आदमियों को काम में लगा दिया यह उन्होंने ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया। देखने से यह मालूम होता है कि उन की रिपोर्ट गलत नहीं है। दर-हकीकत में वह इस काम के लिए मुबारकबाद के हकदार हैं। उन्होंने ने यह भी बताया कि एक लाख ६० हजार आदमियों को इम्पलाइमेन्ट एक्सचेंज (Employment Exchange) द्वारा नौकरी दिलाई गई। बात बड़ी माकल है मगर देखना यह है कि जो काम इन लोगों को दिलाया गया वह कितने दिनों के लिये दिलाया गया। आया वह १० दिन के लिये था, २० दिन के लिये था, एक महीने के लिये था या एक वर्ष के लिये था। जब तक इस बारे में कोई रोशनी नहीं डाली जाती तब तक पूरी तरह से हाल मालूम नहीं हो

सकता। उन्होंने ने यह भी कहा कि करीब ५० और ६० हजार आदमियों को मुस्तलिफ ट्रेनिंग सेंटरों (training centres) में ट्रेनिंग दी गई। यह सुन कर मुझे बहुत खुशी हुई। मैं अभी हाल में बम्बई गया था और वहां पर मुझे कल्याण कैम्प देखने का मौका मिला। वहां पर वर्क सेंटर (work centre) है और शरणार्थियों को मुस्तलिफ किस्म की ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है। मैंने जब वहां पर पूछा कि यहां से जो ट्रेनिंग कर के जाते हैं उन में से कितनों को नौकरी मिल गई है। तो मुझे जवाब मिला है कि इस चीज के फिगर्स हमारे पास बहुत कम हैं। खास तौर से जो औरतें आती हैं उन के फिगर्स तो हमारे पास बहुत ही कम हैं। उन्होंने ने इस के साथ ही साथ यह भी कहा कि जो औरतें यहां पर ट्रेनिंग के लिये आती हैं वह सिर्फ़ इस वास्ते आती हैं कि ट्रेनिंग के समय जो उन को ३० या ३५ रुपये का वजीफा मिलता है उस को हासिल कर सकें। इस तरह से वह अपना गुजारा चलाने के लिये यहां पर ट्रेनिंग के लिये आती हैं। जब हमारे सामने ५० हजार की फिगर दी जाती है कि इतने आदमियों को ट्रेनिंग दी गई तो यह एक तरह से व्यर्थ खर्च होता है जब कि उनको वहां से ट्रेनिंग पा कर कोई नौकरी नहीं दिलाई जाती। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर यही तरीका रहा तो इस तरह के ट्रेनिंग सेंटर (training centre) न खोले जायें। बल्कि हमको यह देखना चाहिये कि जो आदमी ट्रेनिंग पाता है वह नौकरी पाये और उस का वहां पर काम देखा जाय कि वह तीन महीने और ६ महीने के अन्दर किस तरह का काम करता है। अगर इस तरह से काम किया जाय तब हम कह सकते हैं कि हमने इतने आदमियों को काम पर लगाया।

इसी तरह से जो फिगर्स (figures) लोन (loan) देने के बारे में दिये गये हैं वह भी सत्य नहीं हो सकते। जो फिगर्स लोन के बारे में दिये गये हैं उस में बतलाया गया है कि दो लाख ४० हजार आदमियों को लोन दिया गया है। लेकिन लोन कितना दिया गया है वह रकम नहीं लिखी गई है। आया १० रुपया दिया गया है, २० रुपया दिया गया है, ५० रुपया दिया गया है, १०० रुपया दिया गया है या इतने हजार रुपये दिये गये हैं। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जितने आदमियों को लोन दिया गया है उन के बारे में यह मालूम करना चाहिये था कि उन लोगों ने जो लोन लिया है क्या वह उस से फायदा उठा रहे हैं या नहीं। सिर्फ़ लोन देने से ही सरकार का काम पूरा नहीं हो जाता है। जिन लोगों ने लोन लिया है क्या वह अपनी गुज्र बसर उस लोन से कर रहे हैं या नहीं। इसी तरह से जिनको हमने नौकरी दिलाई है उन के बारे में भी यह मालूम करना होगा कि वह भी अपनी गुज्र बसर कर रहे हैं या नहीं। सिर्फ़ फिगर्स दे देने से हमारा काम पूरा नहीं हो जाता है।

एक प्वाइंट और है जो बड़ा कंटेन्शस (contentious) है। जैन साहब ने अपने ब्राडकास्ट में एक बड़े मजे की बात कही कि देखना यह है कि रिहैबिलिटेशन जो आप कर रहे हैं उस में डिग्री आफ इकानामिक रिकवरी (degree of economic recovery) क्या हो। यह बड़ी बात है, बड़ा मसला है जिस का आसानी से कोई जवाब नहीं मिल सकता। लेकिन आपने यह फरमाया और मैं समझता हूँ कि वह बड़े खुशी से इसको कबूल करेंगे। लेकिन इस डिग्री आफ इकानामिक रिकवरी

[ लाला अचिन्त राम ]

का मतलब क्या है। बात तो सीधी है। यहां पर हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर लाखों आदमी हैं जिनके बैंक बैलेंस (Bank Balance) है, एक कारखाना है, दो कारखाने हैं, लखपती हैं, करोड़पती हैं। तो ऐसे आदमियों के लिये इकानामिक रिकवरी का स्टैंडर्ड कैसे बनेगा। एक आदमी ऐसा रहता है जिसके पास लाखों रुपया था। उसके दो चार बच्चे थे जिनको वह हायर एजुकेशन (higher education) देता था और उसका दो हज़ार रुपये माहवार का खर्चा था। अब वह यहां पर आता है तो उसके लिये कौनसा स्टैंडर्ड आप मुकर्रर करेंगे। स्टैंडर्ड आफ इकानामिक रिकवरी आप क्या रखेंगे। इस वास्ते यह बड़ा टिकलिश क्वेश्चन (ticklish question) है। यहां पर अगर कोई इज्म आ जाय तब तो और बात है। सोशियलिज्म (socialism) आ जाय, कम्युनिज्म (communism) आ जाय तो और बात है। लेकिन जब तक कोई इज्म नहीं आता है और यहां के लोग अपने बच्चों को इंग्लैंड में भेजते रहें अमेरिका में भेजते रहें और जब वह यहां आवें तो उनका स्टैंडर्ड आफ इकानामिक रिकवरी के लिये कहा जाय तो इसका क्या मतलब होगा, कितने रुपये उसको दिये जायेंगे, कितने पैसे उसे दिये जायेंगे। मैं मझता हूँ कि अगर आप उसको मामूली तरह से कह दें कि पांच पांच या दस दस रुपये दिये जायेंगे तो यह इन्साफ नहीं होगा। इसलिये जब आप इनके रिफ्यूजीज के बच्चों को देखते हैं तो यह देखें कि पहले यह किस हालत में थे।

इसी तरह अब मकान की बात है। उन्होंने ने अपने ब्राडकास्ट में कहा कि यह

तो नहीं हो सकता कि पैलेसियल बिल्डिंग (Palatial Buildings) उनको दी जाये। बात बिल्कुल माकूल है। पैलेसियल बिल्डिंग तो नहीं दी जा सकती। लेकिन मैं अर्ज करता हूँ कि एक आदमी है जिसके वहां पर चार बंगले थे, पांच बंगले थे। क्या उसका यह हक नहीं है कि कम से कम चार कमरों का मकान जिसमें मामूली मिनिस्टर या स्टेट मिनिस्टर रहते हैं, उतना बड़ा मकान तो उसको मिल जाय। किसी के चार बच्चे हैं या पांच बच्चे हैं तो उसको इतनी जगह का मकान तो दें कि जिसमें वह रह सके। इस वास्ते आप स्टैंडर्ड आफ इकानामिक रिकवरी जो है उसके मुताबिक सोंच समझ कर तय करें। अगर आप फौमला दो महीने में करते हैं, चार महीने में करते हैं, या साल भर में करते हैं कि यहां की प्रापर्टी (property) डिस्ट्रिब्यूट (distribute) हो जाय तो आप इसके लिये सोंच समझ कर तय करें जिससे कि आप ऐसा वक्त आने पर उसके लिये तैयार रहें। इसलिये मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि आप ने जो एक यह बात स्टैंडर्ड आफ इकानामिक रिकवरी (standard of economic recovery) की कही तो इसको सोंच समझ कर तय करिये।

आप ने अपने ब्राडकास्ट में यह भी बात कही कि यह कैसे हो सकता है, न तो यह प्रैक्टिकेबल (practicable) है और न मुमकिन है कि ऐसे हालात आये आ रहे हैं उनके मुताबिक उनको पूरा कम्पन्सेशन (compensation) दें। बात बड़ी माकूल कही कि हालात ऐसे आ रहे हैं लेकिन अभी आये तो नहीं हैं? जब आ जायें तो सोचियेगा। आप ने पहले ही सोच लिया। आप पर तो वह हालात आवेगा



नही। आप का तो बंगला वैसा ही बना रहेगा, आप का मकान वैसा ही रहेगा और आप का बैंक बैलेंस भी वैसा ही रहेगा। आप कह रहे हैं कि हालात आ रहे हैं, लेकिन; किन के लिये, उन के लिए। खुदा के लिये ऐसी इम्प्राॅक्टिकेबल (impracticable) बात न करो। कहिये कि तुम भागे हुए हो, गरीब हो, तो थोड़ा आप दे दें। लेकिन हमारे पास तो सब चीजें वैसे ही रहें, लेकिन जो वापस आ चुके हैं, उन के लिये हालात आगे आ रहे हैं। जहाँ तक इकात्मिक गिकररी का सवाल है हालात आगे आ रहे हैं। मकान के लिये आप कहते हैं कि अगर पांच बच्चे हैं तो एक मकान मिलेगा। अगर छः होंगे तो इस बात का आप सोचेंगे। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह चीज इस के अन्दर फिट इन नहीं आती। हालात आयेगे तो राय के लिए आवेंगे, रिफ्यूजीज के लिये ही नहीं आवेंगे।

दूसरा मसला जो कम्पेंसेशन (compensation) का है, उस के मुताबिक मैं दो मिनट में रोबानी डालना चाहता हूँ। इस मसले की बुनियाद क्या है, जड़ क्या है। जड़ यह है कि आप को पता ही है कि सन ४७ के अन्दर, जैसा और भाई कह चुके हैं उन का मैं इस्तिफा करूँ, या तारीफ करूँ, लेकिन यह बात साफ है, कि यह पार्टीशन का नतीजा था। पार्टीशन के साथ एक बात का अफसोस गवर्नमेंटों को जो हुआ वह यह था कि जो आदमी चले गये हैं वह हमारी मर्जी के खिलाफ गये हैं। हिन्दुस्तान से जो मुसलमान गये हैं वह हमारी मर्जी के खिलाफ गये हैं और इसी तरह से पाकिस्तान से जो हिन्दू गये हैं वह हमारी मरजी के खिलाफ गये हैं। यह दोनों गवर्नमेंटों ने कहा। लेकिन इस का हल क्या हो। इस का हल उन्होंने ने

यह किया कि उन्होंने ने एक ऐग्रीमेंट (agreement) साइन (sign) किया कि जो प्रापर्टी वहाँ हिन्दुओं की है उस के मालिक हिन्दू रहेंगे, टाइटल (title) उन की रहेगी, और जो प्रापर्टी वहाँ मुसलमानों की है, उस के मालिक मुसलमान रहेंगे। बड़ी माकूल बात थी और यह एक फंडामेंटल (fundamental) बात थी। इस बात को तय कर दिया कि जो प्रापर्टी हिन्दुओं की पाकिस्तान में है उस के मालिक हिन्दू रहेंगे चाहे वे रहते यहाँ हों और इसी तरह जो प्रापर्टी मुसलमानों की वहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में है उस के मालिक मुसलमान रहेंगे चाहे वह पाकिस्तान में रहते हों। चाहे मेंहरचन्द खन्ना साहब वहाँ रहें, लेकिन मालिक आप रहेंगे फ्रंटियर (Frontier) में और चाहे अब्दुल कयूम साहब या और कोई साहब, मिस्टर लियाकत अली खान साहब, जो गुजर गये, चाहे रहें वहाँ पाकिस्तान में लेकिन जायदाद के वह मालिक रहेंगे यहाँ। अब इस के बाद यह तय हुआ कि जो प्रापर्टी है उस का रेंट (rent) कलेक्ट (collect) होता रहेगा। वह वहाँ पाकिस्तान में कलेक्ट करेंगे और हम वहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में कलेक्ट करेंगे। खैर, हमें कुछ तसल्ली हुई कि चलो रेंट कलेक्ट होगा और हम को मिलता रहेगा। लेकिन इस के बाद क्या हुआ? जो इस का अमल हुआ उसमें यह हुआ कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने तो बार्कई में रेंट लेना शुरू कर दिया क्योंकि :

“रघुकुल रीति सदा चलि आई,  
प्राण जाहि पर बचन न जाई।”

बचन नहीं जाय, इसलिये यह सरकार तो रियालाइज (realize) करती थी? तमाम हिन्दुस्तान के रिफ्यूजीज से रेंट कलेक्ट होना शुरू हो

[लाला अचिन्त राम ]

गया और रेंट इकट्ठा हो रहा है। लेकिन उधर से क्या हुआ ? उधर सारा रेंट माफ है। अब मुआहिदा है लेकिन आप करें क्या ? आप इस को वहां से रियलाइज कैसे करें। यहां से रियलाइज करना तो आसान है, आप जानते हैं यह तो भगोड़े हैं, ऐसी ही बातें करते हैं, इन से रेंट (rent) कलेक्ट (collect) करे जाओ।

मुझे बड़ा तरस आया जब जैन साहब का मैं ने ब्राडकास्ट सुना। उन्होंने ने कहा कि हालांकि हम को बहुत मायूसी हुई है लेकिन हम ने फिर भी पाकिस्तान से कहा है कि हम आप के घर से नहीं जावेंगे। बावजूद मायूसी के हम आप से बात करते रहते हैं। उन्होंने ने कहा कि पाकिस्तान का एटीट्यूड (attitude) इंट्रांसीजेंट (intransigent) था और पाकिस्तान से किसी बात की आशा ही नहीं है। अब क्याल कीजिये कि वह कौन लफ्ज इस्तेमाल करते हैं। इस वक्त यह लफ्ज गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया इस्तेमाल कर रही है और इस्तेमाल करने वाला कोई मामूली आदमी नहीं है, कोई पार्लियामेंट का मामूली मंम्बर नहीं है, बल्कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया का मिनिस्टर यह लफ्ज इस्तेमाल कर रहा है। तो यह उन्होंने ने कहा। अब उस का हल क्या है ? आप को मालूम है कि पिछले साल गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने क्या किया ? जब पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट ने अपनी फौजों को मुआहिदे के खिलाफ जरा फ्रंटियर (Frontier) की तरफ मूव (move) किया तो पंडितजी ने कहा कि क्याल रखो, अगर तुम ने मुआहिदा तोड़ा तो वह काश्मीर की ही लड़ाई नहीं होगी, वह हिन्दुस्तान की लड़ाई होगी। वह एक चन्द अल्फाज का बयान था। उस का असर क्या हुआ ? पाकिस्तान की तमाम फौजें, भाग गईं और मामला

हल हो गया। तो मैं पूछता हूं कि ऐसा बयान करने की क्या जरूरत थी। काश्मीर हिन्दुस्तान में तो नहीं है। अगर पाकिस्तान की फौजें वहां जाती तो काश्मीर के खिलाफ लड़ाई होती, हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ तो लड़ाई नहीं होती। फिर आपने क्यों ऐसा ऐलान कर दिया ? काश्मीर में उन की फौजें जातीं तो आप भी वहां अपनी फौजें भेजते, वहां लड़ाई लड़ते। लेकिन ऐसा ऐलान क्यों किया, आखिर इस की आप को क्या जरूरत पड़ी ? यह इसलिये पड़ी कि उस की बुनियाद के पीछे यह बात है कि उन्होंने ने अपना वादा तोड़ा। और वादा तोड़ने को हम बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकते। इसलिये यह ऐलान निकला और मामला एक दम खत्म हो गया। यही बात आप अब कह दें। उन्हें बतला दें कि आप कैसे वादे तोड़ रहे हैं। वह तो हम से बात ही नहीं करते हैं। हम जाते हैं और वह मुंह फेर लेते हैं। हम उन के दरवाजे पर जाते हैं और इस को साल, दो साल, चार साल हो गये, लेकिन वह बात ही नहीं करते।

फिर इस के ऊपर देखिये कि पाकिस्तान में पासपोर्ट (passport) का तरीका जारी हो गया। इस की गरज क्या है ? गरज यह है कि आप के आदमी वहां जा कर किराया बगैरह वसूल न कर सकें और जायदाद पर पाकिस्तान का कब्जा रहे। फिर आप ने अभी अखबारात में देखा होगा कि पाकिस्तान ने इस बात की इजाजत रोक दी है कि आप के हवाई जहाज पाकिस्तान में गुजर सकें। और यह वह एरिया (area) है जहां ईरान के हवाई जहाज चल सकते हैं। यह नहीं है कि वह एरिया सब के लिये बन्द किया गया है, सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान के लिये बन्द किया गया है। आप के हवाई जहाजों की यह हालत है,

इवेक्यूई प्रापर्टी की यह हालत है, पासपोर्ट सिस्टम चल रहा है। तो इस तरह की एटी-ट्यूड का तो, मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ, जवाब वही है जो कि पिछले साल आप ने उस मामले में दिया था। वह जवाब क्या है? मैं नहीं कहता कि लड़ाई हो। लेकिन इस के जवाब के लिए मैं बताता हूँ कि आप इस वक्त कैनल वाटर (canal water) पाकिस्तान को दे रहे हैं। अभी अभी मसला आया कि पानी आप क्यों देते हो। पानी इसलिये देते हैं कि वहाँ फसल पैदा होगी। लायलपुर में और मार्ट्यूमरी में अनाज पैदा होगा और उस का जो रुपया आवेगा उस में से आप को वह कम्पनसेशन दे देंगे। हम ने कहा बड़ी माकूल बात है और हम ने पानी देना जारी रखा। हम उन को पानी दे रहे हैं और इस को आज पांच साल हो गये। लेकिन इन पांच साल के बाद हालत क्या है? हालत यह है कि पानी भी गया और पैसा भी गया।

यह आप ने सौदा किया, और हमारा पानी वहाँ पाकिस्तान को गया जिस से वहाँ उन की फसलें पैदा हो रही हैं। एक एक्सपर्ट (expert) ने मुझे बताया कि अगर हम पाकिस्तान को पानी देना बन्द कर दें और उस की सप्लाई रोक ली जाय और वह पानी हम अगर हिन्दुस्तान में गुरुदासपुर वगैरह में दें तो उस से सौ करोड़ रुपये साल की आमदनी हो सकती है और अगर पानी मिलता रहे तो दस, बारह वर्ष में हम अपना घाटा पूरा कर सकते हैं। लेकिन पानी कौन बन्द करे, और उस के लिये किस से कहिये? सन् १९५० में जब ईस्ट बंगाल से आदमी यहाँ भाग भाग कर आ रहे थे, तो हम धबरा रहे थे कि आखिर इस का क्या हल होने वाला है, लेकिन उस समय जो इंडो-पाकिस्तान ऐग्रीमेंट (Indo-Pakistan

Agreement) नेहरू लियाकत पैक्ट हुआ, हालांकि मुझे उस की सफलता में संदेह था, तो भी मैं यह देख कर बड़ा खुश हुआ कि पंडित जी ने वह ऐग्रीमेंट बड़ी होशियारी से किया और मैं इस बात का कायल हो गया कि मेरा संदेह गलत था और पंडित जी ठीक थे। मैं स्वाहिशमन्द हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के आपसी ताल्लुकत बहतर हों, ताकि हमारे शरणार्थी भाई वहाँ से थोड़ा बहुत अपना माल यहाँ पर ला सकें। अब भी मैं कहता हूँ कि पानी बन्द न कीजिये और इस मसले का कोई हल निकालने की कोशिश की जाये और अगर इस मसले का कोई हल निकलता है, तो बड़ी खुशी की बात होगी, लेकिन अगर बावजूद तमाम कोशिशों के कोई हल नहीं निकलता है तो आप नहरों का पानी पाकिस्तान को देना बन्द करें और उस वक्त तक सप्लाई बन्द रखें, जब तक कि पाकिस्तान ठीक रास्ते पर नहीं आता और सुलह की बात नहीं करता। अब यह कहना और डरना कि यह मामला इंटरनेशनल चला जायेगा, बेकार है। अगर यू० एन० ओ० में यह पानी का भी मामला चला जाय, तो क्या फर्क पड़ेगा, यह कौन सी इंसाफ की बात है कि हमारा वह अरबों रुपया मारे हुए बैठे हैं, और ऊपर से पानी भी सम्हाल हुए बंटे हैं, आखिर हम ने क्या गुनाह किया है? मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर आप इन लोगों के लिये गेनफुल आकुपेशन (gainful occupation) का इन्तजाम कर दें, तो आज जो इतनी बहस हुई है उस का बाकई में फायदा होगा। पाकिस्तान से जो हमारे भाई आये हैं, उन की बुरी हालत है। पाकिस्तान वालों ने कहा कि अकलियत वालों के साथ इक्वल ट्रीटमेंट (equal treatment)

[ लाला अचिन्ता राम ]

होगा, लेकिन उन्होंने ईस्ट बंगाल में कहा कि हम ज्वाइंट इलेक्ट्रेट (joint electorate) नहीं चाहते और वहां सेप्रेट इलेक्ट्रेट (separate electorate) जारी किया। मैं पूछता हूं कि यह ईस्ट बंगाल के हिन्दुओं के साथ कौन सा इंसॉफ किया गया है? इस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि आज वहां से हिन्दू निकल कर यहां भाग भाग कर आ रहे हैं। इन तमाम बातों को देखते हुए एक ही रास्ता है कि आप अपनी पालिसी को साफ कीजिये और लाजिकल (logical) कीजिये। आप इस मामले पर पाकिस्तान से कोई सुलह कर सकें तो, बहुत बेहतर है, वरना कम से कम हमारी चीज हमारे पास रहने दी जाये। गवर्नमेंट ने वायदा किया और पंडितजी ने कहा कि हम रिफ्यूजीज को जितना हमारे फाइनेंशियल रिसोर्सोज (financial resources) इजाजत देंगे कम्पेन्सेशन देंगे। बिल्कुल माकूल बात है, आप भले ही उन को एक मुश्त न दें लेकिन जैसे आप ने अमरीका के साथ किश्तों में अदायगी का इन्तजाम किया है, हमारे साथ भी कर लीजिये और अगर आप के पास इस वक्त सारा रुपया देने को नहीं है, तो उस को दो चार साल में दे दीजिये, लेकिन पहला इंस्टालमेंट ज्यादा दीजिये (the first instalment should be immediate and substantial) पहला इंस्टालमेंट देने के बाद चार, पांच वर्ष तक किश्तों में थोड़ा बहुत देते रहिये और मैं समझता हूं कि अगर हम इस प्राबलम् को एक प्रैक्टिकल प्वाइंट आफ व्यू से हल करने की कोशिश करेंगे तो हम जरूर कामयाब होंगे।

(English translation of the above speech)

**Lala Achint Ram (Hissar):** Sir, the demand in respect of the Ministry of Rehabilitation is being considered today. Some cut motions have also been moved. It is obvious that all the cut motions, that have been moved will be rejected and the demands accepted. In fact this is not the point. What is to be seen is, whether we can make any use of this discussion or not. We have to see if we are in a position to do something for the refugees thereby finding out any solution of their problems. Could we do something to rehabilitate them and restore them their due rights or to extend other facilities to them in this behalf? If we succeed in finding a way out of their present difficulties nothing like it, otherwise this discussion has no practical value whatever for us.

Only a couple of days back the hon. Minister had broadcast a speech on problems relating to the rehabilitation of refugees. That speech was by all means very instructive. I read the full account of his speech in the papers the next day. The first reaction on me was that the Government of India have done a lot for refugees. This made me too happy. The hon. Minister stated that of the displaced persons in rural areas 99.3 per cent. have been resettled on land and provided with jobs. Of the displaced persons from West Punjab no fewer than 90 per cent. have been rehabilitated in cities. Three lac and thirty-seven thousand displaced persons from East Bengal have also been resettled on land. Loans to the tune of thirty-three crores have been advanced to them. The most redeeming feature of his talk, to my mind, was that the Government were feeding about 38,000 destitute and unattached women. Besides, they were giving maintenance allowance to sixteen thousand displaced persons. Presenting further statistics the hon. Minister added that some twenty-five lac refugees living in cities have been provided with employment by the Centre or the State Governments. When I calculated I found the above figure exceeding by five lacs. Well, it is nice that they have provided work for these twenty-five lac persons. Anyway, their report does not seem to be incorrect. In fact they deserve congratulations for this remarkable achievement. One lac and sixty thousand persons, the hon. Minis-

ter went on to say, have secured jobs through employment exchanges. *Prima facie* these things look very great. But we have to see for how many days did they get such employments. Were they meant only for 10 or 20 days or for even one year? Unless light is thrown on this fact the position cannot be fully clarified. The Minister also referred to the imparting of training to about 50 to 60 thousand persons in various training centres. I was glad to learn this. Recently I had an opportunity of going round the Kalyan Camp during my visit to Bombay. There is a work centre where the displaced persons receive training in various trades. When asked as to how many of the trainees had been employed after completing their training I was told that the figures were much less, especially those in respect of women trainees. They also told me that most of the women trainees came only with a view to obtaining 30 or 35 rupees that are given as scholarship for they could maintain themselves with the help of this amount. When we are told that fifty thousand persons have received training we cannot but think that the amount spent on such training is a waste considering that no effort is made to help the trainees get employment after they have completed their training. Under such conditions I would not approve of any training centres of this kind being opened. What we have to see is that a person after receiving training gets some employment or the other. Then his work should be closely watched for three to six months in order to ascertain the quality thereof. If this is done then alone can we claim to have provided so many persons with jobs otherwise not.

In the same way the figures in respect of loans advanced to displaced persons must also be wrong. According to figures given, two lac and forty thousand persons have been given loans. But these figures do not indicate the quantum of each of these loans as to whether it is Rs. 10, 20, 50, 100, or 1000. My point is that it should have been ascertained as to whether or not the persons who have been given loans are making any use whatever of them. Government's business does not end at giving loans. What is to be seen is whether the loans have helped them in any respect in earning their living. Similarly it is for the Government to see whether those provided with employment are earning so much as may enable them to make both ends meet. Our objective would not be achieved merely by giving figures.

There is one more point and that is of course very contentious. Shri Jain raised a very interesting point in his broadcast. He posed a question as to what degree of economic recovery must a displaced person achieve in order to be considered rehabilitated. This is by no means an easy question which can hardly be answered in a light way. But that is what he said and I believe he would be pleased to confess it. What is meant by the degree of economic recovery? Things are quite clear. Here in India there is a large number of millionaires each having big bank balances and owning a couple of mills or factories. How can you judge the standard of economic recovery in their case? Now take the case of refugees. Suppose there is a certain refugee who has two to four children. While in Pakistan he used to give higher education to his children and his monthly expenditure amounted to about two thousand rupees. Now when he has come here what standard shall be fixed of his economic recovery? It is a ticklish question. If any "ism" comes here—be it socialism or communism—then it is all right. Otherwise it is something very strange that on the one hand these millionaires should be allowed to send their wards abroad for advanced studies and on the other hand, when it comes to refugees, the question of the standard of economic recovery is raised. What does it all mean? After all what shall he get? To my mind it would not do any justice to them to say that they should get five rupees or ten rupees each. Therefore when you consider the cases of such refugees or of their children you should not lose sight of the conditions in which they were living before partition.

Now there is the question of providing housing accommodation for them. The Minister in his broadcast said that it was not possible to provide palatial buildings to each of them. True, this is not possible. I quite agree with him. But does a man who previously owned four or five bungalows not deserve now even one house containing four rooms and of the size of the one generally occupied by a Minister or a Minister of State. A man having four or five children must get a house as big as may meet his requirements. This question of determining the standard of economic recovery should be decided, therefore, after taking all these things into consideration. In whatever time you may decide the question of the distribution of evacuated properties, you must consider right now as to what should be the stand-

[Lala Achint Ram]

ard of economic recovery so that it may be made use of should an opportunity arise. That is why I urge you to give full consideration to all these facts before taking any final decision in this behalf.

The hon. Minister also stated in his broadcast that in view of the future circumstances it was neither practicable nor possible to pay full compensation to the displaced persons. But I say things of future should not worry you just at present. They will be seen when they actually come. Do you mean to say that these circumstances will only affect refugees and not you? Will your bungalow remain intact? Will your bank balances remain unaltered? For God's sake do not say such impracticable things. If they are in miserable conditions let us help them. But that we would not do. We do not want to part with anything belonging to us and in addition say that hard times are ahead for them. As regards the question of providing housing accommodation, we saw that a man having five children will get one house. Then what about one who has got six children? We say we will consider his case. I therefore believe that all these things do not fit in here. Whatever is to come will affect all, not refugees alone.

Now I shall take a couple of minutes in making a few observations with regard to the question of compensation. Let us for a moment trace its history. As you all know and as some other friends have observed, this question arose as a direct consequence of the partition. Whatever be my views about it, the fact remains that it is the result of the partition. Among many things which Government regretted in connection with the partition one was that the Muslims migrated to Pakistan against their will. The same thing was expressed by the Pakistan Government. They said that the Hindus left Pakistan against their desire. What could be the solution then? The two Governments tried to solve this problem by concluding an agreement to the effect that the properties left in Pakistan would continue to belong to their Hindu owners, and, in the same way, properties left by Muslims in India would be treated as belonging to their original owners. It was a decision of fundamental importance. It was but proper to decide that Hindus would continue to be the owners of their properties left by them in Pakistan and Muslims of those in India although it might be that they may not be living there. No matter if Shri Mehar Chand

Khanna lives here, he will continue to be the owner of his property in the N. W. F. P. Similarly, properties in India belonging to Shri Abdul Qayyum Khan or the late Shri Liaquat Ali Khan will ever remain as theirs. This was followed by another decision to the effect that the rents of such properties would continue to be collected by the two Governments. Well, we heaved a sigh of relief thinking that at least rent would be regularly paid to us. Now what happened next? Our Government began collecting rents of the properties left by Muslims for they believe in

*"Raghukul reeti sada chali aai  
Pran jahin par vachan na jahin"*

(It has been a tradition in Raghu's family never to break one's words even at the pain of death.)

The Government began to realise rent from refugees throughout the country. But what did the Pakistan Government do? They have exempted the entire rent. Of course there is an agreement in this behalf but how to implement it. In India they find it easier to collect rent from refugees and do not pay any heed to their protests.

I was rather pained to hear Shri Jain broadcast that although they had been disappointed they would continue to endeavour to secure Pakistan's co-operation. In spite of disappointments they continue to hold negotiations. The Minister said that the attitude adopted in this behalf by the Pakistan Government was intransigent and that there was no hope of Pakistan agreeing to any reasonable solution. Now these are the words of no less a person than a Minister of the Government of India. The man who has uttered these words is not an ordinary person, nor even a mere Member of Parliament. Then where lies the solution? In this connection an incident of last year will be recalled. When Pakistan Government moved their armies towards Kashmir thereby violating the terms of the agreement reached earlier between the two Governments, Panditji warned Pakistan that if they violated the provisions of the agreement, the war would not be confined to Kashmir alone but it would be treated as an attack on India's main land. It was a very brief warning which all the same did the trick. Pakistan at once withdrew their armies and thus the issue was solved in no time. May I ask as to what was the reason for making such a statement?

Kashmir was not a part of India. If Pakistan's troops were marching ahead towards Kashmir how could it be considered to be a war against India? It should have been confined to Kashmir alone. You could have also sent your armies to Kashmir. Why was such a warning deemed necessary? The answer is not very far to seek: because they had violated the provisions of the agreement reached earlier between the two countries. We could not tolerate such a violation, hence the necessity for such a warning arose. This solved the whole problem. The same thing you could do in this matter also. Let them know that they are going against the agreement. They refuse to negotiate with us. We have been knocking at their doors for several years but they do not seem to give any response whatsoever.

Then, Pakistan has introduced the passport system. What is this for? It has been introduced merely with a view to prevent persons from going there to realise rent etc., of their properties and also with a view to maintain their possession over them. Besides, you might have read in the papers that Pakistan has banned the flight of Indian planes over their territory. Iran's aeroplanes are, however, allowed to fly over that territory. It is not that such restrictions have been imposed on the planes of all the countries. It is in respect of only India's planes. Such is the treatment being meted out to you in respect of your planes, evacuee properties and passport system. I would suggest that most proper and befitting answer to this would be the same as was given last year in respect of the matter. I may not be misunderstood to say that there should be war between the two countries. I would suggest other measures to be adopted by our Government. As it is, the Government are supplying canal water to Pakistan. A question had arisen as to why we were supplying water to them. In reply it was stated that we were supplying canal water to Pakistan so that there might be more food production. Perhaps we were thinking that foodgrains produced in Lyallpur and Montgomery would fetch additional income to them and they would be in a better position to pay compensation to us out of that money. So we continued to supply canal water. Five years have passed since then but things still remain where they were. This resulted in both water and money being lost. So the Government made this bargain which proved an utter failure. We supply water with which they are pro-

ducing better crops. An expert has told me that if we discontinue the supply of canal water to Pakistan and divert the same to places like Gurdaspur in India it can yield us an additional income to the tune of one hundred crore rupees per year thereby enabling us to wipe off our deficit within ten to twelve years. But the question is who would do it? In 1950 when refugees from East Bengal were coming to India in large numbers we were wondering what was going to be our lot. But the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, the Indo-Pakistan Agreement—an agreement between India and Pakistan—eased the tension and gave us much relief, although I for one had still some doubts regarding its success. I thought that Panditji had taken a very wise step and also I realised that my misgivings were based on wrong presumptions and Panditji was quite right. I am still desirous of seeing friendly relations between the two countries for that will enable our refugee brethren to bring back whatever belongings they can from Pakistan. I do not want the supply of water to Pakistan to be stopped if some other reasonable solution is found out. If we can solve the problem otherwise, nothing like it. But in case all other means fail, the Government would do well to discontinue the supply of canal water to Pakistan and let it not be continued till some comes on the right path and is prepared to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards India. It is no use fearing that the matter would be referred to the U. N. O. If it does go to the U. N. O. I do not think it is going to make much difference. Already they owe a large amount of money to us and now they are also utilising our water. Is there any justification in this? After all what crime have we committed for which we are being penalised? These lengthy discussions would be of any use only if we can provide gainful occupations to displaced persons. Refugees from Pakistan are today in a miserable condition. The Government of Pakistan had declared that they would mete out equal treatment to minorities; but in East Bengal they did not even approve of the joint electorate system and provided for separate electorates instead. May I ask if that is equal treatment? This decision was followed by a mass exodus of Hindus from East Bengal. In view of all these far-reaching implications the only way out is that we give a clear and logical shape to our policy with regard to Pakistan. If any agreement is reached, it is all right, otherwise we should be allowed to retain whatever little we have

[Lala Achint Ram]

at present. Our Government as also Panditji had rightly assured the displaced persons that they would pay compensations to them, their financial resources permitting. I would suggest that if they are not in a position to pay compensation in a lump sum let them pay it in instalments spread over a period of two to four years. Let them make arrangements similar to those made with respect to payment to America. But in any case the first instalment should be immediate and substantial. Subsequent instalments may, however, be spread over a period of four to five years and may be smaller than the first. I believe if we approach this problem firmly from a practical point of view, success is sure to be ours.

12 Noon

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury** (Gauhati)  
rose—

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shall I call another Member from Assam—Shri Suresh Chandra Deb?

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** May I explain the position? In Assam there are two divisions of rehabilitation. One is directly under the Government of India. Everything is done by the Government of India. My hon. friend Shri Suresh Chandra Deb will be able to speak about that. But there is the other division. The major portion of the rehabilitation work in Assam is being done by the Assam Government. There is a lot to be said about that.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will give seven minutes to each Member.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** If the House does not wish to hear those complaints, the wails of the refugees in Assam, I have nothing to say.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will give ten minutes to each of the Members from Assam—five minutes more to Assam as a whole. Shri Suresh Chandra Deb.

**Shri S. C. Deb** (Cachar-Lushai Hills): I come from a part bordering on Pakistan—Cachar and Lushai Hills. There are many problems which our Government is trying to solve, but this is one of the vital problems. I am given an opportunity to speak on this subject, and I am thankful to my party also. In this connection, first of all, I congratulate the Government on the policy which they have adopted in this behalf. But

the question is whether that policy is being implemented everywhere with the same sincerity, the same agility and the same faithfulness. It is a fact that the rehabilitation in the district of Cachar has been taken by the Centre, and many problems arise because the State Government is absent from there for rehabilitation purposes. Most of our people are agriculturists. If you are to give land to the agriculturists, where are you to get that land from? Unless the State Government comes into the picture, it cannot be solved, and it is not solved. After the camps were disbanded, the refugees were taken to some hills or jungles or barren lands. Our popular Minister has said on several occasions that the question of rehabilitation is almost complete. But I say with all humility: the question remains where it was. Take for instance the Duhalia Hills and Majigram colonies. Our local S. D. O. is distributing doles and some relief measures are undertaken after taking personal contributions from the local people. Why? If rehabilitation is complete why are people dying, and why are people hungry? Almost daily telegrams and letters are coming in. Why? If the problem is solved, why do they come in? Therefore, I say with all humility: the question is not solved; it is yet to be solved. A definite plan for all the area to be covered should be taken in hand. That has not been done. That is my grievance.

I have not taken up this matter for my area on my own initiative. Circumstances compelled me. You know I have been returned on popular vote. But those refugees who have votes did not vote for me. That makes me ask why. I am a Bengali, and they are all Bengalis. They must have voted for me, but they did not. That gave me the first shock. They voted for Dr. Mookerjee's Party. However, when I have been returned, I am to face every local problem and bring it to the notice of the Government. That is my duty. I cannot deal with this problem alone, disregarding other problems. But it is very painful that after the announcement of the result, daily, from morning till night, refugees have been approaching me for something to do for them. I tell them that I am helpless and that I cannot do anything. Our Government has taken much pains and is spending lots of money for the refugees. But that problem has yet to be solved. I think it is not only our moral duty, but I say it is one of our nation building works.



This problem we have to face along with other nation building works. It is another problem. It has to be solved along with other problems. Circumstances compel me to say something about these things. You will see, Sir, that there is a branch placed at Calcutta and that branch is administering the affairs there. One Controllor is placed at Silchar, the headquarters of Cachar and his policy is dictated from the branch and it is to be carried out. But our administrative authority is out of the picture. What can be done without the presence of the State Government there? The State Government must be made interested in that area. Otherwise, please excuse me, if I say that Government money is being wasted. Government had evolved a scheme with I. T. A. but that has been an utter failure. 14,500 persons are to be rehabilitated there. They are taken in jungles. There was no arrangement for sanitation. There was no drinking water. There was no land. A few days after, 2,000 people left the place in utter helplessness and some more of them have left by now and there is no arrangement for others.

The main problem is that agricultural land ought to be given to every family if any rehabilitation is at all contemplated by Government and for that, the State Government should be made interested in these things. I took up this matter with the local administrative authority. I took up the matter with some Ministers of the State Government. But they all said that they were not hopeful about management of affairs. I am asking: Why is it so? I cannot understand. Our Central Government and the Provincial Government may know something. The problem is there and has to be tackled. I request our hon. Minister with all humility that special consideration and special attention should be given to this area. Otherwise I think all money—more than a crore of rupees—from the exchequer has been mismanaged, unless the whole thing is reconsidered and new plans are devised.

There is a destitute camp but there is no water for the residents to have their bath. Probably there is no latrine and their wretched houses are likely to collapse. Headmaster of a High School told me that there was a circular from Government that 50 per cent. of the displaced students are to be given relief and not more. They are putting me this question. "How are we to discriminate between one displaced person and another?" I

tried to contact the Controllor and the Controllor had been kind enough to take me to some area. There I saw, that the questions put in by the Controllor could not be answered by the local officers. I am told there is an Advisory Committee, Sir, I asked some local executive officer who was on that Advisory Committee. He told me that "the matters are hopeless. No advice is taken. No advice is considered valuable." I would like to ask then, why is there an Advisory Committee at all? I therefore request our hon. Minister with all my humility that he should kindly consider all these things and see whether the policy that is laid down by our Government is being carried out and matters should be set aright. I thank you for giving me the permission to address the House. I am a new Member, though I am old in years. Excuse me, Sir, if I have not been able to express myself fully.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Now I would advise the hon. Members to take only 10 to 12 minutes as there are a number of Members who are anxious to speak. I am sure Mr. Chaudhury will finish in 10 or 12 minutes.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** I have no time to express my gratitude to you although, I should be never tired of expressing my gratefulness for this mercy that you have shown to me.

The first question that I wish to ask the hon. Minister is: Why has the Government of India taken over charge of only one district so far as refugee rehabilitation is concerned? Why has he not done it with regard to the whole State of Assam? What is the reason? Is it because Kachar is inhabited by Bengali speaking population? Is that the reason? Now we thought that if it is the responsibility of the Government of India, the entire responsibility ought to be taken over by them and if the Government of India requires the co-operation of the State Government in this matter, the same rule, the same practice ought to have been observed for all the districts and no discrimination ought to have been made in the matter of refugee rehabilitation.

Now, we generally think that whenever the Government of India is taking the entire responsibility, the refugees would be better looked after and the rehabilitation will be more effectively and speedily done. But in this matter, I must confess that we have been keenly disappointed. If you read the papers everyday, you will find report

[Shri R. K. Chaudhury]

of how unsatisfactorily the rehabilitation work is being done in the district of Kachar. Almost everyday you receive telegrams from that area.

Almost every day we receive telegrams from that area, particularly from the Karimganj division. I wish, more particularly to lay stress on the condition of the refugees in that part of the State of Assam where the rehabilitation work is done directly by the Government of Assam. I must confess that I have associated myself so intimately with this problem of refugees that the time has almost arrived when I personally consider myself to be a refugee from Assam and have to take my shelter somewhere else. I want to ask the hon. Minister to have an introspection in his mind and think for himself as to what he has been or his predecessor has been able to do during the last few years. What is the total amount of loans granted to the refugees in the area known as the Assam Valley Districts? The State Government is empowered to issue loans up to Rs. 5,000. In how many cases has this amount of Rs. 5,000 been actually sanctioned? May I ask in how many cases the finance administration itself has been able to grant loans to the refugees in Assam? How many cases are there of the grant of loan of books to refugee students? I think the answer will be entirely in the negative. What provision is being made for the employment of educated youths who belong to the refugee families? If they got employment under the State Government, may I know how many have been employed in Assam like that? There were a few appointments under the disposal of the Government of India in the Rehabilitation Department, but I understand that all those appointments of inspectors and sub-inspectors have been retrenched recently on account of the fact that the policy of granting loans has been revised. The Rehabilitation office in Assam wanted more inspectors and sub-inspectors. Let alone the filling up of more vacancies, even the existing hands were retrenched. Then what is left to these unemployed refugee youths? What is being done for them? Has there been the grant of a fairly substantial industrial loan out of which some industrial work could be carried on giving employment to these people? The answer would be, no. How are these young boys going to live? Are they given facilities for college education after passing the matriculation? Have these refugees been given land for cultivation? It is said that there is not enough land in

the State of Assam. Granted that the Government of Assam has no State land on which to settle these refugees, but then is there no private land? I know there is. I had myself sponsored that application from some private individuals who are willing to sell their land for a fairly reasonable price so that the refugees may be settled there. What happened to that proposal? I personally spoke to the hon. Minister about that. I accompanied a gentleman who was prepared to give a large area of land for purposes of rehabilitation of the refugees and saw the land. I do not quarrel with the Government of Assam with regard to the availability or otherwise of State land. On that there may be a difference of opinion. But so far as private land is concerned which the parties are prepared to sell, why should not the Government of India purchase that land and allow the refugees to settle down there? They are prepared to purchase that land and pay the price of the land in instalments. Why is nothing done in that direction? I have all my personal regard for the hon. Minister who has been doing his best to solve this problem. All the same I must say that so far as the State of Assam is concerned the refugees have not been paid that attention which they ought to have been given. We are moving in a vicious circle. When I approach the Government of Assam for relief that Government says the Government of India is not giving enough grant. There was a time when we were told by the Government of Assam that no money was being made available to the Government of Assam for small loans of up to Rs. 5,000. I came and approached the hon. Minister; the hon. Minister said that he has received no such request from the Government of Assam. So we are moving in a vicious circle with the result that the refugees from East Bengal remain as neglected as before. I ask the hon. Minister: how many townships have been built in the State of Assam? Then there is the policy of the Finance Administration that unless the person lives in the township he cannot be granted a loan. But how many townships have been created? The hon. Minister himself has seen, and Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and Pandit Lakshmi Kant Maitra and I have all seen that place where a township was to be raised. That place is still lying unclaimed. Why does the Minister select land in Assam which is absolutely submerged under water? It requires three years to bring that land under cultivation and it will take another three years to build a

township. At present they are living at the rate of 30 or 40 persons in a small room. And they are living under conditions where there is no conservancy with the result that they are not only injuring their own health but they are also injuring the health of their neighbours. There is one latrine for every five families and that is cleaned twice a week. What is the effect? You will see a string of worms coming from that place right up to the place of habitation. This is the way things exist there. There will be retributive justice. You are neglecting the refugees now. They are living in insanitary conditions. In every refugee house at this time of the year you will find people suffering from typhoid and dysentery and these attacks of typhoid and dysentery will also affect the neighbours who are not refugees. I would once more beg of the hon. Minister to go and see the condition of the refugees in Assam. You will see how they are living, what food they are eating, how many sari their women folk have got, what is the vocation of their young unemployed youths, what vocations you are going to give them, etc. At present Rs. 2,500 is the maximum amount of loan granted. The average is about Rs. 300 to 400. What can a man earn with that amount? What can a hungry family having not more than one meal a day do with that 300 or 400? Would not their impulse be certainly to convert that amount into absolute necessities of life?

These small loans go in vain, because a hungry family is waiting to have two meals a day and the money is utilised for purchasing the necessities of life. I am not exaggerating at all. Please find some employment for them; please give them a roof where they can live as human beings. Please provide them with the conservancy facilities and make arrangements for their treatment in times of illness. Otherwise, not only will the refugees die, but the health of non-refugees who accommodate them will also be affected, and they will die along with them.

It must not be supposed for a minute that we Assamese are hostile towards refugees. We are not and we cannot be, because we and the refugees from Eastern Bengal are practically the same people. We are as poor as they are. We speak almost the same language. We wear the same clothing—*dhoti* and *sari*. We eat the same food—rice, and fish

which probably you do not like. We have nothing to differentiate between ourselves. Although they do not belong originally to that province and their ancestors may have come from Bengal or U. P. or Bihar, we are the same people practically. (Interruption.)

**An Hon. Member:** They are all Satyanarayans.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** Sir, I am in a very serious mood.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Therefore, I suggest that he may conclude.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhuri:** Sir, I take your advice and sit down.

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** At the very outset I have to observe that this problem of rehabilitation has not been given the attention it deserves and calls for. I do not minimise what has been done and I said the other day, I pay my tribute to the energy, earnestness and sincerity which the hon. Minister has shown in tackling this problem, but he has his own difficulties and while I congratulate him for his having been raised to the rank of a Cabinet Minister, I must also observe that he is not a Cabinet Minister yet and that is the first handicap that he has got. He has to carry out the policy as it is shaped by the Cabinet, though he may share in the joint responsibility.

From the omission of any mention in the two addresses of the President, one in February and another in May, we may guess that the Government has perhaps been feeling complacent and has thought that this problem has been solved. Our fears have come true, as is clear from this report and from the speech made by the Minister only two days ago. It has been said here:

“A stage has been reached when the displaced persons have, by and large, adjusted themselves to their new environment and it may well be said that with the economic development of the country they will undoubtedly find their rightful place in life.”

I must tell you how I feel. That is a different story.

“By and large, the bulk of the refugees are far from rehabilitated; a large section of them is indeed even worse off than when they first arrived with some

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savings and ornaments and a rich loadful of hopes about the *Ram Raj* under which they believed they had sought asylum; and many are slowly, inch by inch, physically and morally, being drawn to total extinction."

**An Hon. Member:** Where is that from?

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** It is from *Vigil*. It may be any paper, but you may take it that this is how I feel and I have a right to quote from anybody with whom I agree. How this problem has been tackled and how it has been wrongly assumed that it has been solved would be easily exposed if we probe a little. It has been said with much pride that the Government has spent Rs. 146 crores on the refugees. Of course, this is correct. I do not doubt this figure. It is a colossal, gigantic sum and when a refugee reads it in the report he begins to think and ponder whether all this money has been spent on him and how in spite of that his condition has not been improved. I assure the hon. Minister that if we look at the way in which this money has been spent the refugees could not be rehabilitated even if the amount is multiplied ten times. But I say that even this amount of Rs. 146 crores has not been spent on the refugees. An hon. friend mentioned some time ago that this amount consists of investments that are recoverable with interest. In the report itself it is mentioned that Rs. 33.41 crores are loans recoverable with 6 per cent interest. Then there is housing which covers Rs. 46 and odd crores. The total comes to roughly Rs. 80 crores. The entire amount is recoverable with 6 per cent interest, and this percentage is not a small rate, I should say. It is a banking concern, Sir, that is being run and when we look at the interest and the security that are demanded, when we look at the methods which the Government have adopted for recovering these loans, I can assure the Government that if the field had been left open these terms would have induced a Birla or a Tata or a Dalmia to invest this money.

Then, again, we were told that Rs. 66 crores have been given as grants to the States and I may tell the hon. Minister that this amount supplemented by certain other resources from the States has been given to the refugees in the form of loans, *taccavis* etc.

**Shri A. P. Jain:** Not these grants.

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** They are no doubt given to the States as grants, but how have the States used them? They have supplemented them with their own resources and have advanced those sums to the refugees, and these include loans advanced by the States.

**Shri A. P. Jain:** No. Loans are not included.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (Gurgaon): What about Rs. 82 lakhs advanced as food loans in Punjab alone?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** He is raising a different question.

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** I was referring to loans and if we treat only half the amount advanced to the States as grant, then the whole amount that is recoverable comes to Rs. 100 crores. What is left? Rs. 46 crores, which includes transport charges; the relief that was given, for which we are grateful, and all other facilities that were provided. We have not forgotten them. We are thankful to the Government for them. We are not ungrateful. I assure the hon. Minister. We do appreciate them. But this is a problem that has to be tackled with more care and caution. The recent statement of the hon. Minister has only exhibited his helplessness. He is rather in a plaintive mood, offering prayers. After five years of strenuous efforts, he comes up and says that Pakistan's attitude has been unhelpful. We knew that in 1949 itself. After five Conferences we were told that Pakistan had absolutely expropriated our property and it was no use continuing those Conferences. That was definitely put down in the brochure that was given to us. After three years again we are told that the attitude of the Pakistan Government has been quite unhelpful. And then the hon. Minister ends by saying: "I confess that on many occasions, far too many in fact, we have been sorely disappointed—thanks to that Government's determination not to give us even the minimum of co-operation". He says "Any prolongation of this dispute means the continuance of misery to millions". And then he concludes "It will be our endeavour to do them such justice as may be in our power". But he does not give us an indication of the justice he is

going to do after six years. This helplessness we already knew so many years ago and we had forewarned him that he would not be able to get anything out of Pakistan. When the attitude and policy of that Government is what it is, no sensible man can expect that anything would be got out of that Government.

I am reminded here of a short story. I was going with a comrade of mine when I was reading in the school. There was a beggar, a mendicant sitting on the road and he was calling out:

“ जो दे जाय उसका भी भला और जो न दे जाय उसका भी बला ” ।

This is what our Government does. It gives its blessings and good wishes to the one who gives something, as well as to the other who refuses to listen to it. I said to my companion “Give something to this beggar”. He said “You are a fool. When we have already got the blessing, why give anything”. Sir, this is the attitude of our Government. It is pouring its blessings even without being asked. (An Hon. Member: A beggar's blessings!) Now it comes with this helplessness and tells the refugees that it will try to do justice, whatever it can. We are entitled, after these six long years of agony, at least to know where we stand. This Government might be acting on some moral principles, they might be creating some place in paradise along with some leaders on the other side. But we are living in hell, and what matters is whether they are going to remedy our evils or not. With these assurances and hopes we cannot continue. Our condition is much more miserable now than what it was when we came here with high hopes after partition.

In regard to paddy loans some consideration has been shown, and the people who lived in those camps have been told that what was advanced to them by way of paddy loans is not to be recovered until the question of compensation is decided. But I would like to tell the hon. Minister that a very large number of those people had no claims at all. Therefore this benefited only very few people.

Then there is housing for Rs. 5 crores. This housing has been planless. It is not productive except perhaps in regard to two colonies about which if I had the time I could speak, but I am afraid I would not have that time. Except for Panipat and Nilo-keri the others are not productive at

all, and the costs have been very heavy. 15 to 18 per cent to the C. P. W. D. has been added to these costs. 25 per cent is the contractor's profit. The bribes and other things are separate, we cannot count them. So practically the refugee has to pay double the price of what the construction is worth, and we boast that we have rehabilitated these refugees. Then again, mostly, they have no sanitary equipments. There are community lavatories and community bath rooms. Practically we have created slums there, which we experienced after sometime. The cost is so high and the rents charged so exorbitant that the refugee is crumbling under their weight, and he cannot pay.

Then I come to the question of evacuee property to which I referred just now. It was given out in 1949 that this compensation will be composed of three portions. One was receipts from Pakistan; the other, the value of the pool of evacuee property here; and thirdly, a handsome contribution by the Government itself. The value was expected to be Rs. 350 crores. The refugees accepted that solution. A conference was called in 1949 and it was considered that the evacuee law would be modified. A draft also was prepared and was given to the Minister, and that was accepted then. But ultimately, on the interference of the Jamiat, all that was dropped. Other provisions were introduced, which resulted in huge amounts flown from India to Pakistan. Those people were acting under the cover that for the maintenance of the dependents of those Pakistanis who are living here but who have sent their children to Pakistan, reasonable amounts could be sent. But Government has absolutely no check to see that these amounts are reasonable or that the provisions in this respect are not being misused.

Then again, a large number of Muslims have returned and that property has been restored to them. In Bombay, Delhi and U. P. alone it was estimated that property worth about Rs. 500 crores would be available for this pool. And now what do we find? After these Chhatrwallahs and Japanwallahs have got their properties restored to them, it is admitted that the pool would only be of the value of Rs. 50 crores, or at the most of Rs. 70 crores. If the Government has behaved that way and the refugees have been thinking all the time that the pool would be available only to them and that it might be distributed as

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soon as possible, may I ask whether the refugees are not justified in saying 'Let that pool alone'?

Let their claims be verified, the verification being very strict. Nothing has been given in respect of rural property. The properties of those that have got an area of four acres or houses worth less than Rs. 20,000, have not been assessed. All these properties have been left out. All their movable properties have gone. If the value of the evacuee property now is estimated to be about Rs. 750 crores or Rs. 1,000 crores, and the value of Pakistani Muslim property here is to come to about Rs. 50 or 70 crores only, when worked out, the refugee is likely to get one anna in the rupee. But you are giving a gift of Rs. 700 crores or Rs. 800 crores to Pakistan just now, in accordance with the policy we have been pursuing up to this time. If wheat is coming to India we will divert it to Pakistan. Though the Pakistan people might be clamouring that India is amassing wheat, to be used in case of war, to make them believe that we are human beings and show compassion for their own trouble, it must be diverted to Pakistan. But if we want rice, that is refused to us. Perhaps we wanted that we might remove the suspicions of Pakistan, lest we were preparing for war and lest some one's help we might summon, but that is also denied to us. Even in this manner we should continue in placating them. I am reminded of one *sadhu* and it is said that he had advised a snake not to bite the people. The snake acted accordingly. It was lying on the road and people came and trampled on it and on the next day the snake complained that it had been treated very badly, that everybody trampled on it. The *sadhu* asked: Why did you not bite? The snake replied: You advised me not to bite. The *sadhu* said, "Yes; I did, but did I tell you to give up your 'phunkar' (hissing) as well?" Here we are making declarations that we are a peaceful people and we could never go to war to settle any of these questions. Though I do not advise that we should fight, is it worthwhile to say that we are not prepared to fight on account of the evacuee property, on account of abducted women, on account of canal waters and on account of electricity in season and out of season? The other party knows that you are not prepared to fight. What are you going to do with simple and

pious wishes which our hon. Minister has expressed. As I said he is in a prayerful mood. We would have offered prayers along with him but I tell you that those shrines have also gone; they are not with us. We do not have that opportunity as well where our prayers also could be heard; we are deprived of that as well. It is a woeful story. The hon. Minister read the following words:

"In the communications with Pakistan it was suggested to the Government that no progress could be made in regard to the question of immovable property. With regard to the protection and maintenance of shrines, it was suggested to the Government of Pakistan that the question of protection and maintenance of shrines in the two countries should be discussed at a conference. But the Government of Pakistan considered such a conference unnecessary."

Whenever Pakistan wants a thing, we are prepared to go into a conference. We discuss there and if they get whatever they want, we feel proud that we have achieved something at least in that they were kind enough to sit with us in conference, but when they do not like, they give us a kick and say "No, No". We are prepared for it and take it as good boys. In other words we behave properly because we are wedded to certain principles and we must conform to them. In this way, we cannot achieve any object. I say this whole pool was a trust with the Government. This is a breach of trust that the Government has committed. The Government is guilty of that breach of trust, for which they will be responsible to the refugees. They were made scapegoats for this freedom; they were sacrificed for this country. Now we are told that they are to be absorbed as the economy of the country is developed on the Five Year Plan. The whole country should continue as it is. That economy is not to be disturbed lest it pinches anybody else. The miseries of these refugees are being exploited. They had left their hearths and homes and now socialism is also being applied here. Ninety-five per cent. cut has been applied on the grant of lands. Government say that they have no lands. I say that there are lands. The hon. Minister said that the colossal nature of the problem has not been understood. Because of that one in every 50 in the country is a refugee. Was it difficult for 50 persons to absorb

one? That could be easily done. He says that there is one refugee against 3 people in Delhi. I can understand that Delhi might not be able to absorb the refugees but for 50 persons, it was not difficult to absorb one. This comes strictly under the External Affairs Ministry, but it is connected with this. No nation has ever suffered to this extent nor would it tolerate it. We lost about 30,000 women and we have got 7,500 or so we are told. We have returned 15,000. I am glad that we have returned double the number. Within 6 months our recovery organization has been overactive and over-zealous and we have got 18,000 women. We are sending out women who were married 15 years before the partition. They also will be sent because there are no abducted women here. They are sponsoring to send those women that were converted 10 years before the partition and who have got children before partition. In the High Court out of 54 cases that were there 18 affidavits were presented to prove that those women had been married some ten years before the partition and had children from Hindu and Sikh husbands, but they were being forced to go until this Act was declared *ultra vires*. Now an attempt is being made to enact another law so that this process might continue. I ask: are we going to get anything from Pakistan, be it canal water, be it electricity, be it evacuee property or other properties which we have in the form of deposits? We cannot count the amount that we have lost there, but still we are acting like lambs and behave in a submissive manner and thank God for what is given and we are awaiting our destiny. Refugees are looking to the Government whether it is coming up with any solution or not. Our hon. Minister is very active and has found a solution. He is going to throw at us Rs. 50 crores and say: this is yours and you have it. I do not know if in the course of another 6 months it may be reduced to Rs. 25 crores. He is very glad to tell us: Here is your money. You have got it for the cry that you have raised, "Compensation, compensation." There is a very simple solution. If the Government thinks that it has spent Rs. 146 crores, then Rs. 100 crores are available today out of it as loans, interest and other investment. Let it be kept aside for the refugees. Put it in the pool. We are again told that Government is going to supply under the Plan Rs. 22 crores every year. That money may also be put into the pool. The total comes to Rs. 210

crores. Then there is another suggestion that I made on the 9th February 1950, i.e., that vacant sites and other places might be sold in auction and that money may also be put in the pool. That would get us another Rs. 100 crores. Thus the Government can pay about Rs. 350 crores and that would make 8 annas in the Rupee. The refugees will make a sacrifice of half their value and the other half can be met in this way without taxing the rest of India, without encroaching on the properties in India. The refugees also would be satisfied. The solution is very simple if only the Government has a mind to do it.

✓ **Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I would like to ascertain whether the House is agreeable to a suggestion that has been made by a number of hon. Members, that in view of the importance of the subject and a large number of Members having expressed their intention to speak, whether the question hour may not be dispensed with tomorrow. All the same answers to the questions will be printed in the debates but the questions would not be called tomorrow. If the House is agreeable, I have no objection to dispense with the question hour tomorrow. Is there unanimity of opinion on this matter?

**Some Hon. Members:** Yes.

✓ **Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then the question hour will be dispensed with tomorrow and we will have one more hour for discussion and at 9-15 A.M. the hon. Minister will be called upon to reply. There is some little time left. I will give the opportunity to another hon. Member.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma:**

कररूहकुलशैद्धिपतां चरणाम्बुजनसरकान्ति

भिर्भजताम् ।

हृदयग्रन्थीन्भिन्दन्मनसि नृसिंहः समुल्लसतु ॥

I rise to speak in English simply because I am a refugee and Hindi itself is also a displaced language in this House. It has taken refuge in English and so far as the Constitution is concerned, Hindi is the national language of this country. Let me thank you, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, for your having been able to catch my eye because it is very difficult to catch one eye out of 500 persons' eyes

[Shri Nand Lal Sharma]

waiting to be caught at a time and yet you have been able to catch mine.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: One minute is already over.

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा : मैं उपाध्यक्ष महोदय का बहुत आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने मुझे रिफ्यूजी प्राबलम (Refugee Problem) पर सदन के आखिरी वक्त में अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया। रिफ्यूजी समस्या पांच प्रकार से देखी जा सकती है। सर्वप्रथम आवश्यकता उन के पुनर्वास अथवा रिहैबिलिटेशन की है, दूसरी उन के लिये लोन (loan) और तीसरी इवैक्यू प्रॉपर्टी (Evacuee Property) की, चौथे जो क्लेमस (claims) हैं, उन के सेटलमेंट (settlement) और अदायगी की है। इन के अलावा गवर्नमेंट सर्बिसेज में जितने लोग आये हुए हैं उन का और पांचवें जैसा अभी हमारे माननीय मित्र सरदार हुकम सिंह ने कहा एब्डक्टेड वीमन (abducted women) के मामले हमारे सामने पेश हैं। अगर मैं इन सब प्रश्नों को छोड़ूँ और इन पर बोलूँ तो रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री के अलावा और भी मिनिस्ट्रीज लिख कर आजायेंगे विशेषकर हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर का विभाग फारेन अफेयर्स (Foreign Affairs) भी बीच में आ जायेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि हम ने प्राइम मिनिस्टर को फारेन अफेयर्स दे दिया और फारेन अफेयर्स को देने का फल हमें यह मिला है कि वह अमरीका की बात बहुत करते हैं। कोरिया की बात करते हैं पर अपने घर की बात भूल जाते हैं। और अधिकतर उन का समय कोरिया और ट्यूनीशिया आदि के बारे में निकल जाता है। ट्यूनीशिया के अलावा

और भी जितने सारे विश्व के मामले हैं, विश्व का सारा दुख है, वह उन के दिल में समाया हुआ है। 'सारे जहाँ का दर्द हमारे जिगर में है' लेकिन अपने घर के दर्द के लिये हमारे पास समय नहीं है। मैं पुनर्वास मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने पुनर्वास विभाग में इतना अच्छा काम किया और लोगों को पुनः बसाने और काम पर लगाने का प्रयत्न किया विशेषकर उन के विभाग के जो डिस्प्लेस्ड परसन्स हैं उन को दो दो, तीन तीन और कई गुना ज्यादा स्थान दिये गये। मैं चाहूँगा कि मंत्री महोदय मेरी इस बात को नोट करें, मैं बिना सूचना के नहीं कहता कि जिन जिन लोगों का पुनर्वास विभाग में हाथ है अथवा जिन लोगों का उन के साथ सम्बन्ध है और जिन के पास वहाँ पाकिस्तान में फूटी झोपड़ी भी नहीं थी, उन लोगों को यहाँ दो दो तीन तीन और चार चार मकान मिले हैं, और जो बेचारे वाकई में असली हकदार हैं और जो बड़ी बड़ी जायदादें वहाँ छोड़ कर आये हैं उन को यहाँ रहने के लिये कोई स्थान सरकार की ओर से नहीं मिला है। मैं ने इसलिये यह शब्द कहे, यहाँ खड़े हो कर कहना कि गवर्नमेंट इस तरह से करनी है ऐसे शब्द कहना कुछ अच्छे नहीं लगते, लेकिन जब मेरे पास एक रिफ्यूजी आता है और इस तरह कहता है कि :

Sixty rupees per house; excuse me for saying this on the floor of this House.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: Right.

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा : वह मुझ से कहते हैं कि साठ रुपये लगते हैं एक मकान को लेने के लिये, आप क्या कहते हो? मैं ने उस को यह शब्द कहे क्या हर्ष है, दे कर ले लो। वह कहने लगा कि हम तीन फंम्रीज हैं, इसलिये १८० रुपया देने होंगे और कोई चारा नहीं है, मकान लेने के लिए हमें देने



पड़ेंगे। मैं उस से और क्या कह सकता था क्योंकि मैं अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ कि अगर मैं इस काम के लिये मिनिस्टर साहब से कहूंगा तो उन के द्वारा इतनी जरूरी यह काम पूरा नहीं हो सकेगा बल्कि उल्टे एक छोटे से छोटा क्लर्क इस काम को बिगाड़ भी सकता है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप घूस भी देते हैं।

1 P.M.

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा : क्या करें मजबूरी है। आप लोग जबर्दस्ती डंडे के बल से घूस लेते हैं। उपाध्यक्ष भोदय, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोग 'सत्यमेव जयते' कहते तो हैं लेकिन सत्यमेव जयते आप मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। वेस्ट पंजाब और कंटीयर से आये हुए लोग काफी रूरल प्रापर्टी (Rural Property) वहाँ छोड़ कर आये हैं। उन को गवर्नमेंट ने क्या मदद दी है? पिछली बार डिस्प्लेस्ड परसन्स अमेंडमेंट ऐक्ट (Displaced Persons Amendment Act) के सम्बन्ध में भी मैं ने यह प्रश्न किया था, मगर कोई उत्तर सरकार की तरफ से नहीं दिया गया। हरिद्वार में जो रिफ्यूजीज भाई रहते हैं, मैं अभी कल व परसों वहाँ से लौट कर आया हूँ। मुझे उन्होंने ने बतलाया कि उन्हें खिला मजिस्ट्रेट से नोटिस प्राप्त हो गये हैं कि वे पन्द्रह दिन के अन्दर अन्दर हरिद्वार छोड़ कर चले जायें नहीं तो उन को बाई फोर्स (By force) निकाल दिया जायगा रिफ्यूजीज को ऐसी जगहों से जहाँ बेचारों का चार पैसे का धंधा लगा हुआ है, वहाँ से उन को हटा कर मीलों दूर जंगलों में टूटे फूटे बिल्कुल अनइनहेबिटेड (uninhabited) स्थानों में भेजा जाता है। आप कहते हैं कि वे लोग वहाँ धर्मशालाओं

में पड़े हुए हैं मुफ्त की खा रहे हैं। इसलिये वह वहाँ से हटना नहीं चाहते। मैं पूछता हूँ कि वे लोग जो अपना सारा घरबार पाकिस्तान में छोड़ कर यहाँ आये हैं उन लोगों को धर्म शाला में बैठने में क्या सुख मिलता होगा? भला जिस मनुष्य को रहने के लिये मकान मिले, वह धर्मशाला में क्यों रहना पसन्द करेगा। क्या धर्मशाला इतनी बढ़िया है कि वहाँ पर उन का मन शान्त हो गया और वह यह तय कर बैठेंगे कि अब हम अपना सारा जीवन धर्मशाला में ही बिता देंगे। हमारे पुनर्वास मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि चूँकि वह सहारनपुर क्षेत्र के रहने वाले हैं इसलिये उन को वहाँ के रिफ्यूजीज के बारे में अच्छी तरह से पता है। मैं दिल्ली के बारे में जानता हूँ, जहाँ कि आज भी क्वीन्सवे रोड के रिफ्यूजी स्टाल होल्डर्स (Stall holders) बराबर रो रहे हैं कि सरकार ने हम को पहले क्नाट प्लेस से हटाकर क्वीन्सवे में भेजा और आज फिर वह हमें क्वीन्स वे रोड से भी हटाना चाहती है।

Rolling stone gathers no moss.

तो आज हिन्दू जाति की यह स्थिति हो गई है। हिन्दू शब्द का इस्तेमाल करने पर मैं मजबूर हूँ। हिन्दू शब्द से गवर्नमेंट बेंचमार्क के लोग चौंकते हैं, लेकिन मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमें यह मानना पड़ेगा कि रिफ्यूजीज से मतलब हिन्दू का है, और चूँकि वह हिन्दू हैं, इस लिये वह मार खा रहे हैं। हमारी गवर्नमेंट तो पंचायती गवर्नमेंट है और हम लोग तो यहाँ एक कौलिनी आफ नेशन्स (Colony of Nations) बने हुए हैं। इसलिये भारत भी यू० एन० ओ० (U. N. O.) के पास रिफ्यूजी है। और काश्मीर विषयक या और जहाँ कोई भी झगड़ा हाँता है, तो उस को यू० एन० ओ० की सेवा में ले जाते हैं और अभी हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हम को क्नाल

[श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा]

वाटर्स ( canal waters ) का प्रश्न अगर यू० ऐन० ओ० में ले जाना पड़े तो ले जायें, और कल फूड प्रावलम भी ले जानी पड़ेगी तो ले जायेंगे। इस का कारण क्या है, वजह यह है कि आप लोग तो उन की शरण में जीवन पर्यन्त के लिये चले गये हैं।

लाला अब्दुल राम : आप ने ग़लत समझा है।

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा : मैं तो यह कह रहा हूँ कि उन को ले जाना पड़ेगा, परन्तु इस समय तो हम यू० ऐन० ओ० की शरण में जा रहे हैं। लेकिन वह लोग नहीं जा रहे हैं। उन को तो पता है कि उन का डंडा मजबूत और मोटा है और जिस का घुंसा मजबूत होता है वह किसी के पास नहीं जाता है, और न किसी दूसरे के सामने हाथ जोड़ता है। आप ने अभी सुना और बर्गस ब्लासिंग्स (Beggars Blessings) आप के सामने आ गई। मैं इसलिये यह कहता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट डिस्ट्रेस्ड परसन्स के रिहैबिलिटेशन का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं है। उन की सविसेज आज भी confirm नहीं हुई यदि उन्हें सविसे से निकाल दिया गया तो गवर्नमेंट क्वार्टर्स उन से छोन लिये जायेंगे और उस के बाद वह कहां रहेंगे, इस का कोई प्रश्न ही नहीं खड़ा होता है।

इस के अतिरिक्त हमारी आज भी तीस हजार हिन्दू देवियां पाकिस्तानी बुकें में कैद हैं, उन के खून के आंसू बहते हैं, आप के कान पर जू भी नहीं रेंगती और आप कर भी क्या सकते हैं। आप की दशा तो ठीक इस प्रकार की है :

उत्पद्यन्ते विलीयन्ते दरिद्राणां मनोरथाः  
अही इस सरकार की है। वह चाहने

पर भी कुछ नहीं कर सकतीं क्योंकि आगे उस की कोई बात सुनने वाला नहीं है।

मेरा निवेदन यह है कि इस सम्बन्ध में आप को बल प्रयोग करना पड़ेगा, बल प्रयोग का यह अर्थ नहीं कि तत्काल आप डिक्लेरेशन आफ वार ( Declaration of war ) कर दें, आप अगर खाली घुर घुर करें तो भी वह डिक्लेरेशन आफ वार करने के लिये तैयार हैं, आप खाली घुर घुर करें, you simply grumble and they will growl. मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि आप के पास जो बल है, जो चीज आप के अधिकार में है, आप उस का भी प्रयोग नहीं करते। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर आप के सामने छतरी वाला जैसे केस न आते और आप के बड़े ऊंचे गवर्नमेंट सर्वेंट को जो दुर्दशा हुई वह न होती तो आज तक शरणार्थियों को इतनी निराशा न होती। किन्तु आप को ईश्वर का डर तो है नहीं, केवल "धर्मचक्र प्रवर्तनाय" लिखा ही रह जायेगा, माना नहीं जायगा। मैं आप लोगों से निवेदन करूंगा कि ईश्वर से डरो, आप लोग रिफ्यूजीज नहीं बनें यह आप का सौभाग्य है, अगर आप ने यही दुर्दशा चालू रखी तो आप को समुद्र में भी शरण नहीं मिलेगी। मैं तो कहूंगा कि "सी दैट यू डू नाट क्रिएट ऐनादर पाकिस्तान हिअर इन इंडिया। यू आर क्रिएटिंग सो मेनी पाकेट्स आलरेडी।" मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि ऐसी ऐपीजमेंट ( appeasement ) की पालिसी का परित्याग करना पड़ेगा, अगर आप ने नहीं किया तो याद रखिये यह राम राज्य भी गांधी जी का नहीं, हमारा भी नहीं मैं तो कहता हूँ कि रावण के राज्य से भी गया बीता कोई राज्य यहां पर होगा और हम सर पीट पीट कर यहां रोएंगे।

**श्री फीरोज गांधी :** लेकिन राम ने ही तो विभीषण को राज्य दिलाया था ।

**श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा :** बन्धुओ, मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स की दशा विशेष कर बहुत खराब हो रही है । रिफ्यूजीज को तो इस का पता नहीं है कि उन के भाग्य में क्या लिखा है, लेकिन डिस्प्लेस्ड परसन्स में जो गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स हैं उन को यह आशा नहीं है कि उन का भाग्य कभी सुधरेगा भी । उन्हें पता नहीं वह कल गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट रहेंगे भी या नहीं, उन के पास खाने को भी रहेगा या नहीं, उन को यह पता नहीं है कि वह जीवित कैसे रहेंगे या मरेंगे, बाल बच्चों का पेट कैसे भरेंगे ।

**देवियों की रिकवरी ( recovery )**

के सम्बन्ध में कहा जा चुका है . . . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** How long will the Hon. Member speak? He should conclude by 1.10.

**श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा :** मैं पुनर्वास मंत्री से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि वह केवल आफिशल पद्धति से, केवल मशीन के ढंग से, जैसे कैलकुलेटिंग मशीन ( Calculating Machine ) होती है उस को इस बात से मतलब नहीं कि क्या चीज कैलकुलेट हो रही है, उस प्रकार से अपने मस्तिष्क का प्रयोग न करें, अपने हृदय को भी इस समस्या में लगा दें । यह समझ लें कि जिस के लिये वह काम कर रहे हैं वह भी मनुष्य हैं, उन को भी दुख सुख होता है, जो लोग मुसीबत में होते हैं वह उन के द्वार तक पहुंच भी नहीं सकते । जो असली रिफ्यूजी हैं, जो गरीब हैं वह बहुत दूर दूर से दरवाजे पर जाते हैं, लेकिन चपरासी तक उन को दुतकार देता है, उन लोगों के लिये वस्तुतः आप क्या कर रहे हैं? हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई भी कहते हैं कि

वह गरीबों के लिये, लेबरर्स के लिये, मजदूर के लिये काम करते हैं, लेकिन वह इन दुखी रिफ्यूजीजों के लिये कुछ भी करने को तैयार नहीं हैं । इसलिये मैं ने यह दो चार शब्द आप के सामने रखे ।

इन्हीं विषयों में आप ने लोन्स देने के प्रश्न की भी चर्चा की । लेकिन उस में आप ने पता नहीं कितनी ब्योरिटीज ( sureties ) और गारन्टीज ( Guaranties ) लगा दीं । पहले अपने क्लेम्स मार्टगेज ( mortgage ) कीजिये, इस के अतिरिक्त गारन्टीज अलग चाहते हैं । जब तक यह नहीं होता तब तक लोन मिलता नहीं । कइयों को पचासों हजार मिल जाता है, कइयों को कुछ नहीं मिलता । इसलिये मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि इन लोन्स के सम्बन्ध में भी आप ध्यान रखें ।

इस के अतिरिक्त मैं पुनः प्रधान मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री के साधियों का ध्यान आकर्षित करूंगा, क्योंकि प्रधान मंत्री तो सामने हैं नहीं, कि वह अकेले कोरिया, ट्यूनिशिया और दूसरे स्थानों की ओर ही ध्यान न दें, अपने घर को भी देखें क्योंकि घर के द्वार पर एक तरफ लाल झंडा आ गया है, एक तरफ हरा झंडा आ गया है बीच में सफेद फंसा हुआ है । चक्र उस के ऊपर है, अगर यह सुदर्शन चक्र अथवा धर्म चक्र रहा तो शायद देश बच जाय और अगर कहीं दूसरा चर्खा हो गया तो फिर हमारी दुर्दशा हो कर रहेगी ।

(English translation of the above speech)

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar):** I am very grateful to you Sir, for allowing me to speak on the problem of displaced persons at the lag end of the day. There are five facets of this problem, namely, one the paramount need to rehabilitate them, two the grant of loans to them, three the question of evacuee property, four

[Shri Nand Lal Sharma]

the settlement and payment of claims and five as our hon. friend Sardar Hukam Singh has pointed out just now the problem of abducted women. In addition to this we have to bear in mind the displaced persons who are in Government service. If I speak on all these problems, ministries other than Rehabilitation will also be dragged into discussion, including the Foreign Affairs portfolio held by our Prime Minister. In my opinion it is our misfortune that this portfolio is held by our Prime Minister, because most of the time he is talking about America, Korea and Tunisia, to the exclusion of problems we have to face at home. In addition to the Tunisian problem he is occupied with the problems of the whole wide world, but he has no time for our internal problems. I congratulate the Minister of Rehabilitation for the fine work he has done in connection with rehabilitating displaced persons and providing them with employment, especially providing more than two or three houses to displaced persons employed in the Ministry of Rehabilitation. I would request the hon. Minister to make a note of it. I am not saying this without any definite information in my possession. Those people who did not have even a hut in Pakistan but have some connections with the Ministry of Rehabilitation, have been allotted two, three or even four houses each but those deserving ones who have left behind large properties have not been allotted any houses to live in. I do not like to say such a thing on the floor of this House but when a displaced person comes to me and says: sixty rupees per house; excuse me for saying this on the floor of this House.

**Shri Sarangadhar Das (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack):** Right.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma:** And he asks me what he should do. I told him to go ahead and pay the price as it were. He told me that he belonged to a group of three families and would have to pay Rs. 180 as there was no way out. I do not know what else I could have advised him to do because I am aware that even had I approached the hon. Minister the matter would not be expedited as the lowest paid clerk can spoil the whole thing.

**An Hon. Member:** You too pay bribes?

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma:** Can't help it. You hold a stick over our heads to pay

bribes. Sir, we have 'Satyamev Jayate' (Truth alone Triumphs) as our motto but we do not believe in it. Displaced persons from the West Punjab and the N. W. Frontier Province have left large rural properties there. How have the Government helped them? Last time I posed the same question in connection with the Displaced Persons (Amendment) Act, but did not get any answer from the Government side. Day before yesterday I was at Hardwar and the displaced persons residing there told me that they had received notices from the District Magistrate to the effect that they should quit the place within 15 days failing which they would be forcibly removed. The Government wants to evict the poor displaced persons from places where they can earn something and send them to uninhabited places. You say that displaced persons are putting up in *Dharamsalas* there, and do not want to leave them because they are living there without any cost to themselves. I ask what consolation do these people, who have left behind their houses and shops etc. in Pakistan, get from living in *Dharamsalas*? Who would like to stay there, if he can get a house? Or are those *Dharamsalas* such exquisite palaces as to afford peace of mind so as to make their residents decide to go on living there for ever? The hon. Minister of Rehabilitation claims a better knowledge about the displaced persons in the Saharanpur area, as he belongs to it. I know about Delhi where the displaced stall holders on Queensway are persistently unhappy because the Government removed them first from Connaught Place and now wants to remove them from Queensway as well. Rolling stone gathers no moss. This is the state to which the Hindu community has been reduced. I am constrained to use the word 'Hindu'. This word makes the Government Benches start, but I regret to have to say that the words displaced persons and Hindu are synonyms. Displaced persons are suffering simply because they are Hindus. Ours is a *Panchayati* Government and we are a Colony of Nations and India itself is a refugee at the door of the U.N.O. We take the Kashmir problem or any other problem to the U.N.O. Just now an hon. Member has said that we should take the canal water dispute there, if need be. We may even take our food problem to the U. N. O. The reason is that you have gone under its wings for ever.

**Lala Achint Ram:** You have misunderstood the facts.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma:** What I say is that they shall have to take the matter to the U. N. O.; at present we are seeking its protection. But they do not go to the U. N. O. because they have force with them; no strong person seeks anybody else's help, or implores somebody. You have just now heard the story about the beggar's blessings. The Government have not made any arrangements for the rehabilitation of displaced persons who are in Government service. Their services have not been confirmed and if the services are terminated, they would be turned out of Government quarters and as to where they would go, nobody worries.

Then there is the question of 30,000 Hindu women who are imprisoned in the Pakistani 'Burqa'. Their wails do not reach your ears; you pay no heed to them. And what can you do even if you want to. Your position is like this:

उत्पद्यन्ते विलीयन्ते दरिद्राणां मनोरथाः

(The desires of the poor spring and fade away without blossoming).

This Government cannot do anything in spite of their wishes because there is nobody to listen to them. My submission is that you would have to use force even in this case. The use of force certainly does not mean a declaration of war. If you growl, they would be prepared to declare war. You simply grumble and they will growl. What I ask is: Why do you not use what is in your power? In my opinion had there been no case like the Chhattariwala case a highly placed Government servant would have been spared the dishonour he had to bear and the displaced persons would not have been so downhearted and dejected. But there is no fear of God in you. You may have "Dharma Chakra Pravartanaya" as your motto but you never act upto it. I would request you to be God-fearing. It is your good fortune that you have not become displaced persons; if you treat the displaced persons as badly as you are doing now even the sea would not give you any shelter. I would say to you, "See that you do not create another Pakistan in India. You are creating so many pockets already." I submit that you shall have to give up this policy of appeasement. And if you don't, mark my words—we won't have a Ram Rajya as was envisaged by Gandhiji;

what is worse we would have a Rajya worse than the Ravana Rajya and we would tear our hair in desperation.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi** (Partapgarh Dist.—West cum Rae Bareli Dist.—East): But it was Ram who got for Vibhishana the throne of Ravana.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma:** Thank you. Hon. friends, I would say that the condition of displaced Government servants is very critical. The displaced persons do not know what fate holds in store for them, but the Government servants among them do not know whether their fate would ever be better. They do not know whether they would retain their jobs or not, whether they would be in possession of any means to keep the wolf from the door or whether they would be able to feed their dependents.

About the recovery of abducted women it has been said....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** How long will the hon. Member speak? He should conclude by 1.10.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma:** Thank you Sir. I would request the hon. Minister of Rehabilitation to use his brain, not as a detached calculating machine—which is not concerned with what it is to calculate—but to put his heart into this problem. He should bear in mind that those for whom he is working are also human beings, who feel pleasure and pain and who have no access to him when they are in difficulties. The real refugees, who are really poor, knock at the door of all officers, but the people even shoo them off. What are you really doing for those unfortunates? Our Communist friends claim to work for the welfare of the poor and the workers, but they too are not prepared to work for the poor refugees. That is why I had to say these few words.

The question of loans to displaced persons has also been referred to. But a number of sureties and guarantees have been placed as conditions prerequisite for a loan. First you want them to mortgage their claims and in addition you want guarantees. Without this no loan is granted. Some get loans upto Rs. 50,000 while others get nothing. I would request that the problem of loans may also be taken into consideration.

[Shri Nand Lal Sharma]

I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Prime Minister and his colleagues—the Prime Minister is not here—towards the necessity of paying some heed to the problems at home as well, and not only to the problems of Korea, Tunisia and other places. At home we are confronted with a red flag at one side and a green flag at the other. The white

(flag) is wedged in between the two. If the *Chakra* (wheel) above remains *Sudarshan Chakra* or *Dharma Chakra* the country might be saved but if it is another (Spinning) wheel calamity is a certainty for us.

*The House then adjourned till a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock on Wednesday, the 18th June, 1952.*

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