

« SHRI OM MEHTA: Sir, there are a large number of speakers on the Bangla Dcsh issue and the Prime Minister may also be intervening at 5-00 P.M. today. So we can adjourn.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. The House stands adjourned till

2.00P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-one minutes past one of the clock.

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\* The House reassembled after lunch at two of the Clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

**SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION ON  
THE SITUATION ARISING OUT OF  
THE INFLUX OF MILLIONS OF  
REFUGEES FROM BANGLA DESH  
INTO INDIA**

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, I raise the discussion on the situation arising out of the influx of millions of refugees from Bangla Desh into India.

[- Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the subject on which the discussion is taking place is a familiar one. If I remember correctly, almost in each session of Parliament there is a discussion in some form or other about the refugee influx. And this refugee influx is from East Bengal to West Bengal and certain other border States.

Sir, the refugee influx, if I remember correctly, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, in regard to Indian politics started as early as in 1946 when after the riot of Noakhali and Tippera a large number of Hindu migrants came to West - Bengal, and since then the flow of refugees is continuing, although the tempo has subsided from time to time.

According to the Government of India, there are certain classifications

of these refugees: new migrants and old migrants. Those refugees who are coming after the developments in Bangla Desh on the 25th March have not yet been classified by the Government of India. It has been stated that 50,000 to 60,000 people are pouring into West Bengal and up to this date, as has been reported by the Secretary, Rehabilitation Ministry, nearly 5.5 million refugees have entered into different parts of the country. In West Bengal alone, 43,90,101 refugees entered until 12th June, 1971 in Assam, 1.8 lakh, in Meghalaya 2 53 lakh and in Tripura 7.30 lakh million. Mr. De; Chairman, I do not know what the Government of India is contemplating about this large influx of refugees who are coming daily, what steps the Government of India will take for their rehabilitation, what measures the Government of India are going to adopt for these people who are coming in alarming proportions.

If we go through the Budget allocation of the Government of India, we find that Rs. 60 crores have been allocated for the relief work of the refugees coming from Bangla Desh, and our Finance Minister has expressed his desire, his wish, that all these refugees, that all these migrants, may be returning back to their homes and hearths after a political settlement in Bangla Desh. I would have been happy if the desire, if the wish of the hon. Finance Minister would have come to a reality. But, Sir, this will, this desire, this hope expressed now by the hon. Finance Minister in his speech reminds me of the same will, the same desire, the same hope, expressed by the then political leaders of our country in the early days of 'partition', Mr. Deputy Chairman, when the refugees were coming immediately after partition. When a large number of people were coming immediately after partition, then Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. P. C. Ghosh, he was advised by the Central Government to arrange only relief measures and not to take other measures for rehabilitating the refugees. It was said that these people would go back if things settled down

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]

in the eastern part of Pakistan, now Bangla Desh. And we know, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that their desire and their will have not come to a reality, and each year, a large number of migrants, not in hundreds, not in thousands, but in lakhs, have crossed the border and come to India. And if we have out the influx of the refugees, we shall find that up to 31st December, 1963, there were 32,05,498 and they were regarded as old migrants by the Government of India, and they came from East Bengal to India. From 1st January, 1964 up to 31st December, 1969, approximately 8,55,000 migrants came to India. Again, from 1st January, 1970 to 23rd October, 1970, 2,16,748 migrants crossed the border and came to India. Taking these figures together, it comes to 42,77,246. All these are old migrants who came over to India before the recent happenings in Bangla Desh. The present position is that apart from these 42 lakhs odd old migrants, 5.5 million refugees have already crossed the border and they are in India, and the Government of India has to rehabilitate them, has to settle them. At the very outset I would like to know from the Minister what is in the mind of the Government of India. Are they seriously thinking that all these migrants will go back? The other day, Mr. Deputy Chairman, while I was discussing the Budget, I expressed my apprehension that at least I did not believe that the majority of the refugees would go back until and unless there was a political settlement. The Government of India talks of a political settlement. If there is a political settlement, if there is a democratic Government, if there is a Government chosen by the people of Bangla Desh, I believe the majority of them may go back to their homes and settle in Bangla Desh, and we may be relieved of this heavy burden of looking after them. But until and unless the Government of India is in a position to cause to be established in Bangla Desh a Government of the people chosen by the people, these migrants will never go back. And the

Government of India will have to take the responsibility. Rs. 60 crores have been allocated in the Budget for the relief and other rehabilitation measures. It is pointed out by a member no other than the Rehabilitation Secretary himself that Rs. 31 crores will be spent in every month for the refugees who have already come. He has not taken into account, and it is not possible to take into account, the persons who will come in future and who are pouring in everyday. Ministers are touring abroad, they are contacting foreign dignitaries and with the help of them they are trying to arrive at a political solution so that something may take place, some political solution may take place in Bangla Desh and these refugees may go back. But, Mr. Deputy Chairman, if we see the performance of these missionaries, who have gone there, I think the picture is not quite bright—rather it is too gloomy. Mr. Swaran Singh had a talk recently with the statesman and political leaders of German Federal Republic and when it was asked of him whether German Federal Republic have agreed to stop financial assistance to Pakistan, to military junta ruling Pakistan, in order to force them or compel them to come to a political settlement, the answer is negative. Same is the case with those other countries which are again contacted by our Indian Ministers and other leaders. Now, it is very clear, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that other States are not interested as much and geographically also it is not possible for them to be interested as much as India is about the political situation.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Are the other States not part of India?

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: I am not talking of those States which have been enumerated in the Indian Constitution. I am talking of other States. Mr. Deputy Chairman, other States, other countries, I think, are not as much interested as we are.

Therefore, the Government of India will have to take a decision and they \* cannot wait for long.

The question is whether these refugees can be sent back or these refugees can be settled here. The question is how to stop the influx which is taking place daily. The question is what is to be done with those who have already come and unfortunately, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the Government of India is not quite clear in its mind. Sometimes, they are talking that all these refugees are to be settled near the border area so that as soon as there is a political solution, these people can easily go to their homes. Sometimes, they are talking of constructing temporary camps in different parts of the country and they are asking other States to take these refugees and, as you know, as reports have been published in different newspapers, most of the States have refused to take any refugees from Bangla Desh. The Government of Tamil Nadu, the Government of Orissa—they have virtually refused to accommodate any refugees who are coming from Bangla Desh. Then, the Government of India had the idea of constructing 50 transit camps. Up to now they are in a position to construct only four transit camps—three at Mana and one at Bilaspur. If the things go on like this, if the Government of

>\* India tackles this problem this way, I do not know how long it will take to solve the refugee problem, to disperse them from the border areas, to disperse them from the bordering States. It is known to you and it is known to this House, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that the administration of the border States is practically on the verge of collapse. In West Bengal there are 43 lakh refugees. In Tripura there are 7.3 lakh refugees which is almost half of the population of the entire State. A small border town, Haldibari in Cooch Behar District, where the population is 5,000 only, now has 15,000 re-

1 fugees from Bangla Desh. One can easily understand what amount of social burden is exerted upon these small places, upon these States by the

influx of so many persons coming from Bangla Desh. Most of the Indian States, though they constitute the Indian Federation, though the writ of the Government of India runs in every corner of the country, they are flatly refusing to accommodate the refugees who are coming from Bangla Desh. Now the question is posed in such a way as if it is a matter of Bengal or the border States alone and the rest of India has nothing to do or is not concerned in any way. They feel, let West Bengal suffer, let cholera or other epidemics spread over the entire State and the Government of India will pass some resolution, we Members of Parliament will solemnly stand behind them in words and we shall not come forward with any concrete proposal. May I ask the Government of India, do they really believe that with the help of these so-called friends in the international community they will be able to come to a settlement unless and until the Government of India takes a bold stand? May I know from them, do they believe in solving this problem or are they attempting to shelve this problem? We know what happened to the old migrants, the 42 lakhs of people who came till the end of 1970. The majority of them are not yet settled. 50 per cent of them are still in transit camps. Two decades have gone. 50 per cent of the migrants are not yet settled. How can we expect the Government of India to seriously solve this problem? Therefore the only way is for the Government of India to arrive at a political solution of which they are talking as strongly as they can. The other day while we were having a discussion on the General Budget some Members pointed out that this is a domestic jurisdiction of Pakistan and therefore, the Government of India has nothing to do with it. I want to know from the Minister categorically, is it a domestic jurisdiction? If the military junta of Pakistan adopt this policy and deliberately squeeze out millions of people to cause the collapse of our economy and to paralyse our administration, is it a domestic jurisdiction? Is it not high time for intervention or for

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee] recognising the democratic sovereign Government ruling there, behind which 98 per cent of the people owe allegiance? Is it not high time to recognise that Government and establish it firmly and come to a political solution for ever? Since the creation of Pakistan, since the very day of partition, the problem has become the chronic problem to the Government of India in general and the Government of West Bengal in particular. I must say that the Government of India has tried to evade its responsibilities. If we go through the rehabilitation policy of the Government of India during these long 20 years, we will see that they try to show lip-sympathy and they take some relief measures and try to give some financial assistance but in the long run they had no concrete proposal to rehabilitate these people. In view of that, I do not think the Government of India is in a position to rehabilitate these 5.5 million people. Taking it for granted that they can do it, what would they do with the migrants coming next and if the Government of India accommodate each and every person coming from across the border, then it will be an easy question for the Pakistani military junta to squeeze out more and more people. This time we have seen that not only Hindu migrants but Muslim migrants also have come and if we do not take a political solution, if we do not sincerely try to establish a popular Government there, we shall only help the military Government indirectly. If we think it is a domestic jurisdiction as it has been pointed out on many other occasions by some Members of this House, then we shall have no other way but I do not share the views expressed by them. It is not a domestic jurisdiction. It is out and out an international matter and there are many examples of intervention.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh):  
What is your alternative proposal?

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE:  
I am talking of political solution which means categorically recognising

the sovereign democratic Government of Bangla Desh. Political solution means giving material help to the democratic sovereign Government of Bangla Desh. Political solution means giving military assistance, giving them arms and ammunition and training them so that they can establish their own Government there. Otherwise cannot save yourself; you cannot save the eastern part of the country. If you talk in that way, that you will be intervening in the domestic jurisdiction of Pakistan, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I can tell you, that there are a lot of instances in international history when intervention on these grounds took place. We should not forget that as early as 1878 when the massacre was going on in Greece, when the ruthless Ottoman Empire was acting against all norms of humanity, all the European powers took arms and stood against them for liberation and peace. We should not forget how these Balkan States were delivered. We should not forget when Panama seceded from Columbia the United States immediately recognised it. They did not treat it as an internal matter of Columbia, within the domestic jurisdiction of Columbia. Intervention on these grounds have taken place and there are ample international instances on the basis of which the Government of India can formulate its policy. The whole difficulty with the Government of India is that they are prisoners of indecision. They themselves do not know whether it is domestic jurisdiction of Pakistan or not. They themselves do not know whether Government of India should intervene in the matter or not. They themselves do not know whether they ought to solve this problem politically or they ought to give only some relief doles to these migrants. When the present emotional stage will be over all these people will be left to the winds as the majority of the other migrants, more than 22 lakhs of people, who came from East Bengal and other parts after partition have been left to the winds. Most of them are still passing their days in different camps

without any social life. Here also the Government of India thinks that if this emotional stage is over, if some time lapses, it can forget about these people and shirk its responsibilities. In this connection I can tell you, Sir, if that happens, the entire eastern part of the country will be lost. If they think, let West Bengal die, let Tripura die, let Assam die, let Meghalaya die but the rest of India can be safe, then I can tell you that if the eastern part of India is lost then the rest of India cannot be saved. Sir, there are fissiparous tendencies and we are almost on the crest of a volcano. If the Government of India does not take cautious steps, if it does not take judicious steps, if it does not take unilateral action and recognise the sovereign democratic republic of Bangla Desh, then the whole of India will be lost with the loss of the eastern part of the country. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have a very large number of Members who would like to participate in this discussion. I think we have to conclude the debate at 5 o'clock when I will call upon the Minister to reply. Therefore, I would request Members to restrict their observations....

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): We can go party-wise.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Of course, we shall go party-wise but we have to restrict the time also of individual Members to 10 to 12 minutes each.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, from 1947 to 1969 the number of refugees who came over from East Pakistan to India is reported to be 4.7 million. In the last few months the number of refugees who have come over to India has already exceeded 5.5 million. Therefore, the gigantic nature of the problem need not be overemphasised. It is not only an economic problem. It is not only a question of feeding the refugees and

housing them. It is not only a question of their health and sanitation, but the huge number which has come over to our country has already created social and political problems and, therefore, we have to think very seriously as to what we should do at this stage.

Now, Sir, as far as my information goes, there are six categories of refugees who have come over to India. There are those who belong to the Mukti Foj of Bangla Desh. They create no trouble to us. They reside mostly on the border. They come and go and they will certainly go back when the opportunity arises. Then, there are those who have deserted the East Pakistan Rifles, the East Bengal Regiment and also the East Pakistan Police, who originally sided with the West Pakistan Government. They deserted them and they surrendered to the Mukti Foj. They are also on this side of the border. It is necessary for us to keep a very strict watch on such people. Then, there are the Awami League members and supporters of the Awami League. They do not create a problem for us. I am sure they would like to go back as soon as possible, but the question is of the main bulk. The main bulk constitute mostly Hindus and a small percentage of Muslims. When we think of this bulk we have to take into account the situation that prevails in the border States. I am referring mainly to Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura. You know that recently some unhappy incidents took place in Shillong, Gauhati, Tezpur and Badarpur. These incidents took place because of the social tensions and linguistic tensions created by the presence of the large number of refugees. Another factor that must be taken into account is that a substantial section of a certain community has not been very kind to the movement in Bangla Desh. They have said that it is Mujibur Rahman who is responsible for creating this situation in

[Shri Bipinpal Das].

Bangla Desh. It is he who has invited the atrocities of the West Pakistan Army and the sufferings of the people of Bangla Desh. These people who live mostly along the border in our State have therefore created a problem and we have to examine the question of rehabilitating or accommodating the refugees, feeding them and housing them in the background of the social and political tensions that may take place at any moment. Therefore, it is necessary that the refugees should not be kept in those places as far as possible. I know that it is almost an impossible task to move all these refugees to distant places, but as far as possible they should be dispersed to other States. It is very unfortunate that some of the States have refused to take the refugees. We have declared on the floor of this House and on other platforms that this is a national problem. When it is a national problem I do not understand how some of the States can refuse to take the refugees even for temporary accommodation. Therefore, the first task is the dispersal of the refugees, as many as possible, to other States. Remove them from these border States.

The second question is those who cannot be dispersed should be kept there. But they should not be allowed to go to the interior in order to avoid social, linguistic, cultural and communal tensions. They should be kept within a distance of ten kilometres. The refugee camps should be within a distance of ten kilometres from the border. The third point is, a census should be taken of those who have already gone into the interior. They may be registered so that when the proper time comes for their return and repatriation—if that time comes at all—they can be sent back. Without such a census, it would be very difficult to find them at that time. This census is possible with the help of revenue officials, the police and the Panchayats.

Then, it is necessary for the Government of India to announce that no citizenship right will be granted, to refugees who have crossed over this time even after their six months' stay in India. The existing law is that if a Hindu refugee from East Pakistan stays in this country for more than six months, he is granted citizenship right. If you go on granting citizenship right, then the flow of refugees into India will never stop, and the question of their return to East Pakistan will vanish into thin air. Therefore, it is necessary for the Government to make an announcement. If an immediate amendment of the Act is not possible, the Deputy Commissioners concerned may be advised not to issue citizenship certificates to these people.

Finally, my suggestion is that these stateless citizens, who are stateless today in our country, those who have gone into the interior, they should be given some sort of passport so that they can register themselves in the police stations, so that they can be identified when the time comes if and when the repatriation question comes before us.

Then the fifth category is the spies and agents and saboteurs. They are not many in number but they are very active. I want to point out that spies and saboteurs and agents have not only come over from Bangla Desh but some of them also exist here in our own country. They are trying to create social conflicts to create communal trouble. Therefore, it is high time that the Government of India should take steps—I do not know if they have already taken steps—the Government of India should take immediate steps to identify them and arrest them and punish them under the law.

The last category is those persons who concern my State. You know that during the last twenty years of

independence a large number of Muslim migrants came from East Pakistan to Assam, illegal migrants, infiltrators we call them, without any passport, without any visa. The Government of Assam deported them back to East Pakistan. About five lakhs were deported. But now, taking advantage of this situation, some of them have again come back along with the refugees. This is a source of great danger for us, and I hope the Government of India and the Government of Assam will take enough care of them.

Our friends have suggested that the only solution to the problem is recognition of Bangla Desh. Recognition of Bangla Desh in my opinion is absolutely meaningless unless it is followed up by armed intervention, and armed intervention means war. Let us be very clear about this. Pakistan has not taken these drastic steps without anticipating such trouble with India. In fact they want such trouble. So far, up till now I have been opposed to any idea of war with Pakistan on two basic principles, two basic grounds. The first ground is, I believe a people must fight out their own liberation war themselves. Any liberation achieved with the help of external armed intervention may lead to dangerous consequences and I do not want my country to be involved in such dangerous consequences. This is my first point. My second reason why I have been against war is that disintegration of Pakistan may take place under the weight of exploitation and domination by the landlord—capitalists—bureaucratic regime or under the weight of the atrocities committed, criminal atrocities committed by the West Pakistan army. But that is a matter for them to decide. Whether Pakistan should remain one or break up into two or three or four parts, let the people of Pakistan decide that. I do not want my country to be a party either directly or indirectly in this affair. These are the two basic reasons why I have been up to now opposed to any idea of war or confrontation with Pakistan.

When I am saying this, I am doing so also with an eye on the people of West Pakistan. In our enthusiasm, in our support for the cause of Bangla Desh we cannot forget the people of Sind, the people of Baluchistan, the people of Pakhtoonistan, even the peasants and workers of West Pakistan. We cannot forget them. We cannot write them off. We cannot imagine that they are all on the side of Yahya Khan. I do not believe that. As a socialist, as a democrat, I have full faith that these people in West Pakistan will one day rise in revolt and the raising of the slogan of "1 in danger" will not be able to cover up the exploitation and domination going on in West Pakistan. (*Interruption*). I do not know whether it will be far or near, but I have this fundamental faith. Therefore, we cannot write them off in our enthusiasm to support the cause of Bangla Desh. Therefore, our policy must be formulated on that basis, and I think up to now the policy pursued by the Government is absolutely correct. This is my judgment. This is my opinion. (*Interruption*). Up to now the policy pursued by the Government is absolutely correct, and I think the diplomatic efforts made and propaganda done by the Government of India have been in the right direction, and this I believe will pay some dividend.

But the basic question remains to which my friend referred and to which they want an answer from me. I will give an answer. The basic question is, will the refugees go back? It is very difficult to believe that the refugees will go back until proper conditions are created in Pakistan. How are the conditions to be created? We thought international opinion will create the conditions. Will it be created? That is the question. Therefore, without lengthening my speech, I would say, whether international opinion will create conditions for the refugees to go back or not, we have to determine a certain path. And I would suggest only two things.

[Shri Bipinpal Das]. First of all, I would suggest this— Pakistan has very cleverly exported its own problem to our soil by sending those people here. Why not take advantage of this? Why not out of 55 lakhs of refugees pick up one lakh young Muslim boys, train them in arms, give them arms and send them back to Pakistan to fight their own war of liberation? There is nothing wrong in that. I say, people must be enabled to fight their own battle for freedom.

SHRI PIT AMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh): Is it anything short of war?

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Mr. Pitam-ber Das did not understand me clearly. I said, up till now I was opposed, up till now. . . (Interruptions) I said that, check the record. But today, since we have not been able to solve this refugee problem and since the international opinion is not coming to our help—if it comes to our help, it is all right, but if it does not, we cannot go on looking for it for long—we have to take some action. Therefore, I want my Government to take some action, and one of the actions is what I have suggested.

The second action is that we have to give them an ultimatum and fix a deadline. If within this deadline peaceful conditions are not created in Pakistan in order to make it possible for the refugees to go back, I think there would be no other option before us but to send our army to escort the refugees to Pakistan. There is no other solution. It is high time that the refugees were sent back. I would have taken a different line certainly but for this big problem for the solution of which no power is coming to our help and of which we do not see any prospect. We are not going to be burdened with this problem for ever. Who will be looking after them for a long time? The first solution is, train these young boys, one lakh of them, send them

back to fight their own war of liberation and secondly, fixing a deadline, send an ultimatum. If nothing is done within that time and if international opinion is of no help within that time, then it will be morally justifiable on the part of our army to escort these refugees back to their homes and hearths.

(THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION): (SHRI M. S. GURUPADA-SWAMY): Sir, it seems to me that one thing has unconsciously happened out of all this and that is the Rehabilitation Ministry here has secured a new lease of life and the Rehabilitation Ministry seems to have become a permanent Ministry of the Indian Government). The Rehabilitation Ministry was started soon after partition to look after the refugees. Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna who happened to be the Director then became the Minister. My friend Mr. Mahavir Tyagi also had the privilege of running this Ministry, looking after the refugees. Now, Mr. Khadilkar is in charge of this. One thing has happened now and that is that the Rehabilitation Ministry has been completely rehabilitated.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: gal): Mr. Mahavir Tyagi has been rehabilitated also.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Sir, I do not want to go into the various aspects of this issue simply because much ground has been covered in the past. I am sure many of my friends here will also make reference to some of the vital issues developing in that part of the territory. I would like to confine myself to certain important questions. I am posing these Questions because I regard the whole issue is becoming terribly explosive. Whether we like it or not, Sir, India is involved in this issue. But I find the attitude of the Government of India is rather not in tune with the realities of the situation. They seem to be treating the Bangla Desh as a passing contingency. They seem to be



' siding the issue of Bangia Desh as hot our area of interest. So the first question is whether the Government would continue to treat the Bang a Desh as a mere passing contingency or as an area of no concern for us.

Sir, we have to decide whether we have commitment in Bangia Desh or not. If we have commitment in Ban-gia Desh and the issues emanating from Bangia Desh, we have to state it clearly, unequivocally and frankly. If you feel that we have no commitment to Bangia Desh, then we can

» follow any policy we like. We can abandon the issue. We can abandon our interest and we can abandon the

# debate itself. But, to me, Sir, the Government of India is increasingly becoming ambivalent; they have not defined their attitude. They have not clarified their stand and they have not decided what to decide. They have shown indecision. There has been continuous drift. They are behaving as an ostrich as if only a small thing is happening there and everything is all right. But in this context they have lost their moorings. They have lost their foothold out of nervousness and anxiety, may be out of fear. They have been sending emissaries to foreign countries. Although we have a Budget Session here, the Government of India has sent important members of the Government to the various Chanceries of the world. I personally never raised this issue on the floor of this House, notwithstanding the fact that they are to be here when the Budget Session was going on. But I would like to ask that these emissaries have been sent to foreign capitals for what? Is it to explain the situation that exists in Bangia Desh, or is it to set material help to the refugees in India or is it to seek support of the foreign governments to our stand, to recognise Bangia Desh as an independent sovereign country? What are the reasons<sup>10</sup> for this about? What for? For what purpose?—I want to know. Have they considered purpose?

How do you engage the foreign countries in meaningful talks without clarifying our stand? If they have clarification, let them take us also into confidence. When the Capitals of the world know their stand, we must also know. Till to-day, Sir, in spite of the series of debates and questions in this House and in the other House, I am at a loss to understand the mood, the position, the attitude of the Government in respect of this issue. Perhaps the Government may be thinking that they should broaden the area so that in future the entire blame may not be cast on us. That may be one of the reasons. The attempt may be to involve the foreign governments in our thinking, in our decision-taking. But let me remind them of the laws of international politics. We have been sufficiently mature, we have drawn lessons from history, from our own past, from our own experience. No country in the world has bailed out any other country unless there has been self-interest involved. Sir, we took a similar position of "non-concern" in respect of Tibet, and we tried to educate the whole world. We took up the issue in the United Nations also. But with what result? The conscience of the world was roused, no doubt, on Tibet, but in spite of it Tibet was raped, ravaged, plundered, subdued. And there is no name of Tibet today in the map of the world. Is that not our experience? We ^ neighbours do not have a neighbourly <sup>T</sup>icv, a policy towards neighbours, ^"ided b~ enlightened self-interest. <sup>Th</sup>r-n who <sup>r</sup>tsfi in <sup>the</sup> world <sup>its</sup>m heln ua? Was it not Kqnnranori )n th» pa"=t in thf> annals of fvtfltwv, that wHeo tne self-'ntere^t of ppt'onc ,,-. <.! involved, they intervened or tn"V vporo int^rost? T pan quote- fh" pyampTe of Czechoslovakia. Wh^ C-rpc.Viodnira'kip l"PS invaded "Pr'ta'p. i r^mo to H, rosnie. There ar° similar other instances. Are there no instances at all before us to guide us in the matter of Bangia Desh? Sir, when

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy].

China attacked us in 1962, what happened? We appealed to the world. We tried to rouse the conscience of humanity. Neither the Soviet Union nor America came to our rescue. Except a few sympathies expressed here and there, we never received any substantial material help. The net result was, we suffered.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Let us stick to facts.

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am sticking to facts.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: What about the help given to us by the Soviet Union by way of materials and equipment?

SHRI M.S. GURUPADASWAMY: My friend forgets the fact that the Soviet Union did not say that there was aggression by China against India. Let us remember that. When we have to decide upon a policy, we have to take into consideration mainly whether there is justice in our stand, whether it is right and proper to do it, whether it is in the interest of certain values we cherish and whether it will subserve the enlightened national interest of the country. These are the things to be considered. Considering these things I would like to know whether the Government of India, even after 2-112 months, have reached any decision at all. What is required today is a decision, not hesitation, not to spend time in hibernation. We have got to decide about our attitude, our policy, towards Bangla Desh. When my friends pose a question about the recognition of Bangla Desh, they are posing it not because by our recognition Bangla Desh will come into existence; they are demanding it because Bangla Desh is already in existence body and soul. What is expected of us is recognition of the reality of the situation, nothing more than this. The policy of the Government has led us into a sorry mess.

I have to say this. Pakistan, without declaring war against India, has imposed upon us economic burdens which are almost equal to war burdens. How much money did we spend in Indo-Pakistan conflict? I am told we spent nearly Rs. 500 crores during Indo-Pakistan conflict. And how much are we expected to spend on the refugees who are increasing everyday, who are coming in thousands, in lakhs, in millions? According to my own estimation we have to spend not less than Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 crore, I year itself. We have to spend Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per individual per day to feed a refugee to maintain him, shelter him. All this will run into crores and crores of rupees. The entire revenue derived from the new taxes will be wiped out. Not only that. Much more has got to be found. The entire economy will be shattered, will be put in jeopardy. And this will be an unbearable burden. As I said, Pakistan, without declaring war, has imposed upon us burdens which are almost equal to war burdens. And yet we do not react. It is expected of a nation like ours to react to this situation. Are we reacting? Instead of reacting, we are sending ambassadors, ministers, emissaries, to explain ourselves. What stand have you taken? I beg of you, you must define your stand and react properly to the growing situation here. Do you think that the Bangla Desh issue can be contained? Our bureaucrats or the Ministers seem to be thinking that the Bangla Desh issue can be contained. Can you contain this issue? Look at the history. The Korea issue could not be contained. The Vietnam issue could not be contained. Many other issues could not be contained. Can you contain this issue? Do you want to continue bearing this burden to eternity?

SHRI DWIJENDRALAL SEN GUPTA (West Bengal): It can be debited to Pakistan's account.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Therefore, I have been pleading that

we must accord recognition to Bangla Desh. We must do that. That is the \_ least that we have to do.

I remember the notorious plague that visited Europe during the 17th century. It was called the "black death", and it took a heavy toll of hunvjn lives; thousands and lakhs of people died at that time. Now the same black death is visiting the refugees here. The refugees are carrying that black plague with them. It will spread; it is bound to sperad. This kind of plague, which is reminiscent of the 17th century plague, is visiting this country, and in spite of that nothing has been done. No country in the « world has given us help. I say that we should refuse the token help to the tune of Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 crores given by foreign agencies. Why do we accept this? Are we so poor that we cannot provide Rs. 25 crores more? If help comes, it should come substantially. Otherwise, you do not receive help at all. We should make it clear. We are not beggars. We have been going on begging for this kind of little, little doles that are coming to us.

Lot of butchery is going on in Pakistan even now. There is mass murder. The honour of women is being defiled every day. Children have been put to death. There is so much of destruction and the Pakistan army has created virtually hell for the millions of Bangla De^h freedom fighters and the conscience of the world is dead and our conscience is more dead t others'.

I say finally, if it means that we have to engage ourselves militarily with Pakistan to get rid of our burden, to get rid of this problem—it is not our problem it is imposed uoon us—then we have to engage them militarily. Let me sav that. We do not want war with Pakistan. W> do not want to engage them militari'v. But •• without wir, we ^r^ bearing the burdens of war. Therefore, the Government of India has got to make un its

mind. Again I come to this point which I raised, namely, whether we are treating this Bangla Desh as a passing contingency or an area of ^o concern to us. Let us answer this question finally. Otherwise, these refugees will be there for ever. Many, problems will be created, political, social and economic. Please remember, all along these 25 years—let this House remember that—Pakistan has been acting as a transmission station and we are acting as a receiving station. They control the transmitting end and we are only at the receiving end. That is why we are feavins a'l t^ese refugees and all these problems.

### श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार):

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज बंगला देश मे आये हुये शरणार्थियों पर राज्य सभा में विवेचन हो रहा है। बंगला देश के शरणार्थी सिर्फ शरणार्थियों की समस्या ले कर नहीं आ रहे हैं बल्कि वे राजनीति की एक गंभीर समस्या ले कर आ रहे हैं। मैं अपने सदन को स्मरण कराना चाहता हूँ कि जब जब किसी बात को लेकर दोनों सदनों ने कोई प्रतिज्ञा की है तब तब इस सरकार ने उस प्रतिज्ञा का उल्लंघन किया है। श्रीमन्, आप का याद होगा कि 1962 में जब चीन का आक्रमण हुआ था तब दोनों सदनों ने यह प्रतिज्ञा की थी कि जब तक हम चीन द्वारा छीनी गई भारतवर्ष की एक एक इंच भूमि वापस नहीं ले लेंगे तब तक हम चुप नहीं बैठेंगे। लेकिन हमारी सरकार धीरे-धीरे उस बात को भूलनी गई और आज उसको विस्तृत भुला दिया। 25 मार्च से जैसे ही बंगला देश की बापणा हुई याहदा खां के मंत्रिकों ने बंगला देश के लोगों का नर-संहार और वंश उन्मूलन प्रारम्भ किया और दोनों सदनों ने यहां पर सहयोग, मददावना और सहायता का एक प्रस्ताव पारित किया।

लेकिन यह प्रस्ताव जहां पर था वहां पर 3 P.M. रह गया। सदन में कई बार ध्यान आकर्षण प्रस्ताव तथा प्रश्नों के द्वारा पाकिस्तान की गतिविधि का उल्लेख किया गया और हमारी सरकार के मंत्रियों ने...

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Sir, I think he is sleeping. Sir, the Dy. Minister....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, he is concentrating.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI O. M. MEH-TA): He is also meditating and listening at the same time.

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** सभी मंत्रियों के इंचार्ज हमारे श्री ओम मेहता जी हैं और वह सदन की रखवाली भी कर लेते हैं, लेकिन मंत्रियों और देश की रखवाली वह नहीं कर पाते हैं।

**श्री ओम मेहता :** इसी लिए मैं सजेन्ट कर रहा था कि जो अर्जुन एवार्ड है वह श्री यादव जी को मिलना चाहिए।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** वह अर्जुन एवार्ड अरोडा जी को ही दे दीजिए। दूसरे को क्यों देते हैं। तो मैं इस प्रस्ताव की ओर सदन का और सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। आज सरकार की बदलती हुई तौरों पर देखा सचमुच में भारत के नागरिकों का ध्यान उस की ओर आकर्षित हुआ है। जिस समय सरकार ने सहयोग और सद्भावना का प्रस्ताव पारित किया था उस समय ऐसा लगा था कि सरकार सचमुच में बंगला देश की सहायता के लिए कोई सक्रिय कदम उठायेगी और उस की आजादी को बनाये रखेगी। लेकिन आज सचमुच में ऐसा लगता है कि उस के विचार जैसे बदल गये हों। दो तीन प्रश्न में सरकार के सामने उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि सरकार मेरी बात सुने और सौम्य से विदेश उपमंत्री भी यहां मौजूद है। मैं दो, तीन सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या भारत पाकिस्तान से डर रही है जिस के कारण वह बंगला देश की मदद के लिए नहीं जा सका। मैं सरकार को आश्वासन दिलाना चाहता हूँ इस बात का कि भारत कमजोर नहीं है। पाकिस्तान ने कई बार हम पर हमला किया और 1965 में चीनियों के साथ मिल कर

हमला किया, जिन से शायद हमारी सरकार डरती है, लेकिन हमारे देश ने उन का मुकाबिला किया है। चाहे आप आबादी की दृष्टि से देखें या रिसोर्सेज की दृष्टि से, साधनों की दृष्टि से, हमारी ताकत पाकिस्तान से कई गुना अधिक है और हम उस से निपट सकते हैं। हम अगर यह सोचते हैं कि बंगला देश की तरफदारी करने के कारण हम युद्ध में घसीटे जायेंगे तो मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो यह 50 या 60 लाख शरणार्थी हमारे यहां आ चुके हैं और बचे हुए जो लोग आने वाले हैं नित्य प्रति जिन की संख्या एक लाख तक पहुंच चुकी है, उनके कारण जो स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई है क्या वह किसी युद्ध से कम भयंकर स्थिति है? पाकिस्तान ने सचमुच में सेना ले कर हमला तो नहीं किया है लेकिन उस ने हिन्दुस्तान को वार में डकेल दिया है। आज उस के द्वारा भगाये हुए नर-संहार किये हुए, इज्जत आबरू लुटाये हुए पाकिस्तानी सैनिकों के शिकार हुए नौजवानों को छोड़ कर जो शरणार्थी यहां आये हैं वह हमारे देश के लिए सिरदर्द हैं। क्या पाकिस्तान ने योजनाबद्ध तरीके से अपने यहां से इन शरणार्थियों को नहीं धकेला है? पाकिस्तान साम्प्रदायिक आधार पर बना है और वही हवा आप को देने की उस की इच्छा बराबर कायम है। आज वहां जो 80,90 लाख हिन्दू बचे थे जिन को वह समझता है कि वहां की अक्बामी लोग को समर्थन प्राप्त है, और उन के लिए वह समझता है कि उनको बिना हटाये हुए उसका पाक पाक नहीं हो सकता है, उन को वह हिन्दुस्तान में डकेलना चाहता था। जिस प्रकार से उन को वह हिन्दुस्तान में डकेल रहा है उस से हिन्दुस्तान में सांप्रदायिकता की भावना उभरेगी और उस के कारण मुजीबु-र-रहमान के नेतृत्व में जो बांगला देश के लोग संगठित हुए थे उन में भेद उत्पन्न होगा। सौम्य की बात यह है कि हमारे देश ने उस की इस नीति को सफल नहीं होने दिया, लेकिन सरकार ने इस का निराकरण क्या किया?

मैं अभी श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जी का भाषण पढ़ रहा था। उन्होंने दुनिया को चेतावनी दी है कि यदि विश्व के नेताओं ने शीघ्र कोई कदम नहीं उठाया तो सारे उपमहाद्वीप में ऐसी दुखद स्थिति पैदा होगी कि जिस के परिणाम के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा जा सकता।

“यूरोप, अमेरिका में बंगला देश की घटना पर कोई प्रतिक्रिया नहीं दिखाई देती। विश्व की आत्मा मर चुकी है। स्वाधीनता पर हुं हमारे को देखते हुये स्वतंत्र विश्व मैन क्यों साधे हुआ है। निक्सन, हीथ, पोम्पेडू ऐसे जो बड़े-बड़े दुनिया के नेता हैं वह चुप हैं।”

मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि जयप्रकाश बाबू शायद भूलते हैं। जिस वक्त कि तिब्बत में वंशानुमूलन किया गया उस वक्त दुनिया की बड़ी-बड़ी ताकतों ने क्या आवाज उठायी सब चुप रहे। जिस वक्त हंगरी, जेकोस्लोवाकिया पर आक्रमण हुआ, वहां वंशानुमूलन किया गया था, नरसंहार हुआ था, उस वक्त दुनिया ने क्या सहायता की! दुनिया में जब किसी के अपने स्वार्थ की बात आती है तब ही शायद उस पर कोई आफत आती है और तब ही वह कुछ करते हैं। दक्षिण कोरिया और उत्तर कोरिया के युद्ध में उसमें बीच में यू० एन० ओ० आया, वियतनाम में यू० एन० ओ० आया और भारत-पाकिस्तान के 1965 ई० के युद्ध में भी यू० एन० ओ० आया लेकिन आज जब कि बंगला देश में नरसंहार हुआ है तब यू० एन० ओ० चुप है, दुनिया चुप है क्या भारत सरकार यह समझ नहीं पाती कि दुनिया क्यों चुप है। दुनिया चाहती है कि हिन्दुस्तान शक्तिशाली न हो बल्कि पाकिस्तान शक्तिशाली बना रहे, पाकिस्तान का बटवारा नहीं हो जिसमें कि हिन्दुस्तान के एक शक्तिशाली और सक्षम राष्ट्र बनने में बाधा बनी रहे।

श्रीमन्, आज हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ऐसा लगता है कि वस्तुस्थिति को नहीं पहचान कर जो इस सवाल का रूप अपने

देश के सामने रखता चाहती है वह गलत सा है। जिस प्रकार अपने स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने एक बार कहा था कि पाकिस्तान इस मीनिंगलेस इन दि आटोमिक एज उसी तरह से हमारी वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री आज कहती हैं कि छः महीने के बाद यहाँ से शरणार्थी लीट जायेंगे। श्रीमन् शरणार्थी आये क्यों हैं। उस भयंकर भयावह स्थिति के कारण और अगर कल चहे वहाँ मुजीबुर्रहमान की ही सरकार क्यों न बन जाय लेकिन जिस स्थिति में उन्हें वहाँ से भगाया गया है, जिस स्थिति में उन्हें लूटा गया है, जिस तरह से उनका नरसंहार किया गया है जिस प्रकार से अवलाओ का शील-हरण किया गया है, उनके जवान बेटों की हत्या की गई है, उस दृश्य को देख कर भय-कम्पित हो कर, कांत हो कर, वह शरणार्थी आये हैं और इन शरणार्थियों में से एक भी अब लीट नहीं सकेगा। और याह्या खां जिसने निश्चयपूर्वक इन शरणार्थियों को वहाँ से हटाया है वह एक भी शरणार्थी को लेने के लिये तैयार नहीं होगा।

श्रीमन्, आज हिन्दुस्तान के मंत्रिगण सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह, श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर रे और युवराज कर्ण सिंह विदेश भेजे गये हैं। विदेश वाले शायद उनसे पूछते हों कि तुमने बंगला देश के लिये क्या किया, कौन सा सक्षम कदम उठाया सिवाय रिफ्यूजीज का आदर-सत्कार करने के। क्या जवाब है हिन्दुस्तान के पास। तिब्बत के बारे में भी श्रीमन् यही बात उन्होंने पूछी थी और दुनिया को आपने जवाब नहीं दिया था और आज दुनिया भी आपके सवाल पर चुप है। आज सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह अपनी पीठ अपने आप ठोकते हों लेकिन एक देश से दूसरे देश जा रहे हैं और कहीं भी उनकी समस्या का निदान नहीं हो पा रहा है।

आज आप देखें कि उन शरणार्थियों की भयावह स्थिति हो रही है। आज शरणार्थियों के कैम्पों में भयंकर दंग से हैजे का प्रकोप

हो गया है, हजारों की संख्या में वह मर रहे हैं। आज शंका उस पर यह उत्पन्न की जा रही है कि पाकिस्तान ने सिर्फ शरणार्थी ही नहीं भेजा बल्कि उसने कीटाणु-युद्ध भी प्रारम्भ किया है उसने शरणार्थियों के द्वारा हैजे का प्रकोप भी हमारे देश को भेजा है ताकि या तो हमारे देश के लोग जो कि शरणार्थियों की सेवा करने में जुटे हुए हैं वह हैजे के डर से हट जाय या वह हैजे के शिकार हो जाय। कितनी भयंकर स्थिति है। बंगाल की सरकार ने आपसे दवा की मांग की थी, उसने 80 हजार बोतल सैलाइन वाटर की मांग की थी और आपने भेजा सिर्फ 14 हजार बोतल, उसने 1 करोड़ 86 लाख इंजेक्शंस मांगा था और आपने 16 लाख इंजेक्शंस भेजे, उसने 25 हजार ग्राम सोडियम बाइकार्बोनेट मांगा था और उसमें से एक ग्राम भी आपने नहीं भेजा। आप जरा विचार कर के देखें कि सचमुच में वह भाग कर आने वाले किस स्थिति में हैं और आप दुनिया से सहायता चाहते हैं कि दुनिया सहायता दे। आपको अगर अनुभव हुआ होगा और याद होगा कि जब तिब्बत से शरणार्थी लोग भारत आए थे तो दुनिया से कितनी मदद उनके लिए मिली? मैं समझता हूं सैकड़ा 95-98 प्रतिशत तक सारी व्यवस्था आपने करनी पड़ी और करनी पड़ रही है। दुनिया से आप आशवासन पा सकते हैं कुछ दवाइयां कुछ अनाज मिल सकता है लेकिन करोड़ों शरणार्थी जिनके जिम्मेदारी आपके ऊपर है, जिन पर करोड़ों रुपए रोज का खर्चा है, उनका इंतजाम आपने स्वयं वर्दाश करना पड़ेगा। श्रीमन्, मुझे याद है चैम्बरलेन इसी तरह से हिटलर को तुष्टीकरण की नीति पनाता था जिसके कारण काल के मुख में जाने की नींवत आई। आज आप भी याह्या खां के तुष्टीकरण की नीति अपना रहे हैं। आज हमारे देशवासी इस सरकार से पूछता चाहते हैं क्या सचमुच में जिस बंगला देश को स्वीकृति मिलनी थी उसको न करके हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार

गिड़गिड़ाकर पाकिस्तान की बात स्वीकार नहीं कर रही है? क्या हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार याह्या खां के भरोसे पर इन शरणार्थियों को फिर से वापस भेजने की जुर्रत करेगी? क्या श्रीमन्, आज जो इन शरणार्थियों को अमरुक्षा के कारण और उनके खाने-पीने की व्यवस्था, दवादारु के इंतजाम की भयंकर तंगी के कारण उनमें जो भयंकर हाहाकार मचा हुआ है, क्या आपके पास उपाय नहीं रह गया था कि इन शरणार्थियों के आगमन को आप रोक सकते थे? यह एक अमानवीय कृत्य ही नहीं है बल्कि भारत को दिए गए उस वचन से मुकरने वाली बात है जो हिन्दुस्तान के बटवारे के वक्त, आजादी के वक्त, उनकी सुरक्षा की गारंटी ली गई थी। श्रीमन्, इसलिए मैं मंत्रो महोदय ने जानना चाहता हूं कि शरणार्थियों के विषय में सचमुच में आपकी नीति क्या है? आप कभी कहते हैं लौट जाएंगे सारे शरणार्थी लोग, कभी कहते हैं बंगला देश होकर रहेगा। आने जो मिशन भेजा है दुनिया के सामने, उस मिशन के जरिए आपने सचमुच में दुनिया से क्या अर्ज किया है? क्या आपने दुनिया से कहा है याह्या खां को मना दो, याह्या खां वहां फौजी दमनचक्र बन्द कर दे और शरणार्थियों को वापस आने दे? क्या आप दुनिया को यही कहना चाहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान को पड़ न दें जिससे पाकिस्तान आर्थिक विषमता में पड़कर हिन्दुस्तान में शरणार्थियों को भेजना बन्द कर दे, तो आप शायद भूलते हैं कि पाकिस्तान इंग्लैण्ड और अमरीका का किया हुआ सजन है।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अभी समाप्त कीजिये।

**श्री जगन्मोहन प्रसाद यादव :** दो मिनट पहले तो ब्रिटेन और अमरीका का तथा चीन का बरद हस्त उसके ऊपर था ही, अब रूस का बरद हस्त उसके ऊपर हो गया है और अगर उसका आर्थिक ढांचा बिगड़ता है, तो ये राट्र

उसकी मदद में आ जायेंगे। जब वैं हमारे खिलाफ लड़ने के लिए हमारे विकास और आर्थिक प्रगति को रोकने के लिये पाकिस्तान को हथियार दे सकते हैं, तो पाकिस्तान की आर्थिक मदद भी कर सकते हैं। मुझे याद है, आज से बहुत पहले एक अंग्रेज राइटर पाकिस्तान आया जिसने कहा था कि मुझे ईश्वर में विश्वास नहीं था, लेकिन पाकिस्तान को देख कर ईश्वर पर भरोसा हो गया; क्योंकि पाकिस्तान राज को जोड़ने, चलाने के लिये कोई आर्थिक या सामाजिक या और किसी प्रकार की स्थिति नहीं थी, लेकिन फिर भी वह चल रहा है, यह कोई मामूली चीज नहीं है; क्योंकि पाकिस्तान जिस आधार पर बना है वह आधार बनाने वाले जो हैं, वही उस पाकिस्तान को चलाने के जिम्मेदार भी हैं; इसलिए मैं भारत सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ और सारा देश जानना चाहता है कि सचमुच में आपके सामने इन शरणाथियों की समस्या का निदान और उसका रास्ता क्या है। देश के लोगों ने आपसे आग्रह किया कि बंगला देश को आप मान्यता दें, देश के लोग पूछते हैं बंगला देश को मान्यता क्यों नहीं दी। मुझे एक शंका और उत्पन्न होती है यहां पर कि जैसा कि मैंने हाउस में सवाल भी उठाया था कि पाकिस्तानी पंडितकारी लोग यहां पर कितनी संख्या में मौजूद हैं, जो हिन्दुस्तान को खाते हैं और पाकिस्तान का गाते हैं, ऐसे लोग जो कि सरकार पर दबाव डालते हैं, कभी वोट का दबाव डालने हैं, लोक-सभा या विधान सभाओं में वोटों का लालच दे कर दबाव डालते हैं, जिससे हमारी सरकार किसी भी कारण से बंगला देश को मान्यता नहीं दे। आज सचमुच में यह प्रश्न उठ कर खड़ा हुआ है। आपने बंगाल के भूतपूर्व मंत्री और एक संसद् सदस्य को गिरफ्तार किया। मैंने आपसे आग्रह किया था कि ऐसे लोग आपकी गवर्नमेंट में, संसद् में और देश में कितने मौजूद हैं, जो सचमुच में पाकिस्तान की हमदर्दी करते हैं? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसे कौन-कौन लोग हैं तथा उन पर क्या कार्यवाही कर रहे हैं?

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हिन्दुस्तान में आज कितने ही पत्र हैं जो आज भी बंगला देश के विरोध में पाकिस्तान का समर्थन कर रहे हैं। श्रीमन्, मुझे याद है अभी शेख अब्दुल्ला की आवाज पाकिस्तान के समर्थन में खुली थी आपकी मदद उस के लिए बराबर रही है और ऐसे अनेक दल हैं जो सचमुच में आज भी पाकिस्तान को मदद करने की कोशिश करते रहते हैं।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब आप खत्म कीजिए।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** इसलिए मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि सचमुच में सरकार के पास कुछ इसका स्पष्ट ज्ञान या निश्चित निदान है क्या? अगर निश्चित निदान है, तो सरकार को सचमुच इस सदन के द्वारा देश के नागरिकों को, देशवासियों को आश्वस्त करना होगा। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज देश की अखंडता पर खतरा उपस्थित है।

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब आप समाप्त कीजिये।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** कल भी आपने देखा होगा कि तमिलनाडु और उड़ीसा ने अपने यहां शरणार्थी लेने से इन्कार कर दिया। आज इस तरह की प्रवृत्ति अपने देश में पनप रही है जो देश की अखंडता के लिए उचित नहीं है। इसलिए मैं माननीय पुनर्वासि मंत्री, गृह मंत्री और विदेश मंत्री से जिनका इस समस्या से सीधा संबंध है कि इस सम्पूर्ण समस्या का निदान क्या है और मैं उनसे चाहूंगा कि वे अपने-अपने विभाग की ओर से अपना-अपना उत्तरदायित्व को लेकर इस समस्या का निदान उपस्थित करें।

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana):  
Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I think this is a moment of truth for this country. It is a turning point in our history when we have to think in which direction we have to go—when our security, our values of human life,

[Shri Kishan Kant], our political structure and economic growth are at stake. It is not that merely East Bengal where Tagore was born and his songs were sung or where Nazrul Islam gave the first call for freedom fight is bleeding. No; it has affected our own land, the whole of India. It is the whole humanity which is bleeding. It is a problem not for Pakistan alone; it is a problem not for India alone. It is a problem for all the nations.

In the hard realities of the world today we must understand that nobody cares for our problems unless we are sure about our own things, unless we are strong on our own feet, unless we are sure of what we want to do and unless we are sure of ourselves. My whole complaint is, in the last three months we have not gone ahead. We have no clarity as to where we want to go. We want to support humanity but at what cost? If we cannot realise the situation and unless we create a situation when the world should realise our agony, what is the use of any Government? What is the use of running the whole country? The Government was in power when Yahya Khan's army was butchering people and when genocide was taking place in Bangla Desh. But we in our country have not mobilised that fervour; We have not mobilised that patriotic sentiment; we have not mobilised that democratic sentiment. We have missed our chance. Now long are we going to miss that chance?

Now I am putting a straight question to the Minister, Mr. KhadiiKar, who has recently visited many countries abroad. Has any country heard you? We do not want sympathy. Nobody can give you dignity; you have to snatch dignity. No international power, no UNO can give you power, strength or dignity. Sir, my charge is that we have not been taken seriously by the world powers, by any international community. They have too much faith in our peaceful intentions. What strange phenomena! We

are suffering. Our economy is in jeopardy; our security and our freedom are in jeopardy. Our Ministers are going abroad to explain the position to the world. Why have you not created a situation that President Nixon should have been forced to come here, that if this problem is not solved then American freedom will be in danger? What has happened to the world? What has happened to Nixon? What has happened to the land of Lincoln and Washington? What has happened to the citadel of democracy in Britain? What has happened to Heath and Wilson? What has happened to the land of Rousseau and Voltaire? Pompidou is sitting tight and still wants to give help to Pakistan. What has happened to them when democracy is in danger? They could have told Yahya Khan "The way you are behaving, the genocide you are having, the way you are acting are detrimental to Pakistan itself". He gave a warning. What has happened to the free world? The free world is as free as anybody else. They can say about Czechoslovakia. Here is the free world. Pakistan claims to be an ally of the free world and an ally of SEATO and CENTO and they cannot put pressure on that. When something happened in Hungary or Poland then they cry that freedom is in danger or democracy is in danger. Here the very existence of freedom and democracy is in danger. What has happened to the Western or the free world? Nothing will happen unless our policy is changed, our outlook is changed, and you mobilise the country. Our very method of life our way of life and our Constitution and our security are in danger. Should I go into what is that danger? What is that risk or what is at stake? Our security is at stake. What does Pakistan want? Pakistan knows, its people know, even Yahya knows and Nixon, Pompidou and Heath know that when people revolt against any military junta any number of Yahyas cannot suppress them. They know that Bangla Desh is going to be ultimately independent. It is going to have its own voice it will create its



own nation and it will have independent State but in the process what they want to do is they want to demolish India and India's values. What is at stake is, again what Jinnah wanted, Yahya wants the two-nation theory to be implemented. Yahya or Pakistan wants to solve its own problem at the cost of India. Mujibur Rahman was against the two-nation theory. Lately after a bitter struggle, he came to know that religion does not solve the problem. So Pakistan, is wanting to squeeze out Hindus and Muslims so that West Pakistan can have a majority over the Bangla Desh population, so that the Hindus are not there and a communal situation is created and ultimately they want to say that the two-nation theory was the correct thing. So the value of our lives, the very spirit of our Constitution is at danger. Have the Government of India realised the gravity of the situation of what is at stake? Now what will happen? The Bengal situation is a sensitive situation. Assam and Tripura are sensitive areas. The refugees that came in earlier to that area, that was a breeding ground for the Naxalites, a breeding ground for the upsurge that is taking place. Do you want such things to grow not only in Bengal but all over the country? It is a stage of undeclared war. You are talking of peace. You are talking of political solutions. Pakistan has forced a situation of undeclared war and it is much more than aggression because our very system is in danger. Has our Government opened its eyes? After all the discussions in this House, after what the people in the country are feeling, our Government is moving, trekking from capital to capital in the world and during the Parliament Session, when the Ministers should have been here, they are going to the world capitals and meeting the leaders, Prime Ministers and Presidents. No President, no Prime Minister of a foreign country will solve your problem. You have to solve your problem yourselves. Some bureaucrats sitting in the Foreign Ministry or in the Army and Defence are talking that China might

intervene. They are afraid of China. I may tell the Government that a decision has to be taken by the political authority in this country, not by the bureaucrats, either in the Defence Ministry or in the External Affairs Ministry. When it was the question of Kashmir, it was a political decision taken. When it was Hyderabad, it was a political decision. When it was Goa, it was a political decision. When it was NEFA it was a political decision. When it was Chinese attack, it was a political decision. Recently a book of Mr. Mullick showed that if we were not afraid, China might not have attacked. I know some bureaucrats are trying to misguide and talk in a way to weaken the political authority and political thinking. It is a political decision that has to be taken. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am warning you. If you do not take a political decision but go by the advice of these bureaucrats you will be nowhere. You must take a political decision and within the shortest possible time; otherwise the whole economy will crack; social tensions will grow throughout the country and that is what China wants. We are very much weighed down by what the refugee problem has brought to us. As the Prime Minister has said, we need Rs. 200 crores for six months but now the refugees are doubling. Even the United Nations Representative says that the estimate of the Government of India is an underestimate. More refugees are coming into the country than you have estimated. Our Government is always in the habit of making under estimates and not seeing the gravity of the situation. If Rs. 400 crores are needed for six months, you will need Rs. 800 crores for one year. You are thinking of the pros and cons of what China will do. That is why we had said in this House that we must build up our military strength, we must develop our nuclear technology. If we had spent these Rs. 400 crores on the development of nuclear technology five years back, do you think that today we will have to think of what China will do or what Russia will

[Shri Krishan Kant]

dc? You would have been yourself in a position to take a bold decision in the right direction.

Sir, I do not want to take much time but I want to say one thing. If you think that guerilla forces will grow and attack them, it is not likely. You may think of Vietnam and the fight that is going on there but you must understand that they have a tradition of guerilla warfare ever since the French domination and that is why this sort of thing is going on there. But if you think that you can train these people and they will be able to get back and do something, it is not possible. You may train them, you may send them there but unless the Government of India makes up its mind nothing can happen. If you are serious and sincere about your declaration that the refugees are only temporarily here have you told the world community that if the refugees can't be sent back then the world community must see that they give some land so that these people can go there? You are talking of political solution; that stage is passed; Bangla Desh has become a recognised entity and power will have to be given to the real authorities of Bangla Desh. Otherwise, Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is not going to solve this problem. There are some times when, however peace-loving you may be, you will have to pass through the valley of death for your own survival, for the survival of the nation. It may be a difficult task but you will have to take the decision. May I ask the Government whether they are prepared for that, to mobilise the whole nation, the whole country, in order to protect our security, to protect our values of life, to protect our economy and to protect our political structure?

Thank you.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat):  
Mr. Chairman, what has been happening on our border has been engaging the attention of this House for years, much more so in the last few weeks. If we look at what

the raiders invaded Kashmir, failure to act properly when Tibet was invaded. In 1964 we had a large influx of refugees coming in. I had gone with a number of Members of Parliament at that time to see them. We saw the people were coming in such horrible conditions. We did not publish the Report. Those Members who went into details about that did not publicise it very much. Perhaps it was thought that it would create communal riots and communal reaction. So it was not publicised but the Ministers and the Government were fully apprised of the situation. The result was Pakistan seemed to have taken us for granted. We had a war a year later. In the war what happened? We were persuaded by our friends, so-called friends, great powers, whoever they are, to sign an agreement of peace. As usual, we keep our part of the agreement. The other side does not honour it. Has this not been happening all this time? Our reliance on or awaiting the reactions of the big powers has not helped us. Does any of the big powers want to see India grow strong? On the contrary, most of them do not want us to grow strong and, therefore, we are in this state and perpetually we are faced with this problem of refugees. Will we be able to get out of it? I doubt very much. The number of refugees coming in is so large that, even though a little aid is coming, it is not going to help us. It is going to put our economy completely out of gear. We have just had a discussion on the Budget in both Houses. While people are feeling the burden of taxation that has been voiced in both Houses, what is happening in Bengal is not going to be met by what has been done. It will need a much more massive dose of aid and taxation. Where will we be? And with all that will we have peace on the border? Do you think that millions of people, who are driven out from their hearths and homes, taken to strange places, even if they find peace, even if food and money is doled out to them, will settle down to a peaceful existence? We have

has happened in our country after independence it has been a series of failures; failure to act properly when trouble inside already in keeping law and order. We talk of the Naxalite menace. Where was this menace born? These extreme Naxalites are people who are misguided, but why do they get misguided? There are many people who are also given that sort of advice. But who take it? They are people who are desperate. There is a class of people, of course, who are always fond of violence and like to ride the tide of violence, but generally most of the people do not like it. There are a number of youths who in dire necessity, because they are driven to such circumstances, take to that sort of activity. Will we not get a large number of youths from Bengal who are driven out of their hearths and homes, who have seen their mothers and fathers and relations slaughtered in front of their eyes? Can you talk of peace to them? Is this situation not going to breed more of this trouble? We are going to get more of these youths into this country and how are you going to meet it? Certainly everyone has sympathy for these people who are in this situation, but how far does sympathy take them? How far does the aid that we are going to get from the foreign countries take us or them? We are thinking of rehabilitating them all over India. Will we be able to fit them in? A large number of refugees are coming. Will we be able to disperse them all over India? Will they fit in? Mr. Deputy Chairman, you have been in this House for a long time and we have been here together. We know how much trouble the Minister of Rehabilitation had in persuading some of the refugees to go to the camps they had established in Dandakaranya. All sorts of stories were spread, that you were sending these people to their death. It was with great difficulty that a number of them were ultimately persuaded to go there, but can you go on doing it again and again? Mr. Tyagi was there. He is not laughing at it. He realised the situation because he was part of it.

The burden was his. I know that he did his best. We have no place and we will have to send them to places even worse than Dandakaranya if we are going to get more and more refugees like this. What are we going to do? This is the serious situation in which we are. I want to ask you, is it not because of our policy that we have no friend in this world? Every body wants to take advantage of you. When it is a question of vote in the United Nations, people want you to vote for them on certain political considerations. Perhaps they oblige you on others, but by and large where are we? We are where our strength is, and basically we have failed to develop our strength in all these years. After twenty years of independence we have failed to develop the strength of the nation. We still have to rely on imports of food and so many other things. Perhaps we may be getting independent on the food front or we are very near it, but where will this trouble of Bangla Desh lead us? One advantage that we have very nearly come to would be wiped out by the other.

Then with the coming in of refugees Pakistan has been able to spread not only poverty but disease all over India, the refugees being distributed all over India, throughout this country. Certainly all human beings will feel for them. Our hearts will bleed for the misery which they had to go through, but the fact is that they will be the carriers of disease and germs all over India. Have we been able to meet that situation? I do not know what the plans of the Government of India are in this respect. The Government of India consult us or ask people what they feel about this and naturally we say our brothers must be helped even if they are in Bangla Desh. After all a few years ago they were the flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood, and even if they are not, they are human beings. So we feel for them, and if aid is necessary, what all we can do for them we should do. But can we do it? Is it physically possible for us **to help them?**  
**What is**

[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel]

Government of India doing in this matter? What are their plans? How do they think they will be able to mobilise the resources and the world opinion in our favour? I am sorry what little has been done by the Ministers who have gone abroad is not going to be enough. I do not mean to say anything against them personally or on what they are trying to do. I would like to help them. They are trying to do a very difficult task, I do realise it, I would like to help them. But is it not because of the policy of the Government all these years that they have isolated themselves? They have not tried to make friends particularly among the nations of Asia? That is coming in their way. Why don't they realise that?

श्री नानेश्वर प्रसाद झाही (उत्तर प्रदेश):  
वह भीख मांगने गये हैं। आप भीख मांगने में मदद करेंगे।

श्री डाह्याभाई व० पटेल : जी नहीं, अगर हमारी बात मानते, तो भीख मांगने की परिस्थिति ही नहीं आती। हम यही चाहते हैं कि हमारी ताकत बनाओ, दोस्त बनाइये और दुनिया में दोस्तों किस से हो सकती है, ताकतवर से ही हो सकती है। गरीब से कोई दोस्ती क्या करता चाहता है? गरीब आदमी को अगर पास में पचास, पांच या दस रुपया है तो वह सहायता देंगे लेकिन गरीब से दोस्ती नहीं करेंगे। दोस्ती ताकतवर से करते हैं।

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:  
You have switched over to Hindi.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: For the benefit of friends who interrupt me I can manage, I can get on with both. I have no antagonism to Hindi nor have I antagonism to English. I can manage with both. Because a friend interrupted me in Hindi I replied in Hindi. I can manage with both and I hope he will also learn to manage with both in this House instead of getting excited over one or the other. It is our failure to realise that it is not the language we use over which we quarrel so much about, that

is one of the reasons why we fail\* Ultimately it is the substance that counts. What are we doing? Are we trying to build a strong nation? By diverting our attention from the essential aspects of what is necessary for building up this country, for building up its strength, to subjects like language we have lost sight of what is most important, and therefore we are in this sorry state today. Sir, everybody expresses sympathy for the refugees, there is no doubt about it. Everybody expresses sympathy for Bangla Desh, but have we not failed to act once again in time in recognising Bangla Desh when the opportunity was there? While we sit and scratch our head, "Shall we do this or not do this", this wavering, China comes forward and supports Yahy Khan. That should have been expected. If we had come forward and said we recognise, it would have been a matter for other countries to think about. We gave them time to line up separately. If we wanted the world to be with us, we should have made more friends. We have failed to do this and therefore we are in this sorry state. I do not know how we are going to get out of it.

God help us, God help the poor refugees who are suffering the most But what is the Government doing God help this Government to see the right light.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: "The M. Khadilkar has just come back from his trip to Geneva and Zurich Lake and he will find it uncomfortable to read that the stench of the corpses is gradually spreading all over the country. The whole "humanity is being uprooted from Bangla Desh. While the humanity is being uprooted from Bangla Desh the Government I think is picking up the leaves. Are we in the middle of the disaster or just at the beginning? Just look at the Observer of the 13th June. It says:

"Mr. Bruce Douglas-Mann, Labour M.P. for Kensington North, who has visited East Pakistan since the

emergency, said 'yesterday: 'We have only seen the beginning of this disaster.' "

If this is the beginning of the disaster and if the Government of India realises this, then what will be the end of the disaster? And this disaster has two aspects. One is as Mr. Bruce Douglas-Mann points out—

"... the starvation and disease inside the area now occupied by West Pakistani troops, where there are 70 million residents as opposed to the six million refugees, will be many times greater than anything so far seen."

In other words, there has not been any distribution of foodgrains in Bangla Desh, sowing has not been done, and there are seventy million Hindus and Muslims left there, who will be allowed to die gradually. This is one part of the story.

The other part has already been described by the Observer dated the 6th June, 1971 and the Government is doing nothing about it. I quote:

"The city is fringed with a menacing ring of such unofficial encampments, where squalid bundles of wretched and ailing humanity, lashed mercilessly by monsoon showers, have neither food nor shelter. Daily the circle is closing in upon Calcutta's anxious heart. Hundreds of lengths of empty water pipe lie beside the road to the airport at Dum Dum."

through which the Prime Minister went the other day.

"... and in each tube crouches a ragged refugee woman, cooking whatever she has been able to steal or beg."

This is what the Observer has written. And the Statesman only the other day spoke one grim truth, and I am quoting from the Statesman of the 14th June—

"Death has ceased to move people in these parts"

Death does not disturb the refugee! any more today.

There are two aspects. One is what is going to happen to the people who are still left in Bangla Desh and the other is the six millions who have come here, -officially or unofficially. Although there are two aspects, the problems are the same, interlinked and intertwined. The Government of Pakistan is determined to squeeze out firstly the minority. They are perhaps not killing them any more. They have become clever. They are conscious of the mass graves from Dacca to Khulna which have been discovered. Now they are going to the villages asking the minorities to get into the trucks—if the trucks are available—carrying them to the border and pushing them with rifles, or they are picking up a few and slaughtering them, before the eyes of the rest of the minority who are thus being forced to leave. Tomorrow famine is going to strike and you will have the entire people of Bangla Desh on this side of the border. It is not only the Hindu minority which is being squeezed out that has been admitted by everybody but the rest of the people also who have risen in revolt. This has been admitted in the London Times by some Pakistani correspondent—I forgot his name—who went to Bangla Desh on behalf of the Pakistan Government. Ultimately he had to leave Pakistan along with his family and he is now writing articles in the Times, because he cannot write the truth in the papers which are published in Karachi and Lahore.

So the two aspects are there. It is a shame, Sir—I am only expressing my indignation and surprise, and I do not blame them—when the Observer gives the headline on the 13th June:

"Indian States refused to take refugees."

You are talking about sympathy.  
You are talking about help from  
j Boon or from London or from Paris  
l or from New York. And here we are

[Shri Kalyan Roy.] failing to create a tempo, a sense of emergency throughout the country as if this is a problem of Bengal alone. Is it a problem of Calcutta, Asansol or Howrah? It is also a problem of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Madras or Patna or Gauhati? Unfortunately that sense of emergency is not being inculcated. President Yah'y<sub>a</sub> Khan has dug a mass grave on that side of the border and we have dug a mass grave on this side of the border near Krishnanagar. Some honourable members said, if these refugees are dispersed they will carry infectious diseases all over India. So we are afraid.

The hon'ble Minister says in his speech that he is sincere. I do not find any indignatio'n in his speech about humanity being butchered in a more shameless than what even Hitler did it in Germany. Now who is responsible for their coming over to this side? Did you not encourage those people of Bangla Desh when they revolted? The entire All India Radio and Parliament supported them, and we did a right thing. And this is no intervention. This is what happened in Europe when thousands and thousands of volunteers from all parts of the world went to Spain to Barcelona and Madrid in their fight against Hitlerism. Nobody called it intervention. Did Soviet arms not go to the Vietnam people? Nobody blames the Soviet Union for helping Vietnam people. Now even the U.S. people are rising in revolt against the U.S. shipment of arms to Vietnam. Therefore, we are equally to blame for encouraging them and then later abandoning them.

I have talked to intellectuals, professors, trade union leaders of Bangla Desh not only in this country but in Rome, in Prague, in Cairo and other places. I feel that whatever friendliness they had for India is now gradually turning into frustration. The anger is there. Desperation is there. They are thinking that perhaps India

is not as sincere as it talked. Why should there be delay in recognising Bangla Desh? It is impossible to rehabilitate the nine million people of Bangla Desh in this country. Already we find there is 'not enough land to distribute to the landless here. We see how thousands of unemployed engineers are roaming about, and I do not know how many millions of educated people are unemployed all over the country. I understand the danger of bitter relations which may develop between the refugees who will be rehabilitated in Gauhati or Patna or elsewhere and the local people. The Mayor of Calcutta said that every day ten thousand refugees are slowly infiltrating into Calcutta, and very soon the entire city of Calcutta may be turned into a vast refugee camp. If the people are not given proper food, as they are not getting in the camps, they will spread out and you cannot stop them unless you decide to machinegun them. So you are also failing. You have failed to stand up to their requirement. The people are already talking in those terms that you have let them down, that you have no sincerity.

The gallant people of Bangla Desh fought with spears, fought with arrows, fought with bamboo sticks, fought empty-handed. They wanted arms. You did not give them arms. They wanted small arms. But you did not supply them with small arms. That is why there is this slaughter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I am finishing within five minutes. The danger of the whole eastern India erupting is there. Then, the whole of India will be a complete throw-back to the 17th century position where there will be riot, civil war, conflagration, hatred and bitterness. And the Fourth Five-Year Plan or whatever Plan you may be thinking of implementing will be finished. So, here is a chance for you. You have already missed one chance. You have to train up those Mukti Fauz men who are trying to liberate

East Pakistan. Otherwise, you cannot think in terms of rehabilitating nine million refugees. You have to give them arms. Let any one frown o'n you. Let your brothers in Washington or London condemn you. You have to decide on your own solution, your own salvation. Nobody is going to help you. Once you take a decision, you have to follow it, the rest of the world may come to your help, or you fight' alone. We have fought alone. When the Indian Independence Movement started in the 19th century, 'you did not care who

f was supporting y:>u or who was not supporting you. Even when India was not free, the Indian National Congress sent a medical mission to help the victims of the Spanish civil war. Even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru went there himsslt Netaji Subash Chandra Bose went there. We are not afraid. We sent medical missions to Abyssinia when it was attacked by Mussolini. Why are you not show'ng the same courage now? When Tashkent was devastated by an earthquake, within five hours Kosygin and Brezhnev rushed to Tashkent. And the whole of Tashkent was rebuilt. All the Republics of the Soviet Union took responsibility to rebuild Tashkent. I am sorry that our Prime Minister has not taken a'ny initiative to call a meeting of the Chief Ministers and make them sit down and decide things. Each day I find the

m papers coming out with stories that Orissa is refusing, Assam is having troubles, Andhra Pradesh is lukewarm and so on. It is creating ill-feelings not o'nly among the refugees but also among the people of West Bengal—I am warning you. Is it our problem only? People of West Bengal may think, "If I have to find jobs for the refugees, if I have to find food for the refugees, if I have to find vaccine saline for the refugees, what is the use of my staying in India?" That question is beiVig raised in the lanes and by-lanes and villages and factories of Bengal. You cannol

» fool them. I am raising Hits question to-day. You take away a major portion of our income-tax earnings. You

take away all the other things. What\* do you return to us? And we hear stories that some States are not willing to accept the refugees. The Prime Minister is not taking any initiative in the matter. The Prime Minister must take the initiative. I charge the Government with evading a solution of this issue and the refugee problem. The solution cannot be had, by sending through the Railways 1,000 refugees per day. With 25 lakhs of people to be sent all over India, such, a solution will take even 25 years, The solution has to be by one straight question to Pakistan. "Within October you have to take back the refugees, or the India Government will take its own step in order to maintain its dignity, in order to maintain the security of the country, because the security of the country will be endangered if nine million refugees are on this side of the border, and it will create tension, as it has created already." But there is no use of accusing Yahya Khan alone. I accuse this Government of betraying the hope and also the ideals for which the Bangla Desh people have fought and died. Here is a time when the rest of India must stand up. May be, we will have to face death. India has never been afraid of facing death when the question of human honour has been raised,

SHRI E. M. SANGMA (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am glad that I have the privilege of speaking on this matter which is very vital for the entire country.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair] It has been rightly said by our Prime Minister that the so-called internal affairs of Bangla Desh has become the internal affairs of India too. So from this point of view, when the matter has become an internal affair 'of India also, we must very seriously think about it. You know the refugee problem has been a constant problem in our country since so many

[Shri E. M. Sangma.] ;years. I come from a border area, Meghalaya, which has suffered and has been suffering still a lot by the influx of refugees. The problem of refugees is a problem of the country as a whole. Now this particular problem which has arisen in Bangla Desh is of a serious nature which, I think, never occurred in any other part of the world. Even during Hitler's time when the Nazi Government was necking out the Jews from Germany this kind of genocide which we are seeing today in Bangla Desh, was not there. In this regard I would like to say that concrete steps must be taken by the Government immediately. If we feel that the suffering and the distress of the refugees and the people of Bangla Desh is genuine, then the people of India and the Government of India must be bold enough to take a definite step; expressing more words of sympathy will not help the suffering people. Much has been discussed by my colleagues. Apart from what my colleagues have said today, I would like to say one thing about the problem of rehabilitating the refugees in India. As rightly pointed out by one of my colleagues, I wonder whether the refugees can go to other places or other States of the country for their rehabilitation even if sufficient lands are made available to them. The previous experience is there with us. I also find a great difficulty in the method of rehabilitation. Unless we send them back to Bangla Desh by bringing peace in Bangla Desh immediately, the problem becomes impossible of solution. So, my suggestion to the Government of India is that we must take definite action in the matter; either we send back these refugees to Bangla Desh to be massacred by Yahya Khan or, if you want to save these people, we must fight with Yahya Khan. We must be bold enough. We must fight with Yahya Khan. If we go on begging for help from Russia, America and Britain, that won't help us. We must stand on our own legs. We must stand on our own legs.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, to save these >

refugees from Bangla Desh and to save Bangla Desh, there is only one way and that is to be prepared to face any consequence. We must fight the West Pakistan army people who are massacring all the people of Bangla Desh. This is my humble suggestion to the Government of India. We should not waste time and we should not depend on others. We must stand on our own legs. We must fight.

\*SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULY (West Bengal): Sir, I would like to speak in Bengali. If the Hon'able Minister wants to hear what I say, he may kindly put on the ear phone.

Sir, Bengal had to pay the price for India's freedom by allowing itself to be partitioned. After 1947 lakhs of refugees came to India. But they have not yet been properly rehabilitated. They are still facing hardship in life. Now a new situation has arisen in Bangla Desh and on account of that lakhs of refugees have again come to India for shelter. It cannot be denied that in the beginning the Government of India was willing to give permanent shelter to these refugees.

AN HON. MEMBER: There is no translation.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULY : Then I will speak in English.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : No, no, you speak in Bengali. Sir, he has given notice that he will be speaking in Bengali.

SECRETARY : Something is wrong with the machine. The Interpreter is there.

•SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULY: Sir, I do not want to make a comparison between East Bengal refugees and West Punjab refugees. But the refugees who came from the Punjab belonged to different commu-

"Original speech in Bengali.



nitie, and they did not come to India intermittently. Good sites were available for the rehabilitation of the Punjabi refugees because there was total transfer of population. But it was not so in the case of East Bengal refugees. Besides the amount of money sanctioned by the Central Government for the rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees was totally inadequate. Consequently a great financial burden was put upon the Government of West Bengal and on account of that the State of West Ben-g.il is still passing through economic crisis, which is responsible for many social problems there.

Sir thousands of refugees are again coming in West Bengal daily. Many of these refugees are living in Government-recognised camps. In such camps the refugees are facing shortage of food. The food-stuffs meant for the refugees fall actually in the hands of the blackmarketeers. Even proper shelter has not been provided to them.

Sir, Members have raised various points about the refugees from Bangla Desh. Even in newspapers we read some news items daily about the Bangla Desh refugees. So I am not going to repeat those points which have been made by the hon. Members. But this much I will say that the Government of India is not at all co-operating with those refugee camps which are run by the voluntary organisations. Refugees living in unrecognised camps have not been provided with ration cards. Besides they are not getting food and medical help. So the refugees in unrecognised camp-, are gradually moving towards their ruination. At the same time it should be borne in mind that the number of recognised camps is not adequate.

Sir, according to the Government of India all the refugees will go back to Bangla Desh when normal conditions

prevail there. We do not understand what does the Government of India mean by normal conditions? Does the Government of India want a political settlement between the people of Bangla Desh and the Yahaya Government to enable the refugees to go back to Bangla Desh? But Sir, the Government of Bangla Desh, headed by Shri Tajuddin Ahmed is determined not to have any political dialogue with Yahaya Khan Government unless complete independence is conceded to Bangla Desh. Perhaps this attitude of Shri Tajuddin Ahmed may not find favour with the Government of India. However the Government's policy on Bangla Desh issue should be conveyed to Shri Ahmed in clear terms. We are still unaware of the actual policy of the Government of India on Bangla Desh issue. It should be made clear whether the Government of India still believes in the oneness of Pakistan after what happened in Bangla Desh or they believe that Pakistan has been split into two. We shall be very much thankful to the Government for that clarification.

Sir, the Ministers of the Government of India have gone to various foreign countries and they are trying to create world public opinion in favour of Bangla Desh. But the Government of India does not care to see that the Public opinion in various States in India is indifferent to the problems we are facing in this country due to the emergence of Bangla Desh Government and influx of refugees. We are really sorry to find that the Government of India has not made special efforts to rouse public opinion at home in favour of Bangla Desh refugees.

The Resolutions which were passed by various state Legislatures requesting the Government of India to give material aid and recognition to the Bangla Desh Government were not given any importance. The government of India has already delay

[Shri Salil Kumar Ganguly.]

ed much over the question of recognition to Bangla Desh Government. It is in a predicament as to whether it should recognise the Bangla Desh Government and take up arms against Pakistan. But the government itself seems to be in doubt about the victory in war; so the risk of war should not be taken.

Sir, the refugees should not be treated as unwanted burden; they should rather be treated as our assets. Human beings are never considered as unwanted burden in a country which truly believes in socialism. A socialist country can absorb all people in its social structure.

I hope, Sir, the Government of India will calmly consider the refugee problem and thereafter it must come to some definite conclusion, i feel, only one way is open to the government. It must make sincere efforts in rehabilitating these refugees in India instead of sending them back to Bangla Desh. It is said that 53 crores people live in India and to this population has been added 55 lakh refugees. For every one hundred persons It is not impossible to maintain

the refugee; of course, if the government sincerely guides the people on socialist lines.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Chandra-sekharan.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, even in spite of emotions in the first instance, and in spite of subsequent events in Bangla Desh, the Government did not probably come to grips with the realities of the situation and did not take action that they ought to have taken in the wake of the Resolution that both the Houses of Parliament had passed unanimously. I think, Sir, that in the matter of handling the situation that arose out of the fighting in Bangla Desh, the External Affairs Ministry has bungled, and bungled as never before. The bungling, Sir, has caused the nation

the severest penalty possible that has; been imposed after Partition. After Partition, the accounts that the Ministry has given to us in its various reports show that from about 1947 to 1969 we had about 10 million refugees. Today, after a few weeks of the situation arising out of Bangla Desh, we are said to be having about 6 million refugees from Bangla Desh alone

The question, Sir, is: In what way are we going to treat them? Are we going to give them the status of displaced persons that we have been giving to these refugees up till now? If that is so then we have got to take action in that regard. We have got to bring them under the Rehabilitation Reclamation Organization and under the Rehabilitation Industries Corporation. But Government have not taken any action in that regard up till now. Press reports are to the effect that Government thinks in terms of return of these refugees to Bangla Desh. I would like to know from the Government as to whether we are going to return them with force, or return them to Bangla Desh or return them to East Pakistan under the Government of Pakistan.

These are questions which have got to be faced and answered.

Sir the question, therefore, that the nation is asking is : In what terms are we going to recognize Bangla Desh; or not ? If we are going to recognize Bangla Desh, certainly follow-up measures which have got to be actively taken have got to be positively taken and we have got to take the risk in taking, all these measures. There is no use of sending emissaries to the nations of the world to create a situation in which we can thrive. We have got to thrive on our own, and not depend on the sympathies and cheers and love and regard of others in the comity of nations. I do not for a moment say that a world approach, so far as this aspect of the question is.

concerned, is necessary and conditions » for that approach should be created actively and positively by India. That alone would not solve the problem. The problem has to be tackled in a more positive manner. And I am surprised to see Sir, that there is no positive element or content in the policy pursued by Government up till now.

The only thing therefore that I would request at this stage is a clarification so far as the policy of the Government in this regard is concerned. And unless that clarification comes, it will not be possible for us to deal with the refugees. I do hope, Sir, that that clarification will come,<sup>4</sup> at least at this belated stage.

\*SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKA-YASTHA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will speak in the language which is spoken by the people of Bengal and which is also my own mother tongue. Sir, you are well aware that during this year right from April last refugees have been coming into India. At first they came in hundreds. Lately hundreds of thousands of refugees have been trekking down from across the border from across<sup>^</sup> Bangla Desh, and the number of such refugees is now swelling into lakhs and it has touch-

ed the astounding figure of sixty lakhs. The arrangements for their shelter and food are most inadequate, are most inhuman as I have already said before. There, the arrangements for shelter and sanitation, I can say from my own personal experience, are not at all adequate. I know that it is not possible today to do the best for all of them but my grouse is that whatever is possible is not being done. I remember that in 1964, the cabinet appointed a full fledged Minister namely Shri Mahabir Tyagi, to look after the refugees then coming from

, across the Indian borders. And now when the figure of refugees has arisen to almost sixty lakhs we find that the

\* Original speech in Bengali.

Minister in charge of rehabilitation is touring a foreign country to attend the I.L.O. Conference. Now the entire responsibility for refugee rehabilitation is entrusted to some bureaucrats as a result of which these refugees who have come over to our country are not properly looked after. In Assam, in our Cachar district, the per capita expenditure on a refugee was only Rupees two and we now find that recently even that Rupee, two has been reduced to Re. 1.10 P by the government of India as a result of which this paltry sum is not even sufficient to meet the bare necessities of life even for two square meals a day, not to speak about the proper facilities for their medical care, for supply of medicines to combat illness and for other facilities like milk for the babies. When we have to shoulder the responsibility not only of their rehabilitation but also of providing them with shelter and frugal food and when we cannot give them even two meals a day, then we have no right to speak to the entire world and say to them that rehabilitation and proper care of these sixty lakhs refugees is their responsibility too. "We know that the refugees that are coming here today are not coming to stay here permanently. They have come here temporarily. As soon as they can make entire Bangla Desh independent, they would go back. When Banga Bandhu Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman, launched his non co-operation movement, we found that the entire Bangla Desh joined that movement, which has no parallel in the entire world. Even when Mahatma Gandhi launched the non co-operation movement against the Britishers, not more than 10 per cent of the Indian population responded to his call. But almost all the people in Bangla Desh from the Chief Justice of the High Court, down to the cook of the Governor responded to Banga Bandhu's call for non Co-operation.

As a result of that movement today the military Government of General Yahya Khan is coming down

[Shri Mahitosh Purakayastha.]

heavily upon the innocent people there and putting them to death.

Now, Sir, we have unanimously passed a Resolution on the 31st March, 1971 pledging our solidarity with the people of Bangla Desh and expressing our sympathies with them in their said plight and also supporting their independence struggle. It created hopes in the minds of those people that we would be by their side in their struggle. And today, Sir, even after these 2 1/2 months we find that the Government has not come out with any clear policy about Bangla Desh, for its recognition and otherwise in support of them. Our Ministers are touring various parts of the world and explaining to the Governments of these countries our policy towards the refugees and about their rehabilitation. But we ourselves in this country are in the dark about the policy of the Government in this regard.

We, in the Ruling Party, are also unaware of and not very clear about the policy of our Government. Being the Members of Parliament and being the Member of the Ruling Party, if even we do not know clearly the policy of the Government of India, how the emissaries who are sent out of the India will be able to explain clearly the policy of the Government. I, therefore, demand that the Government should come out with a clear cut policy so that the people all over the world may know about the policy of the Government of India towards this independent State of Bangla Desh. If India does not come out I openly even at this stage, our proclaimed policy and the declared policy in respect of Bangla Desh will prove to be false. This influx of refugees is creating consequential problems in India too. Parochial tensions are rising as a result of our efforts to rehabilitate these refugees. In Delhi, the All India Muslim Majlis Mushawrat passed a

resolution to which people have reacted very sharply and I wonder whether the Government is aware of it. We find that the communal tension is also rising. Some people have already started saying that 60 lakh evacuees have already come and 10 crores Muslims are already in India and that of no Hindu is allowed to stay there the Muslims will not be allowed to stay in this country. If we cannot stop these things India will have to face a great danger. Therefore, Sir, as our Hon'ble Prime Minister is present here, I shall appeal to her that she should clearly state as to what is her policy about Bangla Desh—whether they are going to recognise the Bangla Desh Government. According to recognition to the Bangla Desh, Government does not mean that it is; a declaration of war against Pakistan. I am afraid it is not like that. It only means that we are serving the cause of freedom fighters—those lakhs and lakhs of Bengalees who are ready to sacrifice and lay down their lives for their independence and sovereignty. They need moral support from us; they want arms and ammunition from us and that moral support they can get from India only. If they get help from India then they can achieve their independence and there is no power on the earth, including Yahya Khan, to deny them independence.

श्री बी० एन० मंडल (बिहार) : उप सभापति जी, अभी बंगला देश के बारे में जो कुछ कहा गया है वहाँ से जो लोग निकाले गए हैं, उन को जो तकलीफ है उस के बारे में कहा गया है। मैं उसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं सिर्फ एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारी सरकार है उस सरकार की जो पालिसी है वह पालिसी क्यों नहीं उन बंग की पालिसी हो रही है जिस बंग की पालिसी हिन्दुस्तान के स्वार्थ के लिये होनी चाहिए। मेरा कहना है कि ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि जिस तरह से कोई व्यक्ति अगर उस में जीवन

शक्ति की कमी रहती है जिस तरह से उस का रिपेक्शन होता है हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार की जीवन शक्ति ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है इतनी थोड़ी है जिस ढंग से इस को रिपेक्ट करना चाहिए। एक सिचुएशन में उस ढंग से रिपेक्ट नहीं कर रही है। इसी संसार में एक तरफ चीन है दूसरी तरफ पाकिस्तान है, तीसरी तरफ अमरीका है या रूस है या दूसरे देश हैं, वे सरकारें अगर कोई धक्का उन के स्वार्थ पर लगता है तो जिस ढंग से वे रिपेक्ट करती हैं उस ढंग से हमारी सरकार क्यों नहीं रिपेक्ट करती? हमारा देश पहले स्वतन्त्र हुआ, चीन में कम्युनिस्टों के हाथ में शक्ति बाद में आई, चीन पहले से लड़ता-भिड़ता भी था, फिर भी अब चीन में इतनी जीवन शक्ति है कि वह उबलता रहता है। हमारी हालत उस समय भी अच्छी थी, चीन के पहले यह देश स्वतन्त्र हुआ है लेकिन उस समय से अब तक जो इस सरकार ने कार्यवाही की है उस के कारण यह क्यों नहीं हुआ है कि हिन्दुस्तान की जीवन शक्ति भी उबल रही हो और जो कोई इस की ओर खराब निगाह डाले, इस से भिड़न्त करना चाहे क्यों नहीं भिड़ कर उस को मसल दे? ऐसा यह सरकार क्यों नहीं कर सकती है? इसलिए नहीं कर सकती क्योंकि इस में जीवन शक्ति की कमी है। क्यों कमी है, इस बात को आज मैं नहीं कहूंगा, पहले भी इस बात को मैं कह चुका हूँ इस का जिक्र मैं नहीं कहूंगा, लेकिन एक बात निश्चित रूप से कहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार में इतनी जीवन शक्ति नहीं है जितनी इस देश को देखते हुए, इस देश की जनसंख्या को देखते हुए होनी चाहिए और इसलिए उसे जैसे रिपेक्ट करना चाहिए स्ट्रॉगली वैसे रिपेक्ट नहीं कर पाया है। एक बात। क्या करना चाहिये इस के बारे में मैं आप से कह देना चाहता हूँ कि मेरी समझ में करना यह चाहिये कि जिस समय से पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान का जंग हुआ है उस समय से पूर्वी पाकिस्तान के जितने रिफ्यूजी हिन्दुस्तान में आये हैं, और अभी भी कहा जाता है कि करीब 55

लाख या उस से বেশी रिफ्यूजी पहुंच गये हैं बंगाल में, उन के बारे में जो करना है, उन को खानापीना देना, उन की दवा दारू करना, उनको बसाना या जो भी बगम हो वह काम तो होना ही चाहिये, लेकिन उस के अलावा और काम यह होना चाहिये कि पूर्वी पाकिस्तान में जितनी सम्पत्ति है, जितनी जमीन है, वहां जितने लोग हैं, और उन के हिसाब से प्रति व्यक्ति जितनी सम्पत्ति पड़ती है उस के अनुसार शुरू से आज तक जितने लोग हिन्दुस्तान में आ चुके हैं उतने लोगों के हिस्से में जितनी सम्पत्ति या जमीन पाकिस्तान की पड़े उतनी सम्पत्ति की मांग हम को याह्या खां से करनी चाहिये। अगर याह्या खां उतनी सम्पत्ति और जमीन देने के लिये तैयार नहीं होता है तो हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को लड़ने के लिये तैयार होना चाहिये। लेकिन पहले खुद नहीं लड़ना चाहिये और अगर हो सके तो यहां भी खुद से नहीं लड़ना चाहिये। वास्तव में जो लोग पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से आये हैं उनको ट्रेनिंग दे कर और उन को आर्म्स दे कर उनको खुल्लमखुल्ला लड़ाना चाहिये। अगर उन को आदमी की कमी पड़े तो हिन्दुस्तान से वालंटियर के रूप में हिन्दुस्तान की जनता सहायता के लिये जाये। जिस तरह से स्पेन में वालंटियर दूसरी जगहों से जाते थे उसी तरह से बंगला देश में दूसरी जगहों से वालंटियर्स जाने चाहिये। बंगला देश की जो सरकार बनी है उस बंगला देश की सरकार को मान्यता दे कर उस के जरिये हम को लड़ना चाहिये। इस के साथ साथ जो लोग हिन्दुस्तान आये हुए हैं अगर उनसे भी काम नहीं चले तो हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे लोग वालंटियर हो कर उन की सहायता में जायें और याह्या खां से लड़ें। उससे लड़ कर जो जमीन हम अपने दखल में कर पायें वह जमीन बंगाल के लोगों को मिलनी चाहिये। यह मैं इस वजह से कहता हूँ कि स्ट्रॉगल फार एग्जिस्टेंस संसार में चलता रहता है, पुराने जमाने में स्ट्रॉगल फार एग्जिस्टेंस बहुत ही क्रूर तरीके से लड़ा जाता था। जैसे सभ्यता में वृद्धि हुई, उस संघर्ष की क्रूरता कम हो गई,

[श्री बी० एन० मंडल]

लेकिन फिर बीच-बीच में ऐसी शक्तियां पैदा होती रहीं जो स्ट्रगिल फार एग्जिस्टेंस को ऐसी धारा में ले जाती रही जिसमें लड़ाइयां हुई और लोगों को मारा गया। हिटलर ने भी वही किया था। आज याह्या खां भी पूर्वी बंगाल में वही काम कर रहा है। तो जब इस तरह की हालत हो और मानवता का इतना संहार होने लगे उस समय किसी भी देश के आदमी को या किसी भी देश का यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि ऐसे नर-संहार को रोकने के लिये वह रिस्क ले कर लड़ने के लिये तैयार हो जाय और इस सरकार को यह करना चाहिये। इसके अलावा एक दूसरा कारण भी है। आज पूर्वी पाकिस्तान के आदमी कौन हैं वे वही हैं कि जिनके साथ हम पहले रह चुके हैं। स्वाधीनता प्राप्ति के पहले वह और हम दोनों साथ मिल कर रहते थे और सारे सुख दुख एक साथ भोगते थे। किसी कारण से वह हम से अलग हो गये। जिस कारण से वह अलग हुए आज वह उस बात को समझने लगे हैं कि हम एक गलत कारण से अलग हुए और उस के बाद उन्होंने जो भी किया है उस में जिस मदद की उनको जरूरत है वह मदद हम को उन लोगों को देनी चाहिए क्योंकि वह हमारे पुराने भाई है। दूसरी बात सिद्धान्त की है। जिस मजहब के सिद्धान्त पर वे अलग हुए थे, उसको उन्होंने नकारा है आज के संसार के लिये भी जरूरी है कि आज संसार में जो पुरानी बातें चली आती हैं धर्म के नाम पर या दूसरी चीजों के नाम पर जिस से लोगों का विभाजन होता है, उस को समाप्त करने के लिये जब भी कोई कार्यावृत्ति कोई आदमी या गिरोह करता है तो बुद्धि रखने वाले जो व्यक्ति हैं या जो गिरोह हैं उन को चाहिये कि वे उस की मदद करें इसलिए मैं चहता हूं कि बंगला देश में जो कुछ हुआ है उस के प्रति भारत सरकार की प्रतिक्रिया सक्रिय रूप में होनी चाहिये और जो लोग यहां आये हैं, और वहां जिन लोगों ने अपनी एक सरकार भी बना ली है, उन को भारत सरकार को सहायता देनी चाहिए

जिससे वे अस्त्र शस्त्र खरीद सकें और अपने लोगों को ट्रेनिंग दे सकें और वहां लड़ाई लड़ सकें। उन को जब आर्मी और धन की कमी होने लगे तो हिन्दुस्तान की ओर से उनको धन की मदद मिलनी चाहिए। यही मुझे कहना है।

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Bangla Desh is a story of tears and blood. It was in embryo in 1947 and it has hatched out in the year 1971. We are witnessing an era of patriotism, heroism, sacrifice and human determination. We are seeing in our own days the Bengali Brothers' contribution, aspirations and their exploitation. They refuse to be under a colonial regime as second-class citizens and have risen against the exploitation. Therefore Pakistan entered into a desperate attempt to crush these freedom-loving people. All barbaric, inhuman atrocious and blind military activities, the attempt of genocide by Yahya Khan and Bhutto have been unleashed on the innocent, helpless and unarmed people of Bangla Desh. Mujib-ur-Rahman took the lead in East Pakistan and he founded Bangla Desh by which he has become a legend to the whole world.

Now, Sir, in the story of this freedom struggle a wrong has been committed. We have to find out where, when and how it has been committed and by whom, why that is continuing and how it can be rectified. You know, Sir, the proverb, wrong be getting wrong, and so we must rectify the mistake now.

Bangla Desh now becomes *Pangali Desh*. The brothers in the joint Hindu family are *pangalis* and *pangu* means share. So the Bengali brethren are our pangalis and they are entitled to a share in our belongings, in our country.

We have been hesitating to recognise Bangla Desh but now we are forced to recognise the problem of refugees from East Pakistan. Every day

they are crossing the border in lakhs > and lakhs and we have to rehabilitate them by spending crores of rupees every day. Sir, w<sup>(1)</sup> are informed that our Government is spending more than one crore of rupees daily on these refugees in different camps. Of the 54.7 lakh refugees who have crossed over to our country 34 lakhs are in various camps in West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura. For every 10 lakhs of refugees the Government is spending Rs. 30 lakhs a day.

Sir, the people of Bangla Desh are -• unfortunate, -fist. la"khs and lalihs of people died due to an unprecedented natural disaster, that is, the cyclone and now by political whirlwind they have become homeless, Stateless and helpless.

Sir, the problem of refugees is not only national but also an international one. The Government thinks that they will be going back to their homeland after a settlement but there is no possibility of their returning if they are sent to different States and different places in the country. Therefore this Government is reluctant to distribute the refugees to the remote southern States. It is false to state that the Governments of Tamil Nadu and Kerala refused to take these refugees. I am mainly participating in this discussion only to refute this false allegation against the State Govern' ment of Tamil Nadu. It is reliably learnt that this Government never approached these States for this purpose. Further, Sir, for the information of this House I would like to say that our Chief Minister, the hon. Mr. Karunanidhi, has sent Rs. 25,000 as a first instalment of his donation from the State to show his sympathy. (Interruptions')

Forgetting the context his utterance regarding the role of Mujib-ur-Rahman was misinterpreted in the beginning also. Further I would like <o sav that my party also has sen+ immediate<sup>1</sup>} Rs. 5000 for rehabilita-

tion purposes as a token donation. We have got further the problem of refugees from Burma and Ceylon-Therefore, as Mr. Gurupadaswamy correctly stated, we are having Ministers of Rehabilitation both at the Centre and in the States permanently.

America and Britain offered a meagre sum for the refugees, but they are the worst sinners. They encourage Pakistan by their arms deal. Our Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, appealed to the countries of the world, but no substantial response from any of the countries has been received. The Guardian in its editorial called the UNO to settle this issue of Bangla Desh politically, but the UNO, which represents all the countries, has not done anything in this connection. It is regrettable. I would like to suggest a solution to the problem of refugees from Bangla Desh. This problem is not ours only, though our responsibility is greater since we are the neighbouring and more intimately linked nation. This is a problem of the whole world. The big powers must come forward and settle the struggle of Bangla Desh and solve the problem of refugees amicably. Immediately our duty is to brine the magnitude of the problem and the atrocities committed in Bangla Desh by Pakistan to the attention of all the countries in the world. Our propaganda machine in other countries should be switched on.

We discussed, discussed and discussed endlessly about the recognition of Bangla Desh and we have become disgusted. Now, we have to recognise the problem of refugees from East Pakistan as our own. Therefore, I would request that the Government should act promptly at least, in the second part of the freedom struggle quickly and wisely to arrive at a political solution for this problem. Thank you.

SHBI BAHARUL ISLAM (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today India is facing a great problem. Although there is no declared war, Pakistan has

[Shri Baharul Islam.]

thrust on us a war. Yahya Khan is spending a crore of rupees per day on the war and we have to spend more than that per day on the relief of refugees. This problem we have to deal with in sympathy and humanity. I admire the Government that our Government is dealing with the problem with sympathy and humanity, with as much ability as possible. In similar circumstances, perhaps any other country would have immediately declared war on Pakistan and would have made armed intervention, but I think it has been wise on the part of our Government not to have done that. War is a terrible thing and particularly if there is a war, China will not sit idle. They are always having an eye on the entire eastern region, on the region east of Bengal. Now, Sir, along with this uprooted humanity numbering about sixty lakhs there is a small number of saboteurs, agents-provocateur, foreign agents and spies from Pakistan and China. I am sure the Government of India have taken or are taking sufficient care to keep a watch over these elements. Recently in Assam as many as a hundred spies were apprehended, arrested and sent to jail. Now, Sir, so far as these sixty lakh genuine refugees are concerned, what is their future? They have been uprooted and they have escaped death in their own country. They have come here only for their life. The future is very bleak. Are they going back or can they go back to their own country? Naturally in the present situation they cannot, because going back to their own country would mean meeting death again, for which nobody will be ready. Therefore, I will humbly suggest that the Government of India should try to prevail upon the UNO to do one of these three things. We should give an ultimatum to the UNO. They should prevail upon Yahya Khan to bring normalcy in as short a time as possible and bring normalcy in as short a time as possible and bring back these refugees to his own country. If this is not possible, or till it is possible, to carve out

an area of two or three districts of East Bengal to accommodate these refugees under the supervision of a UN authority. If this is not done within the time given by the Government of India, then there will be no other alternative for the Government of India than to recognise the Government of Bangla Desh, because we cannot go on with these huge millions of refugees imperilling our own economy and administration. The only alternative will be, if we cannot prevail upon the UNO, to recognise Bangla Desh and help the Government of Bangla Desh so that they can recover the lost area of East Bengal and take back their own refugees and rehabilitate them.

One criticism was advanced and it was said that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was responsible for all these troubles in East Bengal. This is no time to say who is responsible for these troubles, but in order to remove some of the misapprehensions I may respectfully submit that if there be anybody who has been responsible for all these troubles in Bangla Desh, it was Yahya Khan himself. Sir, possibly in the history of mankind there has been no ruler at all who has killed as many people as Yahya Khan has done, and so many of his own people, not enemies; unarmed, innocent people he has killed and so many people he has uprooted. Was it not Yahya Khan himself who declared "I am going to transfer power to civilian hands"? Was it not Yahya Khan who fixed the election and said "After the election I am going to hand over power"? In that election Mujibur Rahman and his party captured as many as 167 out of 169 seats and the two independent candidates who went to Mujibur Rahman and said "We are also following you". Therefore, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was the undisputed leader of the entire East Bengal, and after the elections this Yahya Khan came to East Bengal and declared that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was their next Prime Minister of Pakistan. After all this a date was fixed for the meeting of the National Assembly-



took place. Can it be said with any sense that Mujibur Rahman was responsible? He was responsible because he led the entire population of East Bengal. Therefore, if anybody had any respect for democracy, Mujibur Rahman should have been made the Prime Minister of the country. If there was any betrayal in this matter, the betrayal was by Yahya Khan. If anybody has disintegrated Pakistan, if anybody has killed Pakistan, certainly it was Yahya Khan who killed Pakistan. I have many grave doubts whether Pakistan can again be revived and re-integrated. I have my doubts about that. Anyway time alone will show that. But in India we have to see to our own future. Therefore, without any peril to our administration and economy we must find a way out. With these words I conclude.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is not the last time that we shall have debated this particular issue in this House because I am more than certain that when the Foreign Minister returns from his odyssey the House will discuss this problem once more. In spite of all the emotion, sympathy, solidarity and anger that were expressed here I cannot but feel that we are settling down into a rut. All of us agree that a great tragedy is taking place in Bangladesh. All of us are agreed that justice was on the side of Mujibur Rahman. All of us are agreed that what Yahya Khan is doing is nothing less than genocide. All of us are agreed that it is a staggering burden that India has to carry, and it will not be possible for India to sustain this burden for long. All of us are agreed, again, that the refugees must move back. Sir, almost all of us are unanimous in holding that the refugees will not go back unless conditions are created which are favourable to them, that is, unless the forces of Yahya Khan go back and the forces that have been supporting Mujibur Rahman become victorious or are in a position to assert their authority. So far as the international community is concerned,

there also the contours of their policy are fairly obvious. A country like China has not only supported Yahya Khan but they have threatened that if India were to intervene, they will also come down heavily on India. Russia gave a very stiff note through Mr Podgorny. But afterwards it seems that when Mr. Kosygin wrote the second letter, he had also second thoughts. And so far as France, England and America are concerned, they have decided to help Pakistan, they have decided not to stop their aid to Pakistan. So far as the majority of the Muslim countries is concerned, they have chosen to remain silent. Therefore, India is left alone. And it is between India and Pakistan that the problem has to be solved. This is the sum and substance of all that has happened since 25th March.

Sir, I was greatly heartened as all the Members here must have felt heartened when unanimously we passed a Resolution expressing our sympathy, not only expressing our sympathy but also declaring our solidarity and expressing the hope that the objective for which Mujibur Rahman and his followers were struggling would be crowned with success. To me, Sir, it appears that that was a commitment on our part. Here therefore the question is whether we want to stand by that commitment or whether that commitment is gradually getting eroded. My fear is that the erosion has started. When last time we debated this issue I raised the particular question as to what was meant when the Prime Minister uttered these words "political solution". If political solution means that Yahya Khan's authority will prevail in Bangladesh, then we may as well admit that there is no future for these 55 million refugees. They will be with us. And I suppose that it will be better and more prudent on our part to begin to think in terms of settling them here. So far as I am concerned, I feel that no Government can cope with this problem. I am not in a position to accuse my friend, Mr.

[Shri N. G. Goray.]

Khadiikar, who happens to be the Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation *just* now, or even the Government as a whole and say that they are not taking sufficient care of the refugees. Sir, I can very well imagine myself in tilth- place. How is it possible to cope with 50 lakhs of refugees? Is it possible? It is such a tremendous problem that even if we were to spend all our resources, it will not be possible for us to do it. Therefore the only alternative is to see that the refugees go back and they go back as early as possible. How do they go back? Therefore, the answer to that question is that we make it possible for them to go back and if 'by making possible' means declaring war, going to a war, intervening by force, whatever it may be, we will have to take that risk. Otherwise, on both sides there is a crisis.

Sir, President Yahya Khan is not a mad man though it appeared to be like that when he tried to crush Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. But there is a method in his madness. There are two or three objectives. One is to liquidate the entire political leadership of Bangla Desh. The other is to liquidate the intelligentsia. The third is to liquidate the Hindus, and the fourth is to liquidate the economy of India. India is going to be economically crippled. I have no doubt about that. Though the Finance Minister has provided Rs. 60 crores, it is chickens' feed when we look at the problem. Therefore, I feel that it is not for the Labour Minister at all to reply to this debate. It is for the Prime Minister. She has been there twice or thrice.

SHRI THILLAI VILLALAN: That is why she has come.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: I am happy she has come. It is for her to tell us and to the whole country how we intended to solve this particular problem. So far as I am concerned, I am one with all these hon'ble Members

on this side of the House as well as on the other side of the House who have suggested that nothing short of J intervention by force, if necessary, is going to solve this problem. There is no use trying to avoid these issues. The issue is either we try to absorb the refugees, which is impossible, or we try to wage a war which is the only course left open so far as I can see.

SHRI M. M. SUR (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Members have spoken before me about the extent of trouble that we have about the refugees coming; from Bangla Desh and their sufferings, and what is in store for us in future. With the food shortage facing Bangla Desh the problem may become manifold. It appears that about 10 per cent, of the population of Bangla Desh are already in this country. There may be another 10 per cent, on the way, and another 5 per cent, might have been killed. Therefore, 25 per cent, of the population of Bangla Desh has already been uprooted because of this trouble created after the election of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. We have to find out our duties; what should we do now? It is no use crying over spilt milk. What has been done is done. But what are we to do next? We are trying to find out a place for them in the different States. So far we have none who has refused. But the population in every State has increased and also landless labour. If we just thrust upon them a big number what are they going to do. Now you propose to put 50,000 of them in one place.

Even in a prosperous sub-divisional town the population is hardly 30,000 or 40,000. Only a few years ago many district towns even did not have a population of 50,000. And what that population constitutes in a sub-divisional town? There is Civil Court, Sub-Judges, Munsifs and pleaders. There are Magistrates' courts. There is the S.D.O. and Deputy Magistrates. There is all this paraphernalia. We are putting 50,000 people of Bangla Desh at one place without any hope

of their rehabilitation. What are they going to do? Think of a sub-divisional town which comprises of 10 sq. miles. It has all kinds of population-rickshawallahs, barbers, washermen, teachers and so on. Therefore, if we have to rehabilitate 50,000 in one place, we have to think of an entire \_ population of a sub-divisional town. But it appears at present that we have to stop further influx of refugees by propaganda or by other means. We have to tell them by radio that those people who have come are not being properly rehabilitated and if more people come, it will just be a mass graveyard. The border of West Bengal has to be safeguarded. Even small places, small villages are overcrowded and soon Calcutta will become overcrowded. So, if we do not take steps to prevent further influx of refugees from Bangla Desh and make some arrangements for those who have already come from Bangla Desh, the entire area will be just a great graveyard. Therefore, we have to consider what we have to do. We have made a mistake. We should have taken other steps. But the question now is what we should do next. We have to take firm steps so that the catastrophe may be minimised. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND REHABILITATION (SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I fully share the deep concern expressed by almost all the hon. Members who have participated in this debate on the current situation arising out of the liberation struggle in Bangla Desh as well as the influx of refugees. But I was a little surprised and puzzled that among quite a few of them who are in public life and who are watching current events here as well as abroad, there is a certain amount of pessimism about the strategy that is being pursued by the Government of India while dealing with this problem. Only a few days back I happened to be in an ILO meeting where a number of

Ministers and Secretaries of several governments were present.

I MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

And I had an occasion to discuss this problem with them, not directly on a political level, but I would say on a semi-political level. I must say that one and all, of course, with a few exceptions^ highly appreciated the restraint that the Government of India exercised while dealing with the situation. Not only that, many of them have confessed to me that in a situation like this, when the influx of refugees is daily growing and going up to five million or up to six million—and perhaps, it might go, according to Western press, up to eight million even...

SHRI PITAMBER DAS: Is the hon. Minister intervening or is replying to the debate?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: I am intervening. The Prime Minister will reply.

So, the Western press has now correctly started saying....

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Are you dependent on the Western press even with regard to numbers?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: .. that these are not simply refugees, and all the leading papers are calling them 'war refugees'. It is a good nomenclature, a good description of the present situation given by the Western press.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: It is not a question of what the press calls them. It is a question of the Government's attitude.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: Have a little patience. You are impatient with the situation and impatient with the reply also.

[Shri R. K. Knadilkar.]

So, as I said, I had an occasion to discuss this matter with many of them who hold responsible positions, but not directly concerned with the shaping of the external policies of these governments. They also recognised, which we should also recognise, that after the Second World War—because we discussed this matter in depth—a certain *status quo*. . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Where did you discuss?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: Mr. Arora, have some patience.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Give us full information.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: They recognised that after the Second World War though here might have been some skirmishes or some eruptions, broadly a certain *status quo* in international relationship has been established. And in exceptional cases when there are situations like the one in Bangla Desh where liberation struggle.. .

5 P.M.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Wonderful theory. Sir, may I inform him that after the Second World War there has been a day free from that something which he calls skirmishes? Wars have been going on. The Vietnam war is on.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: Am I not conscious of the Vietnam war? The honourable Member need not remind me of the Vietnam war or what happened in Suez Canal. In such a situation whenever I discussed this part of it, I have come to the conclusion that a certain fatalism, a certain pessimism, is expressed about the course of action that we are following which unfortunately I do not share. Why do I not share it? It is because if, as Mr. Krishan Kant put it, as if it were the "hour of truth", then we should have told the world

I before we act. We had acted at a particular moment, the world capitals were not aware of the situation prevailing here. That is number one.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: He was completely fooled if the world capitals were not aware.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: And now when we put forward a plea that a situation should be created on the other side of the border so that the refugees could return, they very well appreciate and everybody feels concerned. But, as I said earlier, that concern has some diplomatic limitations. Therefore, I must make one thing clear. I do not share the pessimism expressed here. This is a particular strategy that has been adopted and my personal feeling is after this discussion it is going to bear fruit. I am quite optimistic about the outcome. So far as refugee problem is concerned, there is another practical aspect. Many Members have quoted certain figures. Some Members said that certain States are not prepared to take the refugees. Some Members said that this is not being considered as a sort of national problem by all the States. But so far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, we had never made a request that they should take some refugees.. .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Why? Are they any independent States? It is the duty of the Government of India to send the refugees wherever they want to. At the Durrut Duff airport the refugees could not leave because the States refused to take them.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: In Bihar and Orissa we are now setting up camps. I will give you figures about camps. The idea was we should not give an impression to the refugees who have come to India—that we are making a sort of permanent arrangements for their settlement in India. Therefore, the Home Ministry is not only screening them, but under the

Foreigners Act all steps are taken, and they are also registered; to this extent we have taken precautions. Now, some Members said something about Dum Dum. I know about the

Dum Dum position. I would like to give some of the figures as to what is being done about camps, of course, with the aid that some friendly countries have given us. Even then it will take some time to shift the refugees particularly from West Bengal and Tripura..

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I want to know from the Minister how much help we have so far received. Can he give the figures?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: If you want, I will give the figures just now. So far as help is concerned, the total amount of foreign assistance actually received or offered so far amounts to Rs. 30 crores of which cash contribution accounts for only Rs. 1 crore. The other is material help.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Please give the aid actually received and not promises of aid.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: If the hon. Member wants these figures, I am prepared to submit them to the House! I said it is about Rs. 30 crores.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He wants the information on aid actually received so far; and not what is likely to be received.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: Some are promises, it is true. But major things have reached and others are reaching. Some medical aid and supplies from World Health Organisation and World Red Cross are to be lifted from Geneva. Arrangements are being made in a phased manner to lift them. They are in our possession. They are actually handed over to us and we are making arrangements to lift them. Therefore, promises in hand are round about Rs. 30 crores worth and one crore

has come in cash. I would in this connection mention that so far as supplies of the nature of medicines, baby foods, special type of food for women, children, pregnant women and old women and other things are concerned, we have received enough. We have contacted international agencies and I have discussed this problem with them. We are really in need of shelter material. We are emphasizing this aspect because so far as Cholera is concerned, it has been brought under control and we have enough material and local doctors to handle these cases. Therefore, no more doctors are necessary. What we need now is certain supplies of roofing materials as well as other promised things. When I attended the meeting of the Food and Agriculture Organisation, I was promised certain things and they have already sanctioned three millions. Another three millions are being sanctioned and it might reach upto ten millions.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Millions of what?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: We will get food or whatever we need out of that.

AN. HON. MEMBER: Out of what?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: Three million dollars. Whatever we need will be supplied to us. Another three million is being sanctioned. It might reach 10 million ultimately. So, that is also being done. My hon. friend raised that issue. Medical supplies, baby food, etc. we have got enough stock. What we need is shelter material and some transport also. That is coming forward.

SHRI MAHITOSH PURAKAYASTHA: Will the hon. Minister give some information about the relief materials lying at Dum Dum airport?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: This is not correct. We contacted our office in Calcutta through TELEX and our Additional Secretary Shri Luthra has

[Shri R. K. Khadilkar.] given this information. Excepting one consignment that came last night, everything has been removed. Even this was to be removed, but intimation was not received in time. This propaganda is not correct. I am in constant touch with the Dum Dum airport through our office in Calcutta.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Is he in touch with his office here? That is the problem.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is in touch with all offices in the country.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Sir, the news is that some vaccine received from abroad was left exposed to the sun at Palam airport for more than 24 hours. That is the news which has appeared in Delhi papers and it has not yet been contradicted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let there not be any interruption.

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: If such a thing has happened, the hon. Member should bring it to my notice. To my knowledge, it has not happened.

So far as dispersal of refugees is concerned, we wanted to settle them as far as possible in near about camps. There is great pressure particularly in Tripura area. Just now the Tripura population is 14 lakhs and there are 9 lakhs of refugees there. Similarly in West Bengal there is a great pressure. So, what we have decided, I will tell you now. Some figures were quoted and I will give you the figure of the 12th June. That is the latest figure that I have got. Some people said, some hon. Members made a statement, that the influx is rising. That is not correct, because something has appeared in the papers that the influx is growing. The latest figure, that is, of the 12th of this month is: 57, 67, 172 and out of that I must mention in Bengal camps and outside together: 43,65,418 and in Tripura: 9,55,264. These are the figures that I have got, as we

have collected and we get information daily and after collecting from all the centres, we get this information.

Regarding dispersal, I would like to give some information, because some questions were raised as to what is being done. In this regard, we have decided to shift about 8 lakh refugees from the border States to 16 Central Camps—that is our decision—and in the neighbouring States of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa. These camps will be managed Centrally and there will be ex-Army Officers to control them so that the entire atmosphere will be kept under check and there won't be any burden on the States.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: The social workers of West Bengal are there to look after them.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Can you please indicate the time by which this dispersal will take place?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: As I said earlier, shifting has started. You can imagine how it works. For instance, we have made arrangements for taking 600 by two Russian planes and 4,000 by special trains every day.

AN HON. MEMBER: By what?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: By special train. It is a problem of distance. How can we cope with it? But we are making arrangements like this every day. They are being shifted. Then, by the other plan? about 300 refugees from Tripura will be taken to Assam every day, in four American planes, to be housed in temporary camps. These arrangements are being made. So, as I said earlier, when we look at the meagre figure of nearly six million's, even if we decide to shift, as we have decided, to camps outside Bengal and inside Bengal as well as Assam and Tripura and Assam-Meghalaya border to relieve the pressure that is rather

unbearable for the Tripura area, it will take some time. Therefore, as I said, everything is being done to shift them and make all arrangements for their general comfortable life within limitations.

So far as the food problem is concerned, we have one depot at Gauhati. Now, some shortages were felt in Tripura. Because of these planes, now the supply position in Tripura has considerably improved and eased and I am very glad to say this. About the other matters that may arise from the political angle, if at all any other information is called for I am prepared to give.

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**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) :**  
यह जो यू० एन० ओ० के रेप्रेजेन्टेटिव रखे  
हैं सफरद्दीन आगा, उन के बारे में भी बता  
दीजिये ।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : पालिसी मेंटर**  
तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर बताएं तो ज्यादा अच्छा  
हो ।

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: Now, with this matter I will briefly deal. He met me yesterday. He met me in Geneva and his efforts are, as I could understand it—and he is likely to meet me again tomorrow—to create ... conditions for the return of the refugees. He gave me some information, because he was in East Bengal also, that is, Bangla Desh, about the state of reception centres and other things and to my mind, it appears that he is making a sincere effort to see that conditions improve so that the refugees would return and return with a sense of confidence and assurance of safety. How far he will succeed, I cannot say, because his Assistant is here and both of them met me here and in Geneva also and they are in constant touch with me. The United Nations Refugee Organization, with the Central Office in Geneva—there are other offices also with whom I had a daily contact while I was there

—promised to do everything possible. But in the end they also mentioned to me—I must confess—that in view of the immensity of the problem unless some solution is found, merely from humanitarian consideration whatever help they give would not be enough.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: This U. N. High Commissioner generally appears to have succeeded with Mr. Khadilkar. But will he please tell us whether the U.N. team which visited this country earlier, has submitted its report to the U.N., and Whether a copy of that report has been made available to the Government of India?

SHRI R. K. KHADILKAR: It was made available. That report was very brief because it was a preliminary report. They explained to me that in this situation they could not cover the entire ground because it needs further study.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI-MATI INDIRA GANDHI): I am glad that my colleague, Shri Khadilkar, has been able to satisfy the hon. Shri Arjun Arora.

Sir, I had not expected to intervene in this discussion because we have made our policy very clear. I was rather astonished to hear from one of the Members that our policy is not clear. I think our policy is quite clear. I am astonished at the lack of confidence in our people of our country, which our Members are constantly displaying. Are we citizens of a great country? Are we citizens who have confidence in ourselves or not? Listening to this debate it seems to me that this is a far more important question than the question of what is happening to the refugees from Bangla Desh. Because if we have no confidence in ourselves, it doesn't matter what we say, we will not be able to implement it.

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi.]

I speak here with a tremendous confidence in my people and in my Government. I have no doubt at all that we can face the problem which has come upon us. What does this mean? Does it mean that no refugee will suffer? It cannot possibly mean that. When any country has to face a large influx—not an influx over a long period, but a sudden influx within a few weeks, of nearly six million people—it is not a joke; it is not a small thing. I would like to know from hon. Members; Do they know any country in the world which has faced even one-tenth of this situation before? It is very easy to sit in this House and just criticize and criticize instead of trying to assess the realities of the situation. If even ten thousand refugees arrive in any European country, the whole Continent of Europe will be afire, all the newspapers, the Governments and everybody will be aroused. We are trying to deal with nearly 6 million human beings who have fled from a region of terror, who have come wounded, with disease, with illness, hunger and exhaustion. And they have come to our country, which is one of the poorest in the world. We certainly have the fullest sympathy with these war evacuees or refugees, or whatever you would like to call them.

We are going to do our very best to look after them. Even if we have to sacrifice, even if we have to go hungry, I hope the hon. Members will be the first to initiate a movement of missing a meal. But at the same time we have to see that our own poor people do not suffer, do not die. We have a double responsibility: a responsibility to our people and a responsibility to our friends from across the border.

One hon. Member spoke of our taking a begging bowl to other countries. Sir, I am not in the habit of begging. I have never begged. I am not begging now. And I have no intention of begging. If our emissaries go from

this country to other countries, they are not speaking with a voice of weakness; they are not begging. We are sending them because this is an international responsibility. And we are not going to let the international community get away with it. They cannot avoid their responsibility. They may give help, or they may not give help. But they will certainly suffer from the consequences of whatever happens in this part of the world. We must put this problem to them in its proper perspective. We certainly want help, and the more help we get, the better we shall be able to look after the refugees. But so far this help has been pitiable in proportion to what is needed. It is about one-tenth of what is actually needed so far as we have been able to assess. I hope that this help will increase. This is very important from the point of view of saving lives, of giving better nourishment to children and of giving better treatment to those who are suffering from cholera and other diseases. But the point is not the quantity of help. Our appeal is even more important from the point of view of putting this problem in perspective. What are we concerned about? We are concerned about the lives and the comforts of the refugees, but we are even more concerned about the problem of democracy, the problem of Human Rights, the problem of human dignity, which have now been brought into focus before us and the whole world in such a poignant and heartrending manner. And if our representatives have gone, whether they are Members of the Council of Ministers, whether they are non-official people or other people, it is with this end in view, namely that all the countries should be told about the reality of the situation, I think that our efforts have succeeded in this in some measure. Today the world press is reacting more sharply and is devoting greater space to this question. I think that we have had something to do with this change of attitude. So, we should not sneeze at all the efforts that are being made. As I said on a previous occasion I can



understand the emotionalism and the sense of sorrow and of helplessness which hon. Members and many peo-

' pie outside feel. It is understandable and I sympathise with it. But it should lead us to something more. It should not lead us to a dead end, to a feeling that nothing is being done, that nothing can be done and that we are going to be engulfed. We are bearing a tremendous burden and as I said—I do not know whether the word is parliamentary or not; if it is not please strike it out, Sir—as I said in my meetings with the people even in the camps where I had gone, we will have to go through hell to meet this situation. But I have no doubt that we can emerge, and we will. It will hurt us in many ways, economically and in other ways, but we will get through if we have the courage, the determination and the endurance. I personally believe that our people do have these qualities and therefore we will be able to handle this situation. But it cannot be done no cheaply either as regards the financial effort or the physical effort. The effect may hurt all sections of the people, all along the line. It may even effect some of our essential programmes. But this is something which we cannot avoid because, as I have said on an earlier occasion, what happens in Bangla Desh will have an impact on India. We are concerned with the general principle of democracy but we are more concerned here because Bangla Desh is so close to our border that its impact will be very much greater than if such a thing had happened in a distant place.

My colleague just now mentioned about the much publicised reception centres opened by the West Pakistan Government in Bangla Desh. I do not know what these reception centres are going to do. So far nobody has returned from any of our refugee camps except a small number—about two thousand—who are reported to have gone back from a part of northern India for various reasons which had nothing to do with the

opening of the reception centres in East Bengal.

So far as I remember, it was Shri Goray, or may be one of the other hon. Members—who asked something about what we meant by political settlement. I think he will excuse me; he has put rather an extraordinary interpretation on that word. Does he for a moment believe that we would accept a political settlement which means the death of Bangla Dash, which means the ending of democracy or of those who are fighting for their rights? India could never accept such a state of affairs. When we talked of political settlement, we meant that a political settlement must be arrived at with those people who are today being suppressed. I am not expressing a view whether such a settlement is possible or not, but clarifying what we have said at an earlier stage. If international pressure through whatever means available to the big powers and to other countries were exerted, I think that a political settlement would have been possible at an earlier stage. Now, of course, with each passing day this possibility becomes more remote.

We are looking after the refugees on a temporary basis. We have no intention of allowing them to settle here nor can we allow them to go back merely to be butchered.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: May I know what is the implication of that statement?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: One hon. Member said something about China having become free after us. I have not quite understood what this means. So far as I know, China has not been under foreign rule in the way that we have been. It has always been a free country. It is true that earlier on it did not have a communist government, and now U has one. But it was a free country all along.

There is some confusion in the minds of hon. Members whether refugees are being removed or whether they are to be kept where they are

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

It is not easy to be clear on this matter because of the magnitude of the problem. Even if we want to remove the refugees, it is physically not possible to do so. Each train carries about 1,200; or it may be a little more. But with the best will in the world we can only move a small portion of them. We are trying to move them specially to land which belongs to the Central Government in different States but it is not an easy matter to do and however we may try to move them there still will be a tremendous burden on the States where they are today. And specially as you must have heard from Shri Khadilkar.....

SHRI KALYAN ROY: You are depending only on railways. Fleets of trucks may be used to shift them to other places.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: We have used trucks; we are using planes; we are using railway trains; we are using goods trains. But with all that—they are six million people—you cannot remove them easily or quickly.

In this country we have a shortage of practically everything which they need. We have a shortage of tarpaulins; we have a shortage of corrugated iron sheets; we have a shortage of every possible thing you can think of. We have tried to round up these items from every part of the country; we are rushing them to the camps. But no matter what we do—I am sorry to say—we cannot keep the refugees on anything remotely resembling comfort because of the nature of the problem. And I am glad to say that wherever I have been the spirit in these camps has really been magnificent. They are living under extremely difficult conditions but they understand and appreciate our difficulties. So, we should continue to try and do our best but we should always keep in view the long-term aspect of the problem and specially the aspect that it will mean tremendous hardship for all of us

and for our people. We must all, as leaders or members of political parties, as citizens of this country prepare our people for this period of hardship because without it we can neither help the refugees nor deal with the larger problem. This House has always shown a great deal of understanding. I know that it is necessary from time to time to have an opportunity to blow off steam and to work off emotions. This is natural and understandable but when all is said, I am grateful to the House for the understanding it has showed and for the cooperation which it gives. Thank you.

### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

#### THE BENGAL FINANCE (SALES TAX) (DELHI VALIDATION OF APPOINTMENTS AND PROCEEDINGS) BILL, 1971.

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) (Delhi Validation of Appointments and Proceedings) Bill, 1971, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 14th June, 1971.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India." Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-one minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 16th June, 1971.