

is due to high maternal mortality. It is, however, difficult to pinpoint any particular reason for the declining sex ratio which requires a derailed analysis."

[Translation]

This report was submitted four years back but then no analysis has been done. Has any study been undertaken by the Government to find out the reasons or has any institution taken steps in the direction of finding any solution? One horrible thing which comes to my notice from the census report is that the process of decrease in the population of women started after independence. If the Government has gone into it then I would like to ask the Government to especially ascertain the circumstances due to which downward trend in the population of women in comparison to men started after independence. The data of nine decades *i.e.* from 1901 to 1991 are in this Census Report, 1991. According to them in June 1901, the states were not in its present form whereas the districts and villages were there. However, taking into account the present position of a state alongwith its districts and villages, the Census Commission has submitted the figures from 1901 census onwards. According to the figures, in 1901 the population of women was more in nine provinces. Similarly, the population of women in 1911 was more in 10 states; in 1921, 11 states and in 1931, 9 states. Further, in the pre-independence census in 1941, the population of women was more in 9 states. The country became independent in 1947. Again, a census was conducted. In 1951, the population of women was more in nine states. In 1961, the figures came down to 8 states; in 1971, 3 states and in 1981, 2 states. As per 1991

census, Kerala is the only state where the population of women exceeds men. There is 1040:1042 ratio between men and women. The chain of decrease started after independence. The figure indicate that no check is being exercised on this downward trend. Rather the situation has deteriorated. Therefore, in this regard, I would only like to say that the advice of inquiry given by the Census Commission to the Government should be accepted. The Government should do away this kind of oppression being meted out to women in this country and initiate special efforts from its side.

With these words, I support this Bill.

16.29 hrs.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION RE:
ALARMING SITUATION IN
ASSAM

[English]

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV
(Azamgarh): I beg to move:

"That the House do now adjourn."

[Translation]

Madam, Chairperson, through this Adjournment Motion I would like to draw the attention of the House towards the sad incident of Barapeta district of Assam, which took place two days earlier. It is a matter of great concern for the whole country. I would like to say that it is a serious matter and should be taken seriously by the House.

Madam, the border areas of our country are inhabited mostly by tribals or such people live, who lead a very hard life in hilly areas and forests. They had been deprived of all the facilities meant

[Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav]

for common citizen of the country for the centuries. In many areas, they have only grass and plant leaves to eat. They have no arrangement for education and health. They have been alienated from the national mainstream because of some special circumstances in the country. It was really unfortunate that less attention was paid towards them during the Britishers period. Only working for Missionaries and voluntary organisations paid attention towards them. I am very sorry to say that the tribals living in border areas of the country, who are called Scheduled Tribes are still leading a very hard life even after 46-47 years of our Independence. The nation has not paid the required attention towards them. That is why the people of the area took to arms to express their revolt. The Government did not pay any attention to them until they followed the path of violence.

Today, we are discussing the Bodoland problem. An accord was signed on this problem in the presence of Shri Rajesh Pilot and the Chief Minister of the State. The accord clearly mentions several points. In the morning Hon'ble Speaker asked Shri Jaswant Singh— How Government of India involved in this matter? I would like to say that its Preamble clearly says that:

[English]

"Both the Government of India and the Government of Assam have been making earnest efforts to bring about an amicable solution to the problems of the Bodos and other plain tribals living in the north bank of river, Brahmaputra, within Assam. Towards this end, the Government of India held a series

of meetings with the State Government as well as with leaders of All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) and Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC). The State Government has also separately held discussions with the Bodo leaders. As a result it has been considered necessary to set up an administrative authority within the State of Assam under a scheme, the details of which are outlined in the succeeding paragraphs."

[Translation]

Government of India is involved in it since very beginning. Shri Rajesh Pilot was directly involved in the settlement made with the Defence Council of Bodoland. Government of India had issued some guidelines for it. If you will study it, you will find that it says:

[English]

"The finances for the BAC will be earmarked under a separate sub-head within the State Budget in keeping with the guidelines it laid down by the Government of India from time to time."

[Translation]

The Government of India was involved in this matter and was a party in it since the beginning. According to the Act that involvement is still there. Guidelines for them to be issued from time to time, financial resources are to be made available and their problems are to be solved through discussion with them. Four major incidents have taken place since last October in which hundreds

of people have been killed. Properly worth crores was damaged. People of the area have a feeling of insecurity. Except the Bodos, all other people whether they are Muslims, Nepalis, Bangalis and people belonging to any other community, all have a feeling of insecurity. Now their own lives, property and future of their children is not safe there.

Madam, two major incidents took place during the last month in which 17 persons were killed. People, living in this camp told that 200 persons were killed before this very incident and large number of people are still missing. No one knows as to whether they are living or not. No one knows about the whereabouts of these persons? I do not know how these incidents become so grave? Earlier, the Chief Minister visited the site of incidents with his Cabinet colleagues and said that 200 persons were killed and hundred others are missing. The Chief Minister and the State machinery made arrangements for their own security but common man is insecure there. There is not a single incident in which refugee camps were given full protection by providing electricity for the whole night or by providing policemen with AK47 for protection of public. As per my information, 15 children, 20 women, some old persons and patients died in the accident. I know that Shri Rajesh Pilot, Shri P.M. Sayeed, Shri Bommai and three Ministers visited the place. People of the refugee camp and some policemen present there, told that they met the Chief Minister and several other Ministers to tell them that they had received information of attack and thus they need protection. But no action was taken, no additional police force was sent for. No help was sought from the BSF and army personnel living in the area. Then why the Chief Minister visited the place of

incident, with his Cabinet colleagues? I would like to say that Assam Government is mainly responsible for these killings. It cannot escape its responsibility.

[English]

SHRI INDER JIT (Darjeeling): Initially, there was a major demand that a statement should be made by the hon. Minister. I think, it would be a good idea if the hon. Minister tells us what exactly has happened and the discussion could then be on the basis of authentic facts. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: Yes, you are saying the correct thing. Adjournment Motion is being debated in the House.... (Interruptions)... The Minister cannot make a statement in the middle of the discussion.... (Interruptions)...

[English]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV): What is the line of your Adjournment Motion, you kindly tell us. Is the Adjournment Motion of the Bodo situation or against the Government of Assam or against the Central Government? If you kindly read out the wording of the Adjournment Motion, it will be to our benefit. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: Please listen to my speech, You will come to know about the fact... (Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Gandhi Nagar): Madam, the Adjournment Motion has been admitted by the Chair, it would be in the specific form and it would be proper for the House to know the wording of the Adjournment Motion because so far as we are concerned, so far as my Leader Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee is concerned, we have given an Adjournment Motion because we thought that the Government of India had a duty to intervene in the situation and it had failed to intervene. Therefore, we had moved an Adjournment Motion here.....
(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: The Government of India has a duty. The Government of India has a continuous duty.(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: In all probability it should be read out. We must know what is that we are discussing.
(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the accord, which was signed there, has completely proved to be a failure. Many things have been said about the accord. Many statements were made by the State Chief Minister and the Union Home Ministry that after persistent efforts and several talks, a solution has been found to the problem. But during last nine months four major incidents have taken place in which hundreds of people have lost their lives and thousands of people have become homeless. Disturbance, in the area has rather increased. Instead of taking all Bodo

leaders into confidence in finding a solution to the problem, they have been divided and the Central Government and the State Chief Minister are using them to realise own selfish motives. Efforts were made to make use of Bodo leaders for their own political gains. They are trying to get political mileage out of this problem. It is really sad to say that, to derive a political mileage out of the problems of this backward area, this problem has been made further complicated.

Sir, it was also provided in the act that Bodo predominated areas would be identified and forest land would also be taken into consideration. Forests and Environment department was asked to assist in identifying such areas. But what has happened? I would like to know from Shri Pilotji whether it is not a fact that this problem has been created because of the fact that 100 villages predominantly inhabited by Bodo people have not been included in recently constituted Bodo land. Is it not a fact that 10 kms. long strip along Bhutan border has not been included in Bodoland whereas Bodo people constitute majority in that area. In this way their integrity and patriotism is being suspected and they are made to feel that because they are living near Bhutan border, they are not included in the Bodo-land. It is also a reason of their resentment. Is there any provision in the Act for providing security to non-party people? Are these your security arrangements that hundreds of persons are being killed there and thousands of people are living in refugee camps. I accuse the State Chief Minister for this situation.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Chief Minister of Assam was my good friend there was a time when he was very famous as a youth leader but some times power and wealth intoxicate a person to the extent

that he forgets all principles. That brings about a complete change in his character and working style and some times he work in such a manner, to get cheap popularity, which shakes the very foundation and pose great threat to the national unity also. To get merely a cheap popularity, the Chief Minister has released those persons who were involved in murder cases. It was said that he was very generous and wanted to bring them to the mainstream. Not only this but I think they were rewarded by giving Maruti cars and wine contracts. It is a general feeling in that area that good citizens who were with the country during the time of crisis and who were working to restore peace there, have been sidelined. It is a very dangerous thing. Shri Chalihaji, you please tell us as to what is the situation there and whether normalcy has been restored or whether people are happy there? Is it not the fact that the prevailing situation has posed threat to our national security? One year back, Army officers had warned the Chief Minister that the things were not going smoothly and there were certain people who were acquiring arms and some of our intelligence persons were also involved in it and they should be asked to stop such things. I think I.B. and RAW are financing two different groups as they done in case of LTTE or Bhindrawala to create rift among the groups to weaken their morale. It is a national problem and it cannot be solved like this. Such problems can be solved with wisdom and by creating a congenial atmosphere. I think such abominable and vile strategies adopted for political gains ultimately prove to be disastrous. The same thing is happening in that area also. The identification work has not yet been completed. Why talks were not held with other groups active in that area. What steps have been taken to provide security to the minorities? It was your responsibility.

Being a Minister you have not done your duty. I have read in the Newspapers that it was admitted by Shri Rajesh Pilot that the steps which should have been taken, have not so far been taken by the Government of Assam. The Assam Government have failed in its constitutional obligations. I do not say that it should be dismissed but what I would like to say is that during the time of 5-6 months which you will gain, you should think about all aspects of the problem and the reasons for which this accord could not be implemented properly. You should find out its drawbacks so that recurrence of such incidents could be averted. Four big incidents have occurred there and a large number of killings have taken place in refugee camps during last two weeks. These incidents have occurred under the nose of Assam Government where the entire State Council of Minister was present. That is why I would like to say that the State Government and State Assembly should be suspended and the Government should hold talks with other parties also. All the parties in the State have demanded that, since the State Government failed in its duty, action should be taken against it.

I would like to demand that immediate security arrangement should be made for non-Bodo villages in that region. The police or the army should be deployed in every village. The need of the hour is that the Government should take full responsibility of protecting the lives and properties of non-Bodo people. I have not read any thing in the newspapers about compensation, therefore, I would like to say that at least Rs. two lakhs should be given immediately to the next of kin of each deceased person. And other needful steps should also be taken for them because like Kashmiri people, they have also become refugees. They do not have tents, food

[Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav]

and other means of livelihood. There is no arrangement of education for their children. Therefore, you should immediately provide security arrangement and other means of livelihood to them.

The Central Government should chalk out a time bound programme to identify the actual areas of Bodoland. What will be done to a non-bodo village which is surrounded by bodo villages? There are such villages which have been included for the purpose of contiguity which has also given rise to the resentment. You have to think about it also.

I would like to cite an example of the activeness of the Government. Our colleagues Shri Shahabuddinji went there on 9th July, 1994 on an invitation from the local people. He has witnessed the situation with his own eyes. He could not have a talk with the Chief Minister of the State. The Chief Minister asked him to talk to his Minister. He met the Minister and immediately after that he wrote a letter on 9th July in which he has stated that:

[*English*]

"There was failure of intelligence when the massacre took place earlier – he was referring to the earlier massacre and not this present massacre—but now there is not only an administrative failure but a collapse of the political will to protect the life and property of the non-Bodos."

[*Translation*]

Was it not enough for the Chief Minister to take notice of the seriousness

of the situation on the report given by a senior Member of Parliament? The hon. Member had also a talk with the Minister. Even after such a serious evaluation of the situation, the State Government remains inactive and no effective steps were taken on the report. It was also stated by the hon. Member that:

[*English*]

"As you know, not a single Bodo has been killed or even injured. The violence was wholly one-sided and unspeakably brutal. I am authoritatively informed that it was organized by the ABSU, a fraction of the Bodo Movement which is said to be financed by some Central agencies. Indeed, the BSF is also said to have received at one stage the support in money and material from the Central agencies."

16.54 hrs.

[*MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair*]

[*Translation*]

I would like to know whether the State Chief Minister has contacted you after receiving the report that such serious allegations have been levelled and whether he has taken any steps to establish the truth? Had he contacted you, I am sure, you would have definitely contacted the hon. Member to know the reasons for making such serious allegations. I was told by Shri Shahabuddin that he had also endorsed a copy of the said letter to you. Was it not your duty to contact him on Telephone to ascertain the facts and to know about his authoritative sources for making such serious allegations. But you did not do

that. No action was taken by the Government. Therefore, I would like to say that the Central Government should take such things seriously. The Parliament is taking it seriously and discussing it under Adjournment motion. Such problems are above all interests. Many such problems have cropped up in different parts of the country and our enemies are looking for an opportunity to take advantage from such problems. All of you know why they are doing so? Therefore, I would like to say that it should be taken up seriously and an acceptable solution should be found to this problem.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, through this House I would like to request you that a goodwill delegation of Parliament should be sent there so that our people living thousands of miles away from here may also realise that some one is there to share their sorrows and sufferings. Therefore, I request that this thing should be brought in the notice of the hon. Speaker that a Parliamentary delegation be sent there. That would convince the people and it would prove to be useful also. Therefore, the Government must do it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have friendly relations with Bhutan and we have common border with it. There is no doubt in the minds of the people. The basic thing is the confidence among the people and I think we must send our condolences to the bereaved families. The persons, who have been killed, were innocent, while they were sleeping they were attacked upon all of a sudden. The Central Government should give assurance that a complete security, be it by police or army, would be provided to the people. Therefore, I think that with a view that the problem may not further

aggravate, no fuel may be added to the fire and the innocent people may not become victims of violence, the hon. Home Minister should at least give a categorical assurance to the House.

With these words, I think the Adjournment motion moved by me, would be taken by the House seriously. With these words I conclude.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That the House do now Adjourn".

SHRI INDER JIT (Darjeeling): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the Adjournment Motion.

However, I welcome this opportunity which is provided to discuss the happenings in the North-East and, more particularly, in Barpeta. What has happened must not only sadden everybody but should make us all hang our heads in shame that in a refugee camp, young and old people and women and children were slaughtered in a totally barbaric manner. Nevertheless, I do wish that prior to this discussion, we should have had an opportunity to hear the hon. Minister. That would have enabled us to discuss the happenings in Barpeta in their proper perspective. At the moment, we seem to be discussing the whole affair in the light of newspaper reports, and in a certain vacuum.

My friend, Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav has made grave allegations. He has demanded the suspension of the Assembly.

[Shri Inder Jit]

17.00 hrs.

He has demanded the dismissal of the Government and has many more unfair and extreme suggestions. I am afraid, this is one of those typical cases where we speak from hind wisdom and swing from one extreme to the other extreme. What has happened is surely, as I said earlier, something most distressing. But, Sir, it should also give us an opportunity to direct our attention to what is happening in the North-East. It has been my privilege to visit the North-East fairly regularly and repeatedly since 1966. This year itself I have visited Guwahati thrice and also some of the North-Eastern States in the past few weeks. I have been conscious of what has been happening for a long time. In fact, what has happened in Barpeta is something which one could perhaps have anticipated. Alas, What is happening in the North-East is not getting the required attention of this House.

As I have said, the massacre of the refugee is something to be totally condemned. But the question is: What is happening in the North-East? We are talking in terms of Bodos and Non-Bodos. I would like the Minister to tell the House who are these Non-Bodos. Are these Non-Bodos not mainly migrants from across the border from Bangladesh? Are these Non-Bodos not the people who have been trying to encroach on the tribal lands? Are these so-called Non-Bodos not trying to repeat Tripura?

What happened to Tripura? I want this House to understand one basic point. I want this House to take notice of one basic fact in regard to the North-East. The North-East is very very sensitive

on one point. They do not want another Tripura to be repeated ever. They want their survival. They want their identify. They want their lands to be protected. This is something which we are not able to understand.

Only recently, the North-East Chief Minister met here. The Chief Minister of Mizoram and the Chief Minister of Nagaland, opposed the lifting of the inner line permit. Why? Because, the Chief Minister of Mizoram went on record to say: "You lift the inner permit and we shall be swamped as the tribals of Tripura were swamped." Is this what is going to happen? The basic psyche must be understood.

What has happened in Barpeta deserves to be condemned in the strongest language. But we must also direct our attention to the basic issues and not merely what has happened in this particular instance. I go along with my friend Shri Chandrajeet Yadav that every effort must be made to provide relief and succour and see what has happened. However I accuse my friend Shri Chandrajeet Yadav of speaking from hind sight. Is it or is it not a fact that the Chief Minister of Assam carried his own Cabinet to this particular place, Barpeta?

They stayed there night and day and what did they do? The whole exercise was to provide relief—and to provide adequate protection. What is being said is that only eight or ten twelve policemen were provided for protecting this particular refugee camp. I checked with some police persons. Normally, you never have more than ten or twelve people protecting a refugee camp. What has happened is unfortunate. Perhaps, one can say there has been some lapse. This might have been anticipated. But this is a kind of thing which has been happening

repeatedly and this House is not taking notice of it.

Earlier today, my attention was drawn to one other tragedy. I was reminded of what happened in Tripura in 1980—about the famous, rather infamous Mandal massacre.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh): It happened on 6th June, 1981.

SHRI INDER JIT: I stand corrected. It took place on 6th June, 1981. What has happened? There, the tribals reacted to the fact that they were being pushed back and further back into the hills. Their lands were being encroached upon and nothing was done about it. Ultimately, it led to a dispute. The whole thing conflagrated. What was the result? Several scores of tribal villages were torched. The tribals then came down and hit back and we had a massacre in which both sides lost lots and lots of people both old and young women and children.

Therefore, the question is: What do we do? Here it is very well for us to say 'sack the Government'. I do not think that that is the remedy. The Government was there at Barpeta. The Government sought to do whatever was possible in the circumstances. The Government has now asked for the aid of the military authorities.

They have done this. In so far as the Centre is concerned, the Centre too rushed the Minister for Internal Security Mr. Pilot accompanied by Shri P.M. Sayeed and Shri Gogoi. The Centre has not been lagging behind. The Centre has extended every possible help in the matter. And I think, this help should go a long way in tackling the problem that has come up. But my purpose in speaking

today is to beg of this House to look the more important, the more basic issue facing area.

The basic problem, the basic malady in the area is the malady of illegal, continuing infiltration from Bangladesh. This is not being tackled at all. We keep talking about ethnic disputes, we keep talking of tribals and non-tribals. But the basic problem is one of illegal immigration from Bangladesh. This morning, I took the liberty of ringing up some friends in Guwahati, people in higher authority, people whose honesty I would not question. They warned that similar problem were likely to come up in several other districts. The districts mentioned, apart from Barpeta, were Goalpara, Dhubri, Bongoigaon, Mangaldoi and Kokrajhar. Yes, we have already had the problem in some. But there will be more problems unless we face this basic issue.

I was in Nagaland recently. Whether it is Meghalaya, Nagaland or any of the North-Eastern States, the basic issue is that the people, the tribals have a certain sense of apprehension, a great fear that they would be swamped. As I said earlier, they do not want their States to become another Tripura. They say: "Tripura? Never, never, never!" This is something to be understood. Therefore, I would say that it is a good idea to send a goodwill delegation. In fact, more than a goodwill delegation, an all-party parliamentary delegation because this is a national issue.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: To do what?

SHRI INDER JIT: To look into what exactly has happened and to go into the deeper problems of the area.

[Shri Inder Jit]

My friend Shri Jaswant Singh and I spoke earlier of Mandai massacre on June 6, 1981. At that stage, the then Prime Minister sent a group of senior Congress people, headed by Shri Dinesh Singh. This particular group also included some independent individuals. They went along and studied the whole problem—the law and order problem, the political problem and the social problem—and they came up with certain recommendations.

What were the main recommendations? The basic recommendation was the problem of encroachment of tribal land by the non-tribals mainly from across the border must be tackled. This was the basic issue. Even where the Government intervened, what happened. In paper, the land was handed back to the tribals. But, in reality, they never get it back with the result that over the last four decades, their suspicions, their fears have been fed continuously. Something, therefore needs to be done in this particular direction.

During one of my recent visits, I was also told of the kind of problems that are coming up. My friend Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav talked about the failure of intelligence. Yes, there has perhaps been a failure of intelligence. But the problem is that we are not able to get the kind of intelligence which we want. The ISI, unfortunately, is infinitely more successful. A point to which my attention was drawn recently during one of my visits was the problem to which this House has never directed its attention. That is a problem which is sure to come up later as the problem of the Siliguri Corridor. Here, we see the ISI planning all kinds of things, all kinds of troubles, trying to promote a conflagration between one community

and another and between the tribals and the non-tribals in the hope of creating a major problem in the Siliguri Corridor. If they succeed in the Siliguri Corridor, as they have succeeded in some other places, we must understand and remember that this will mean that the entire North-East will be cut off. There will be no land link left with the North-East. We would have to fly across. There will be no trains and you will have to fly all your stuff from across this part of the country to the North-East. This could become a problem. And I feel this issue must be addressed as a national issue. Unfortunately, there is too much of politics in all this.

I say this as one who has been going to that area regularly and repeatedly as a journalist since 1966. There is too much of politics—vote-bank politics and nonvote-bank politics— and all kinds of things. Therefore, I would urge the Minister, and I would suggest to the Speaker through the Deputy Speaker that there is need to look into this deeper problem, the basic problem of continuing infiltration of Bangladeshis from across the border. We must seriously think in terms of identifying Indians and giving them identity cards. We must seriously do this. This is not being done. We are not even identifying the illegal migrants. I personally think that what is needed to be done is to apply the Foreigners Act very firmly, very sternly; identify those who are Indians and those who are non-Indians. If we can do that, we would have solved half the problem.

Likewise the other thing is, I would appeal to the Minister that what we need very urgently to do is to seal our borders with Bangladesh. We tried in the past to do this but Bangladesh protested. I do not think we should ever care for this kind of a protest. The problem of Punjab continued dangerously so long as we

were not able to seal the border. Once we effectively sealed the border, we were able to tackle the law and order problem and also the political problem on our side of the border. Therefore I would say that we need to seal our borders with Bangladesh ignoring whatever protests Bangladeshis might make. I just cannot understand Bangladesh protesting in the past against our sealing the border. Of course, we must seal our border. We must protect our border. We must protect our security.

In fact not long ago we had a very senior witness in the Standing Parliamentary Committee on the External Affairs. I asked him one question; What is your perception of the India's security concerns? His answer was very very interesting. I should not disclose the identity of this individual who is one of our top people. What was his concern? He said his concern mainly was of continuing illegal infiltration by foreigners from across all the borders. He said this was something which the Parliament of India needed to take a good close look at. Therefore we must seal the border. We must go in for foolproof identity cards irrespective of the cost. Above all, the problem of the tribals and the non-tribals must be considered. I would appeal to the Minister, and as a party colleague, urge him through you that we must ensure that there is no repetition of Tripura.

Earlier today a friend from the South asked: what is the problem? I said the problem was very simple. This friend comes from Pondicherry. So I asked him what is the population of your place? He said nine to ten lakhs. I asked; "Suppose some 15 lakh outsiders were to come in and settle down in Pondicherry, how would you like it?" He said he would never never accept it. This is the basic

psyche. We have a basic problem in Barpeta. It must be looked at. But more than that, the basic issue of the tribal and the non-tribal and their basic psyche has to be addressed. We are not addressing the psyche.

You go to Meghalaya. As I said, in Meghalaya many walls have it written at the moment: "we are Khasis by blood, Indians by accident". It reflects a fear. I talked to some of the students involved. These students made it clear to us that if the centre can protect their tribal identity and if it can protect their tribal interests, they would have no quarrel with India. They are Indians unlike many people in Nagaland whose view is somewhat different.

In Nagaland we have a problem. The NSCN is there. The Khaplang group and the Isac Sue and the Muivah group. All these groups are creating problems. But the people of Nagaland, too, speak with one voice. What do they want? They want their tribal identity protected. They want their tribal land protected. They want to survive. So long as we are not able to deal with the basic psyche, we will never be able to deal with the basic issue that confronts us. Our security in the northeast will continue to be threatened.

I will not take any more time of this House. I have made my points. My basic appeal, once again, is: please let us look at their psyche. This psyche must be tackled, if we the North-East to continue to be a part of our country, of our great land.

SHRI SRIKANT JENA (Cuttack):
Please make one point clear. Are the people who got killed by the militants Indians or not?

SHRI INDER JIT: Sir, a question has been put to me. I will merely say that I would like to get the light on this particular matter from the Minister. But as I said the basic issue is not one of Bodos and non-Bodos.

SHRI SRIKANT JENA: Are the non-Bodos totally Bangladeshi people or Indian people?

SHRI INDER JIT: Most of them, according to my understanding, are migrants from across the border. *(Interruptions)* There is a problem. And the problem can be tackled by identifying Indians and identifying the foreigners. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA (Guwahati): Mr. Inder Jit, I will just appeal to you. We are discussing a very sensitive matter. People have been killed. You cannot just term some people as foreigners or non-foreigners. Please have respect for the people who have died. They were all Indian people. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Let us know his views. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SWARUP UPADHYAY (Tejpur): Even after 30-40 years, they are foreigners. *(Interruptions)* What kind of justice is that? *(Interruptions)*

KUMARI MAMTA BANERJEE (Calcutta South): It is a very sensitive subject. *(Interruptions)* There was Nehru-Liaquat pact. After 1971, there was a pact between Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Mujibur Rahman. *(Interruptions)* They are not foreigners. *(Interruptions)* They are very much Indians. *(Interruptions)* I request you that line should be expunged. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDER JIT: May I be permitted to clarify? I said in the beginning that what has happened must hang our heads in shame. *(Interruptions)*

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV): Sir, I am from North-eastern area. Therefore, I shall make an appeal to this august House. While discussing the North-eastern issues, we should not create any problem. We should try to solve it. From that angle, all Members should speak. The main problem of Assam or North-eastern State is not infiltration. The main problem is that people go to Assam either in this season or in that season. They become experts. *(Interruptions)* They come and live. *(Interruptions)* We shall appeal to this House, irrespective of religion, this is an issue about which everybody is very much worried. Some people have died.

We want to solve it. Let us have a discussion with a dispassionate mind. Let us solve it. How it can be solved will come out during the discussion. Let us not pinpoint individuals or political parties. This will not be fair and thereby you will not solve the problem. You will create problem because the situation is still tense there. I have spoken to the Chief Minister only an hour before. The Army is patrolling the area. It is quite tense. There is tension. So, this House should give a message whereby it cools down. I will appeal to all parties. Let us discuss this issue. That will be the right approach.

SHRI INDER JIT: I have been misunderstood.... *(Interruptions)*

I am being misunderstood. I said at the very beginning that we need to hang our heads in shame... *(Interruptions)*

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Inder Jit is saying that he is being misunderstood. Let us know the correct position.

SHRI INDER JIT: I said at the very beginning that we need to hang our heads in shame for what has happened. It should never happened. And it is not my intention to add fuel to the fire. No! On the other hand, I am saying that you cannot tackle the problem unless you go into the basic problem. I am in full agreement with what Mamta Banerjee has just now said. I have not gone into the details. I am merely saying that the issue of foreigners cannot be overlooked.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): You have misled the House!

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker Sir, I rise to support the Adjournment Motion which has been moved by my hon. friend to discuss the alarming situation in Assam and the failure of the Central Government to intervene timely. It is necessary to read out the text of the motion so as to focus our concerns on what it is that we are seized off.

I must, at the very outset, say two things. Firstly, I would like to say that death is a great leveller and death is not identified through nationality. It is a very saddening event that has takes place and without getting involved in the controversy—a needless controversy that attended upon the conclusions of my hon. friend Shri Inder Jit, the previous speaker from the Ruling Treasury Benches—I would like to say that I agree with the broad thrust of his assertion. I do not know if he speaks for his party or if he speaks for himself, but I find myself in the unusual position of being

largely in agreement with what the member from the Treasury Benches is saying.

Sir, what we are addressed with today is not to discuss a routine law and order default by the State Government. We are also simply engaged in discussing one of the characteristics, and also by now routine, failures of the Central Government. What we are discussing Sir, is a horrifying illustration of the consequences of an absence of policy combined with a broken and a mendacious government and administration. Sir, the hon. Member from Darjeeling, Shri Inder Jit referred to Mandai. In this assembly other than the hon. Member from Tripura itself, my good friend presently from Tripura and who was not from Tripura before, viz. hon. Sontosh Mohan Dev, there are only two other Members who have had an occasion to visit Mandai on Sixth of June 1981. I well recollect and I was privileged then to be granted this opportunity by Lalji Advani to accompany my leader Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee to Mandai in the month of June in 1981. I find it necessary to take the time of the House. I well remember, going with Atalji, we are not part of the official delegation. There was indeed a delegation that was sent by the former Prime Minister, the late hon. Shrimati Gandhi. She did direct the hon. Raja Saheb, Dinesh Singhji to lead a Congress Delegation to Tripura.

I remember, Sir, going in a car from Agartala to Mandai with Atalji. It was a mass grave of 232 bodies. It was about 3 o'clock in the afternoon by the time we reached Mandai. I was horrified to find that despite the deployment of army and other forces pie dogs were scratching at this grave. I remember a security official asking Atalji, "Aur Dekhana Hai Aapko?".

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And I well remember Atalji even then saying, "Bas, Bahut Ho Gaya" Sir, this "Bas, Bahut Ho Gaya" might well have been said in the context of this mass grave of Mandai but now in this month of near end of July, 1994, a decade-and-a-half later, these words "Bas, Bahut Ho Gaya" ring in my ears as a kind of warning to the entire nation of what is to come when it comes to the whole of North-East.

There was even then a discussion in the Parliament about Mandai, a discussion about what had taken place and a great many speeches were made and many Members poured their anguish in the House, expressed their concerns. What saddens me, Sir, that after Mandai and also after Nellie and quite rightly after all the killings of virtually the entire decade of the eighties Assam, it appears as if we are still at the same position; that we have learnt no lessons, or as if Mandai or Nellie, or Assam of 1983, 1982 and 1981 or even subsequently was not at all there. That is why I say, Sir, that this discussion is not a discussion about a simple or a routine failure of a State Government or the by now characteristic failures of the Central Government, about what they should do or what they have not done. We are addressing ourselves about the situation that seems to perpetuate itself certain specific reasons. I will not list all these reasons.

I am not gladdened but I would like to point out, Sir, that for the last three years I have been privileged to participate in discussions on the debates arising from the Address of the President to the Joint Session of Parliament. In each of those debates, with as much concern as I can command, I have cautioned this

Government, "Please, be mindful of what is happening in the North-East." I remember even this year itself, Sir, I had submitted to this Government that to my mind the situation in the North-east—I treat Assam and all that as part of the totally of the North-East—is more serious than is made to appear, or than is made across. In certain respect I do submit, Sir, that it is potentially more serious than even the situation in the valley of Kashmir. I have said this earlier and I do not say it because I wish to be an alarmist, I merely repeat what I have said. No doubt this specific and heinous crime has to be on account of our failure somewhere, it is no good saying that nobody has failed, that the State administration has conducted itself perfectly, the law and order agencies have done their job perfectly, the intelligence agencies have forewarned or have conducted themselves perfectly, the Central Government has discharged all its responsibilities perfectly and despite that this has taken place.

I do not think that this has been allowed or anyone has connived at it. Sir, if this has happened, then certainly, somebody is to answer. I submit to the Treasury Benches that who it is to answer will depend on the total deliberation of this House.

There are occasions in the life of a Government, and the life of even this Assembly, this Tenth Lok Sabha, when you have to address yourselves to the enormity of the question that is being posed. Most certainly, do by all means protect and defend your State Government. They are of a similar political persuasion. Do, by all means, with all the facts at your command and all the eloquence at your command, protect the Union Government or the Central Government from whatever defaults we wish to or actually point out. But do also

please, simultaneously, at the same time, for the sake of India, protect the entire North-East for our posterity, and for the generations to come. If you do this and if you are able to convincingly combine these three responsibilities, most certainly, I will be the first one to stand up and say I am not going to vote with Mr. Chandra Jeet Ydav's Motion of Adjournment. But you have to convince me about combining these three concerns first. Very briefly, I find it necessary to point out—because, I do not know whether my pleadings in earlier interventions had even reached the Prime Minister—some things, because my pleadings had gone unheard. Let me very briefly and only illustratively, not exhaustively, submit to you, Sir, what to my mind are the characteristics or the ailments of the North-East and let me also, Sir, for the sake of clarity of what I am saying when I talk of the North-East, let me also say of what am I talking. I am talking of the entire undivided State of Assam, of Tripura, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and I am also, Sir, talking of Sikkim. I am also, Sir, in a very real sense talking of areas of North-Bengal and I am also talking about, in the totality of my concern, of certain contiguous areas of, which are adjoined or which enable us to move into that funnel or corridors through areas of Bihar. I am also, Sir, referring to a sovereign independent nation which is land-locked by the North-East and I refer to Bhutan. This is what I mean when I talk of North-East. What are the characteristics? Firstly and very briefly—I will not elaborate—this geographical distance from Delhi has resulted in an emotional separation of the North-East from this Capital city. Unless you address yourselves to shortening this geographical distance—this is purely a technical problem this emotional distancing will not be ended unless you do not end this emotional distancing, I

would like to caution, in all humility, this Assembly that you will do what you do in the North-East at the peril of the entire North-East and at the cost of the unity of India.

Secondly, Sir,—this is not a hierarchical order of the characteristics in their order of importance—it is the characteristic that strikes me as what typifies the totality of the North-East. If I started by giving the illustration of what happened in Mandai, I have to point out that in the overall picture of North-East, what characterises the approach of successive Government is the absence of an overall policy for the North-East. This overall policy for the North-East has resulted in what I call a fracturing, a splintering effect in the North-East.

You admitted to give to every kind of political and social particularism, a different political identity. This process has now gone to its very ultimate. For every separate social identity, you wanted to give a political recognition. This political recognition has resulted in a splintering of the North-East. It is time for us to address ourselves to reversing of this process. How are we to reverse this process of the splintering of the North-East? It is not an occasion for me to go into any elaboration of how we are to do it. But if we do not do it, if we do not address ourselves, the surely, we are blind to the reality that stares us in the face.

I have regard for the undoubted commitment of the Members of the Treasury Benches both past and present for their integrity, for the great nationalism, for the welfare of the nation. I do not doubt it. I do not question your *bona fides*. Certainly, I am not entitled to question your *bona fides* when it comes

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to one or another Member of this House. But, certainly, I do question your judgment; certainly, I do question your ability to implement whatever you have yourselves said. The problem in the totality of the North-East, on account of agreements arrived at with the people is that those very agreements are not being honestly implemented; those very agreements are being upturned; those very agreements for one reason or another are being thwarted; those very agreements are being permitted to decay resulting in discontent, to a defiance of authority. The full circle completes in this fashion.

We charge you, the Treasury Benches, for this, because you have been more in the seat of authority, holding office and power; we charge you for not implementing those agreements. Certainly, in that sense, you carry greater responsibility. The next factor in the entire North-East is this without any doubt. If we do not recognise it, we do it at our own peril. The problem of unchecked illegal immigration and their many consequences for the country; social and economic consequences including political consequences of involuntary, demographic aggression upon one of land; this is what we witness in the totality of the North-East. There again I am not going into the details of it. I will refer to this particular point a little later.

What is the next characteristic? Where is the next fault that I find with the Central Government—it is with this stop and go method of containing or checking insurgency. Insurgency is not controlled by a method of traffic light. You cannot control insurgency every now and then like a traffic police man when

it suits you turning amber light on and then turning it into red light. I will have an occasion to illustrate what this does and I would like to elaborate it further later.

I agree with my previous speaker, the hon. Member from Darjeeling. One of the factors which we are witnessing in the entire North-East is this factor of electoral interests taking priority over national interests, including unbelievable and exceptional corruption. For the first time, the Union Home Minister, in this very House, participating in a discussion—I think it was about Manipur admitted that what we were witnessing in the North-East by way of corruption was unbelievable.

The kind of corruption that is now rampant, subsists not in just one State, in every single State of North East it is beyond description. These are not perhaps the exact words of the Union Home Minister. This is certainly what the Union Home Minister unequivocally conveyed here and I recollect very well that I stood up and congratulated the Home Minister. To my mind, this is the first time ever I have heard that a Union Minister has admitted to one of the single greatest failings of the North-East.

It saddens me. It does not delight me. I do not wish to score debating points. My good friend, the Union Minister of State for Home would perhaps not take it amiss. I would appeal to him not to take it amiss, when I point out to another cause that has caused this difficulty; which is a lack of coordination in the Union Home Minister itself. This lack of coordination in the Union Home Ministry results in an erosion of the authority of the Home Ministry. It results in the officials, of not just the Home Ministry but all the officials of the

administration of law and order from top to bottom, then being pulled in different directions. If the instrument of authority of the State of India is broken, is not working to one purpose, if the sword with which you wish to fight, if that sword itself be blunted, then how will the State or this nation fight?

The Union Home Minister is charged with a grave and serious responsibility, of all the responsibilities, not just of the North East but of the entire nation. If the Union Home Ministry blunts its own sword, then it does not require me to even point out the consequence.

This is not an observation about the Union Home Ministry, this is an observation about the Captain of this team. This is an observation about the Prime Minister. This is a responsibility of the Prime Minister. He has to address himself to this problem and I charge the Prime Minister with continuing and deliberate default in this regard.

I have said that I will not elaborate all these points, but there are one or two aspects that I do wish to elaborate and if I exceed my time, I seek your indulgence.

I will quote a small passage:

"The phenomenon of influx of population from erstwhile Pakistan, now Bangladesh, has made the local population feel outnumbered. Economically the influx has cost a heavy burden on the economic infrastructure in the North East. This has also seriously impaired serious cohesion and often resulted in ethnic tension and group clashes."

This is not a newspaper report. This is a quotation from the report of the Union Home Ministry of the year 1992-93. I am not the author of the Union Home Ministry's report. The Treasury Benches and the Union Home Ministry itself are the author and the Union Home Ministry itself cannot go back on what it has submitted as an annual report to Parliament itself.

Why I found it necessary to cite this report, is not again to score a debating point. There is no debating point to be scored in reminding everyone of what is already one year old. I am sure the hon. Minister of State for Union Home Ministry has had a hand in the drafting of this report. It is therefore, not necessary for me to remind him what he himself reported to Parliament, but it is necessary for me to remind this House that in our preoccupation with the politics of the immediate, let us not forget about the continuing realities of the North East.

I was talking about illegal immigration. I would like to point out just two or three aspects of it, I am not going to repeat the obvious.

I am informed that Pakistan Television and Pakistan Radio, or through whatever other means they have at their disposal, are painting the happenings in Barpeta as a Hindu-Muslim strife and as an attack by Hindu on Muslim.

Unchecked illegal immigration is not a Hindu-Muslim question. Against this Pakistan propaganda that is being propounded, we have to recognise that our international boundary or border, wherever not especially enabled through international agreements, is not a border for free immigration. Sir, our international boundary certainly with erstwhile East

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Pakistan—exactly what the Union Home Ministry is saying—now Bangladesh, has been under assault for decades. If now, Sir, this international boundary buckles under the sheer weight of this assault, then Barpeta is only one of the examples. Let us not be misled into thinking that Barpeta by itself or what has happened in Barpeta is an ailment in itself. Sir, it is not an ailment, it is but a symptom; it is but a manifestation of greater ill and that greater ill is continued neglect of a very serious national problem, which is of unchecked illegal immigration in this country and if we do not recognise that for what it is, it is not a Hindu-Muslim question, it is a question of the nationality of this country, which nationality is not to be bartered away simply by the fraudulent procurement of a ration card. Unless we recognise this reality, we will continue to peripetate our difficulties.

Sir, now I come to 'stop go method' of playing with insurgents. Look at what the Government of Assam has done with ULFA. You as the Army to go and eradicate ULFA. The Army takes action. The Army is on the verge of succeeding totally. You say now come back. Three months later, when you find that all that has been achieved is now evaporating, you say, now you go again. This 'stop go method' firstly erodes the authority of the State; secondly it cripples those very agencies including the Armed Forces and your paramilitary and your other State police from acting with purpose, morale and determination; and thirdly, most importantly, every successive occasion on which you then repeat this action is going to be so much less effective. Assam is a classic example of what you have done by this 'stop go method' of checking insurgency. Also, you in the face of ULFA to counter ULFA, you

create this SULFA, not SELFA. I am eager to know this. Perhaps the Union Minister himself will inform me that to persuade ULFA, to give up being ULFA and become SULFA, money is handed out. You wish to give them money.

Sir, I have been informed, and this horrifies me, that in the context of Nagaland to persuade some of the Naga insurgents to give up, an inducement of Rs. 200,000 per head was offered. If you are an insurgent and if you lay down arms, you will get Rs. 200,000. One former Chief Minister of Nagaland persuades 400 of his known tribal men, 400 of his known followers to falsely declare themselves as insurgents, go and surrender falsely. He says, if there is nothing, at least you will get Rs. 2 lakh. How can you deal with this, my dear friend, Shri Sontosh? What games are we playing? And we come up here—I recollect very well—that in the Union Cabinet's Address to Parliament, put across to the country, through the mouth of the President, the line says, "the situation in the North-East is improving". Simultaneously, I point out that an intelligence report of the Army says, it is not improving; the report of the Governor of Manipur, the Lt. General Nayar says that it is not improving.

Firstly, I am told that you cannot quote this document. I pointed out that I really quoting what are the official documents, the Government itself is quoting the same. What kind of curtains, what kind of blinds are we wearing? Please for Heaven's sake, even now recognise the realities of the North East for what it is worth.

Sir, now, I come to the non-implementation of the Accords. Sir, it will take me only one minute. My party had done me a great honour by deputing me

in those momentous years of being part of these tripartite discussions when the Assam agitation was going on. And I looked with some sadness at the text of the Bodo Accord and Assam Agreements that electoral rolls used in 1967 shall be regularised and foreigners who came to Assam after 1966 shall be deleted from the electoral rolls in force. For this purpose, the Government of India will undertake suitable strengthening of the Government machinery. All persons earlier expelled from Assam who have since re-entered illegally after March 25, 1971 shall be expelled, foreigners who came after that shall continue to be detected, deleted and expelled in accordance with law. None of this has taken place. Not one of these have taken place and if it does not take place in this case, if you have difficulties in Mizoram, if you have difficulties in Tripura and for the first time Meghalaya talks about it, these are not matters to be taken lightly. At the root of all this, it is the agreements not being implemented, agreements being permitted to decay, that decay resulting in defiance arising again and defiance in turn creating insurgency.

Sir, you have been most considerate to me. I will conclude now. On behalf of my party, I am making four or five demands. We do not ordinarily do it. We are mindful of the rights of the State Governments. We are conscious of it because we are the victims of it and we have been repeatedly victims. Therefore, when BJP makes a demand that if any action is to be taken against the State Government, we do not make that demand lightly. Nevertheless, we feel that the situation prevailing in Assam today is such, indeed in other parts of the North East, but that is a different matter. But the situation prevailing in Assam today is such that the present Government of Assam has no longer any

moral authority to continue in office for even one additional day. The Union Government has a responsibility to the Constitution, to this Assembly and to the people of India. The only manner in which it can fulfil that responsibility is through the dismissal of that State Government and through the immediate imposition of President's Rule in that State.

Secondly, I make a demand, even at this belated stage—whether it is Assam Accord or any of the other Accords in the North East—you could say that in letter, I have done it; but ask yourself if in spirit you have implemented that Accord. Please implement it.

My third demand relates to continued illegal, unchecked immigration. Please recognise that problem. Take such steps as are necessary internationally. I was giving an example. In Bhutan, today, they are saying that the State of Cooch Behar is issuing citizenship certificates.

And if the District Magistrate or the Collector of Cooch Behar issues citizenship certificates, those people go with citizenship certificates to Bhutan and Bhutan says we are obliged; they are carrying Indian citizenship certificates and we must let them in. Sir, since when has the right for issue of citizenship certificate been passed on or devolved upon to District Collectories? If it is happening, please put a stop to it. We believe that unless a national register of citizens in Assam is not reconstituted—by all means you use 25th March, 1971 as the cut-off date—but have a national register of citizens and along with that national register of citizens, please implement what we, in the B.J.P., have been saying for a very long time—a multi-purpose

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identity card and you have that multi-purpose identity card not just in the North East but elsewhere also, but certainly in the North East at the very earliest.

Sir I have said enough. I would like to conclude with a word caution.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Before you conclude can I say something? I am extremely grateful for your very great speech. Your Party's stand in Assam, as far as I know on the basis of the memorandum given to the Election Commission of India, is that those who have come after 1971, except the Hindu should be deported. Is it your official stand or the stand of your Assam branch?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I think it is a very valid question. But I would not look at it as Hindu and Muslim.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Your memorandum is like that. I have got a copy of it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am sure you have it.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: I can send it to you. It is signed by your M.P. Shri Kabindra Purkayastha, sitting here.(Interruptions)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I treat your question with utmost seriousness. We have consistently made a distinction between the consequences of partition, the status of a refugee and an illegal migrant. I do not make a distinction on the basis of faith. But I do make a distinction on the basis of intent. I do recognise the reality of the consequence of partition. You cannot wish away

partition and the partition has resulted in a consequence and that result is the uplifting and uprooting, a movement of millions of human beings not just in the West but in the East also. And that there is a distinction between a refugee who comes and seeks refuge in your land as a refugee and an illegal immigrant. An illegal immigrant comes surreptitiously with a view to exploiting things. There is a distinction. The distinction is self-evident. I do not make this distinction on grounds of faith.

Sir, I will conclude. I am most grateful to you for having given me this opportunity. But I would like to say that unless you have a comprehensive policy for Assam and the North East, we will continue to repeat the mistakes that we are making. This is my caution and it is my hope, nevertheless, Sir, that at the end of this decade, like we had a discussion for Mandai in 1981, it is my hope that in 1996 or 1997 we do not have yet another discussion on yet another incident of this kind in Assam or the North East.

I support the Adjournment Motion moved by my friend.

17.59 hrs.

[SHRI P.C. CHACKO *in the Chair*]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): Sir, this morning in reply to the first question, we are told of the Moscow Declaration on plural societies. I also recall, Mr. Chairman, that there is a U.N. Declaration on the rights of minorities which our Government have supported. There is also Gandhiji's words of wisdom that a society's State of civilization shall be judged by its treatment of minorities.

I am making these three observations because minorities create plurality and the minorities are not only religious, but they can be linguistic, they can be racial, they can be cultural, they can be ethnic and they can be regional.

18.00 hrs.

The minorities are not limited to only one dimension. The minorities can be at the village level, at the block level, at the district level, at the State level and they all have to be treated fairly in their own places.

Now, for the last decade or two we have gone on a senseless spree in creating mini State, micro State, minute homelands, even creating small zones.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to place it before you for your consideration that howsoever minutely you cut up any area inhabited by human being you cannot have an absolutely homogeneous pocket. There will always be minorities there. It will always be a plural society and therefore, I feel that this existence of minorities should not and cannot justify in all human conscience the practice which has acquired the name of ethnic cleansing.

I allege, Mr. Chairman, that what happened on a massive scale in Bosnia and Rwanda has been happening on a mini scale in these district of Assam, Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon and Barpeta. It is only a difference of dimension, a difference of quantity, but there is no qualitative difference at all. You are trying to throw out people who do not belong to you, who are different from you and it is absolutely wrong on the part of some of our colleagues here to say that those who are being ousted from Bodoland are

foreign immigrants. Yes, they are Bengali speaking; yes, they are of Bengali origin, but they came to that part of the country 100 year ago, 75 years ago, generations ago. They are not current immigrants whom you can take by the collar, knock and throw out of the border. They are Indian nationals by any legal standards, by any constitutional scale and they have their rights as much as you and I and the hon. Minister have. Therefore, I feel that, we should not lose track.

Sir, Mr. Inder Jit, my good friend, has tried to throw, if I may say so, a number of red herrings across our track. I think he has been most inhuman. It is tragic that we should hear in this House a justification of brutal massacres on a false ground that they are foreigners.

SHRI INDER JIT: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to make a clarification.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I am not yielding to you.

SHRI INDER JIT: I have not justified.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I am not yielding.

Sir, the Census of India says that between 1971 and 1991, the rate of growth of population of Assam is less than the rate of growth of India as a whole. Where is the theory of illegal immigration? Where is the case of massive infiltration? Yes, I do not rule out that in any porous border, given this inefficient Government, you will always have a few thousand people strolling across back and forth. But where are those lakhs? There are the Census figures. If we do not believe in our own Census figure I do not know what we believe in. We

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seem to believe only in our prejudices, in our own perceptions, in our false notions, in our own false ideologies.

Mr. Chairman, I am not justifying illegal immigration. If there is a single case of illegal infiltration, it is the duty of the Executive, the State Executive and the Central Executive to act in accordance with the law, even to prosecute anyone in accordance with the law on the ground of suspicion. If he is found to be a foreigner, you deal with him according to the law. But you cannot refuse protection, you cannot at massacres and you cannot allow the guilty to go unpunished.(Interruptions)

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhuban): Please do not use phrases like "on the grounds of suspicion". This must not be part of the record.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): I am deliberately using that phrase but the executive must have a *prima facie* case. Naturally, on account of suspicion, it shall try to find out more. I am saying, do not ignore it. I agree with Mr. Jaswant Singh. Please do not ignore a single case. Please collect the information, make the enquiry and if you have a *prima facie* case, apply the law. I am sure that that satisfies you, Sir.

Sir, what I am trying to talk about is this. They are not foreigners; those who have been killed are Indian nationals. And they were not only Bengalis,—let me try to correct for the record—they were Santhals, they were Nepalese, they were Arains who were migrants from my State of Bihar who have been there for generations working and toiling for the

prosperity of Assam; and their villages have also been attacked. But, I would not like ourselves to be involved in this larger question and of larger dimension. Here is a human tragedy. And all that has been said here is merely an alibi, is merely a justification, is merely a plea to ignore the human dimension of this tragedy and confuse ourselves with all the legalities.

Sir, what has the State Government done? The State Government was cautioned. The State Government has not taken any action against a single individual involved in the last two massacres—October 1993, and June 1994. In October 1993, not a single person was arrested while hundreds were killed; in June 1994, six persons who were witnesses were arrested; they were not supposed to be culprits. They had only seen things happening and they were let off quietly.

Sir, in that part of the land, there is a BSF—not our Border Security Force, it is the Bodo Security Force. It goes around freely carrying its arms, terrorising the people and this Chief Minister or this Government Assam which applied all its strength against ULFA and has been able to contain it to a large extent not lifted a finger against the Bodo Security Force. This is my allegation. Sir, all that it has done is that it has tried to perpetuate the problems. There were difficulties about the delimitation of the Bodoland. There are unresolved issues. What should have been done is to reconcile those differences, is to sit down with all the people of the area, with all the political leaders of Assam and work out a reasonable human solution. After all there are non-Bodos in Bodoland and they will also always be there and there are Bodos outside the Bodoland and they will also always be there and both of them have

to live in peace, amity and goodwill with their own social environment. And, therefore, something has to be worked out. But it is not resolving the delimitation issue, the question of non-Bodo villages being included in the Bodoland. It is like taking one Sikh village 10 miles away from the Punjab border in Haryana and adding it to Punjab on the ground that it is peopled by Sikhs. Can that be justified? Why cannot live safely in Haryana and, therefore, why cannot Bodos live safely outside the Bodoland? Yes, the contiguous area peopled by the Bodos in which the Bodos have a concentration must be part of Bodoland. But this problem was not tackled for resolution at all. No steps were taken for the resettlement of the displaced persons, Mr. Chairman. People who were displaced last October are still living in camps, in unapproachable, inaccessible camps. Mr. Chairman, do you know that 150 persons have died in those camps because of lack of medicines, much more than the number of people who were killed by the Bodo Security Force and all Bodo Students Union in those disturbances? It is amazing. I drew the attention of the Assam Government to do something about those camps, to create conditions in which people can live and go back in peace to their homes; they can have a sense of security. I found a reign of terror, Mr. Chairman. People were not prepared to go back. There were no police outposts and even your Army presence, Mr. Rajesh Pilot, was only illusory. They were supposed to be patrolling in some accessible areas they were not penetrating those areas where people's lives were in danger.

At no point of time, in October or in June, was any area placed directly under army control. It was not done. That is the specific allegation I am making to you. The measures taken were ineffective.

Above all, I would like to draw your attention to the policy followed by the present leadership in Assam. The leadership was not to deal with Bodo problem or to deal with the problem of any community but to utilise the old imperial formula of divide and rule. So, the Bodo movement was divided. One was placed in power and the others were placed outside. The result was rivalry. In any such situation, it is always the radical extreme which gains ground and that is precisely what has happened. I am told that one section was supported by Mr. Saikia and the other section was supported by his opponents within his own party. One section was supported by one set of people in the Home Ministry here and the other group of people were supported by another set of people in the Home Ministry here. One set of people were supported by the Home Ministry and the other set of people were supported by Assam Government. In this trilateral or tri-dimensional division of the people of Bodoland, such a crisis has to occur. I am cautioning you that this is not the end of the matter, that no more massacres are going to take place and, therefore, we have to look of it in a very sensible manner.

If you go through the Act passed by the Assam Assembly, it must be clear that the responsibility for the protection of minorities of Bodoland is with the Assam Government. The Assam Government has failed in that statutory responsibility. It was said there that if there is a break down of law and order in the Bodoland area, then the Bodoland Council may be dissolved and the Governor of Assam after the first massacre came on the TV and radio and told the Bodo militants that "if you do not behave and if there is another massacre, we will dissolve the Council." Now we have the fourth massacre;

[Shri Syed Shahabuddin]

I would appeal to the Government that let us not look at the problem in a piecemeal manner. I agree with my friend Shri Inderjit who has said just now that you cannot have a design for the North-East like a quilt-patch each claiming a certain iota or a certain degree of sovereignty. Let us have an over-all design. I think that existed in the British time. It has broken down now. It can be re-established on the principle of mutual respect and decentralisation. There are identities which need to be recognised. But those identities are of such a dimension in quantitative terms that they can be fitted into a purely federal pattern of autonomy as a bloc, as a district, as an autonomous region, within a common state which should be viable. Your policy that has been followed over the last ten years, is a completely misdirected policy and that is making life unsafe for the minorities in every one of these areas. May be, economically, also more difficult for them. May be culturally impossible for them. May be, physically difficult for them to exist. Therefore, you should look at your entire scheme of things.

Shri Saikia was kind enough to send me a minister to have a two hour discussion with me. What I told him I sorted out forth a record, in a letter and sent it to him a copy of which I also sent to the Home Ministry. I do not know if anything has been done. I think we cannot wait any longer. Mr. Saikia has been playing a political game in Assam. He knows that his future depends on the support of minorities. His technique is to instill fear and terror in the minds of the minorities and then to say "I would protect you, come and take shelter under my umbrella." This will not do. True security to the minorities can only be

found in the social environment based on justice and fairplay and harmony.

It cannot be found under the umbrella of any individual or any party. Therefore, I suggest that Mr. Saikia is incapable of running Assam in its interests. I think his time has come. We gave him a long rope. He was the Chief Minister when the Nellie massacre took place. We forgot that 10,000 people were massacred in cold-blood. It was like drops of water on a duck's back !

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): It happened during the election time. Our party was in power afterwards.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: But your Government was in power. What I am saying is that in any case the present record of Shri Saikia is clear. We gave him a long rope. The Government should not stay for a day. All parties across-the-board in Assam have demanded his dismissal. I am sure, many Members of your own party think that the time has come for changing the leadership of Assam. Therefore, I suggest that the Government be dismissed and the Assam Assembly be kept in suspended animation. Secondly, this area of Bodoland must be brought directly under the control of the Central Government and should stay there with the presence of the Army, with the presence of the Central Reserve Forces until law and order is established. At the same time, you should talk with all segments of the Bodo opinion and work out a fair arrangement in which, as I said earlier, the Non-Bodo villages may be kept out. But all the Bodo areas can be integrated and can be rightly given to them.

After saying these words, I would like to make one more suggestion. Please do not treat the Bodos as foreigners. They are, perhaps among the oldest inhabitants of this sub-continent older than we are. They are Indians. There is no justification at all. I am pleading their case, for, you are taking away 10 kms. strip along the Bhutan border. It is theirs. Nobody else lives there. It may be sparsely populated. Please give it to them. But then do not force the Non-Bodo villages, which have no contiguous Bodo village in the main Bodoland, into the Bodoland area as a compensation. You cannot have security at the expense of the minorities living in the south. Therefore, my last word is that it is a very tragic situation. I knew it was coming. But I did not know that it would come so soon. I would not be surprised that if this Government does not take notice today, more massacres will take place in the near future. I hope that will not happen. I think the Government will wake up.

SHRI UDDHAB BARMAN (Barpeta):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, with a heavy heart and with much concern I am participating in the Adjournment Motion which I support. Gruesome murder has been committed on the night of 23rd. The refugees who were uprooted from their houses were murdered. Practically, bullets were showered on them killing and injuring many. There were no measures to protect the lives of these innocent people. This incident, this sort of violence, gruesome and horrifying violence has been taking place in that area since the night of 19th July. I was there on the morning of 20th July. People were coming in streams for shelter. On the 19th July, in the night, there were clashes between Bodos and Muslims. This continued up to 22nd. I can give a list of the names of the

villages which were affected big or small—numbering around 56 villages. The people affected, Bodos and religious minorities, number more than 50,000.

And this incident took place in a large area covered by the River Benky in the West and River Pohumara in the East covering a population of about five to seven lakh. This gruesome murder, gruesome happening was there and the Bodos were also affected. But the most affected section of the population was the Muslim minority. They came in streams, uprooted from the houses for shelter. I rushed there on 20 July. I tried to contact the Minister and other officials at Dispur. There were no Ministers. The Chief Minister was in Delhi. The Home Security was also there in Delhi and the Chief Secretary was also there in Delhi. And the only Minister I could contact was Shri Mukut Sharma. I informed him about the serious situation prevailing there. I tried to contact Rajyapal over telephone. I tried to contact the hon. Home Minister Shri S.B. Chavan over telephone. But he was ill. I was informed at that time that he was going to Bombay. I tried to contact the hon. Minister Shri Rajesh Pilot. He was busy in a meeting. I told his Private Secretary to kindly take note of what was happening in that area. I told him that the situation demands that more forces including military should be sent there. I was not given an assurance for taking any step from the side of the Centre. So, the situation drifted like anything. There was no force, no Army and people there were panic-stricken. They fled to other places for shelter. This happened on the 20th of this month. This violence also extended to other places. There was hardly any step taken to protect the lives and property of the people of that area. Practically, there was no administration to protect the lives of the people, to protect the property of the

[Shri Uddhab Barman]

people there—both Bodos and minorities. The Government has no moral right to continue in power in the State.

Now people are taking shelter in areas, about fifty kilometres away from the area from where they were evicted. Some of the people went to Koyakushi, 30 to 40 kilometres away from their places of residence. There was no administration. I contacted the police officials when their houses were being burnt and violence was taking place. The police officials said that storm was over and the situation was coming down. How did he assess the situation? What is his assessment of the situation? How do they assess the situation? This is the fate of the people there. So practically, there was no administration at that point of time and there was also no proper assessment of the situation. On the 22nd, some Ministers went there and in the evening the Chief Minister also went to BARPETA Road. I talked to the Minister. We suggested them that more deployment of forces should be there as people were very much panicky and without security. There is no resistance. So more deployment of forces including Army should be sent there. But the Ministers instead of collectively meeting the aggravating situation, were quarrelling among themselves. One of the Ministers—a State Minister created a scene paralysing the entire police administration. So the entire administration could not be geared up to protect the lives and properties of the people there.

This is the situation. People are saying that this particular Minister is creating a situation which is exploited by the Bodo Security Force. You know that on 13th of this month there was a bomb

blast killing more than six police officials. I am told, the police, to nab the extremists, tried to make use of some Muslim youth. I am told they were dressed in police uniform. They went to the villages in search of the Bodo extremists; but they harassed the Bodo people there. There was an allegation that some committed rape and looting were also committed on the Bodo people. This has entirely aggravated the situation. On 19th of this month when the police with some Muslim youth went to Dhekiajani there were clashes. The clashes continued—Bodo people attacking Muslims and Muslims attacking Bodos. This conflagration covering many areas there went on. So naturally a question comes as to who is responsible for the entire situation, who are the people responsible for that. I want that the Central Government and the State Government should identify the culprits and also identify which are the social factors responsible for this.

Some of my colleagues have already cited the incidents of Kokhrajar and Bongaigaon. In May this year there were incidents in Kokhrajar district. The Bodo Security Forces committed the mischief. In Bongaigaon district there were clashes and a large number of Muslim minority people were attacked. I also went to that area. Now the incident in BARPETA district has occurred. One after another these clashes are being organised. The people who suffer the most are from the poorer sections of the society. I know a lot of the area. Which are the forces which commit these violent activities on these poorer people? These forces should be identified and exemplary punishment should be meted out to them.

There is a lot of problem for Bodo people. They are poor and deprived. They organised a movement for a

separate State. Now they are given an autonomous council. Our party supported that autonomy should be given to the Bodo people. A good chunk of them should be involved in the democratic administration of the area and in solving their problems themselves. Our party has stood by this demand. We want even now that Bodo people should be given more autonomy.

But in passing the Bodo autonomous Council Bill in Assam Assembly the State Government created a lot of problem. It is a serious and sensitive problem. All parties should be taken into confidence. The Bill was hurriedly passed in the Assembly creating a lot of confusion among the Bodo and the non-Bodos. Even in Bodo land autonomous council area in certain areas there are more non-tribals than tribals. Our demand was that where there are 50 percent or more Bodo people, that should be included in the Bodo autonomous area, so that the Bodo people can better serve themselves. But that was not done. All political parties were not taken into confidence when the Bill was passed. We should create some confidence among the Bodo and the non-Bodo people. The non-Bodo people are also feeling that they are insecure in the Bodoland area. They are forming non-Bodo Protection Samitis, etc. and the ruling party is encouraging them.

At the present moment, there is a lot of confusion among different sections of the people. So, the situation has created a lot of problems. There is a lot of campaign against the Muslim minority. These people are mostly the victims of erosion of rivers Brahmaputra, Benki, Manas, etc. They went there for decades. They cultivated the land. Some of them have been settled by the Government itself. Someone may be there, but all Muslims are not foreigners Bangladeshi.

We do not agree to such argument. We do not agree that all Muslims are Bangladeshis. This has created an anti-Muslim feeling there. The campaign against the Bangladeshis is now amounting to a campaign against the Muslims living there. Some Bodos also indulge in such a campaign. This is creating the problem.

We are for detection of foreigners. We are for the 1971 as the cut-off year. All parties agreed to 1971 as the cut-off year. Since long back, we have been demanding that the border should be sealed. We do not understand what prevented the Central and the State Governments to seal the border and to settle the question of infiltration. Some people are coming from Bangladesh to India. Those people who have come after 1971 should be detected and sent back.

Who prevents the Government from doing this? But they are utilising the bogey of foreigners to disturb the unity of the people in the State. This is disintegrating the society in Assam. The integration and unity of the people in Assam is being eroded bit by bit.

We all know that Assam is a multilingual and multi-cultural State. There are Assamese people. There are Bengalis. Muslim are also there. There are tribals. Many of our friends in Delhi and Assam do not recognise the fact that Assam is a multilingual State. There is a lot of problem in Assam. The Assamese people are also having a lot of genuine problems. The minorities are also having some democratic aspirations. If we want to integrate the different section of Assam, we must recognise this fact that Assam is a multilingual and multi-cultural State. We must keep in mind the democratic aspirations of the minorities whether they are Muslims or Bengalis or tribals. If we

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do not recognise this fact, we will not be able to tackle the problem of Assam. But the present Government in Assam is creating problems. One section of people is being set against the other. This is creating more problems. So, I wish that a democratic and scientific approach should be preferred to solve the problems of Assam.

In this context, I want that the Central and State Governments immediately arrange to send relief material to the inmates of the relief camps. They are without food, without security and without medical aid. And there should also be some discussion among the political parties and other people also, so that the Bodo Autonomous Council can function properly.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI UDDHAB BARMAN: I am concluding Sir. At the same time, I would like to reiterate that criminals who always are responsible for the situation now occurring in that area should be identified and exemplary punishment should be meted out to them. The Government must taken all out security measures.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI KIRIP CHALIHA (Guwahati): Mr. Chairman Sir, I do not support the Adjournment Motion moved by Shri Chandrajit Yadavji. But I definitely welcome the spirit in which the discussion is taking place in the sense that at a point of time when a terrible tragedy is engulfing Assam, Parliament, the highest body has decided to show its concern and more importantly an attitude of trying to understand what is happening in that

North Eastern part of India. I should say that it is indeed a very welcome departure.

Sir, there come moments in a man's life when truth stares at you bluntly and slaps you hard in your face and it is very difficult for you to adhere to proprieties and etiquettes. It is specially so if the truth concerns us all; specially when the truth concerns not only Assam. Because I do not believe that what is happening in Assam today—and I have been repeating it again and again—what is happening in the North East today concerns us all. If some of you have a false hope that what is happening in the far off Assam and North East will never happen here, then you are living in a fool's paradise. I have been telling time and again that the contradictions and the conflicts that are arising in Assam today will definitely be taking place in the rest of the country tomorrow. Unless you take strong steps to halt the process of disintegration, the whole process of conflict and confrontation, I am sorry to say that Assam will undoubtedly become the graveyard of Indian Democracy and Indian Democracy as a whole might not survive. It is with this spirit that we have to ponder over this question and look into the various aspects as to why the situation has aggravated so badly.

Sir, violent delights have violent ends. Under no circumstances can we afford to play politics with human blood. I totally disagree with what Shri Inderjit has said, in whatever spirit he might have said that. When human lives are lost, you cannot find any excuses. When you seek excuses, you accuse yourself.

People have died. And the death that has occurred in Barpeta is a massacre. These massacres are taking place repeatedly in the North East in

various forms. They are not limited to strifes between tribals and non-tribals. In Nagaland, there are conflicts between Nagas and Kukis. In Assam we have discussed the Barpeta problem. I have come from Assam only yesterday. We were discussing this issue. A number of refugees who are living in the camps are Rajvanshis and Rajvanshis are also original inhabitants of Assam. A number of them are Bengali Hindus. Bengali Hindus also got killed. I would only like to stress that a superficial approach and trivial solutions and above all experts who fly down to North East for one day and come back here, can never solve the problem of North East. They will complicate the problems still further and in that process destroy India as a whole.

Sir, what a tangled web we weave when first we practice to deceive! Should I say more on that? Today, at this point of time I cannot say like lady Macbeth that even when I wash, I see blood in my hands. Innocent children, women are being killed. I cannot say like lady Macbeth,

"Out, damned spot,

out, I say, one, two why.

Then it is time to do it."

I cannot turn myself into lady Macbeth. Under no circumstances I can do that and that is why, Sir, I have been time and again appealing to you, please do not convert Assam into a killing field. Unfortunately, today Assam has become a killing field in spite of everything because 'Brutus is an honourable man.' It is very difficult at times when murders take place to justify action. Still I will try to be rational and not emotional at all because life comes and goes and things have to

go on for ever. I would definitely like to pinpoint some of the facts.

I am very grateful to the observations made by some of the senior leaders. I know Jaswant Singhji since my childhood. Atalji Vajpayee have been time and again visiting our place. I would like to say that media has to be little more responsive to the needs of North-Eastern State. Unless massacre takes place or big firing takes place, media is not concerned about what is happening in the North-East. Today there is no difficulty with regard to communication. We have only to be a little more responsive. Today media has to play a very big role and unless the media and the Parliament go deep into the problem, we cannot find any solution. As Jaswant Singhji said, it is true that massacre is just a symptom, is just an outward manifestation of the inner cancer and we have to find out where the inner cancer is. And, here we have the time to find out where the cancer is. In this country the biggest problem that we have is the problem of time. We hardly have time to discuss anything. We do not have time to discuss even our national security. We participate in discussion without knowing the reality. For example, take the Bahjani incident. It cannot be a communal question because I have been told that there are about 9000 Muslims in a particular village who have been protected by 10,000 Hindu Assamese. This is on record and Shri Rajesh Pilot has himself seen it.

Sir, we have talked about a number of problems and I am entirely in agreement with some of the basic questions which have been pointed out by Shri Chandrajit Yadav, Shahabuddinji and Jaswant Singhji. How long will fragmentation and structuring of Assam

[Shri Kirip Chaliha]

continue? By strengthening the cause of separatism in Assam, are you trying to hide out your own inefficiency in Uttar Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh? Are you trying to become champions of tribals in Assam just to get some votes in Bihar, U.P. and Madhya Pradesh? You have to be little more rationale about it. The other day in the Home Ministry one senior Member asked me that massacre has taken place in one tribal area and 23 women have been raped. So autonomy has to be given. I told him that in Uttar Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh for hundred of years now Jagirdars, Zamindars or Thakurs have kept the entire caste of the people as their personal property and exploited them. Are you giving them autonomy? There cannot be dichotomy in dealing with a situation. That is the first priority when you are dealing with a situation like this and I assert that the problem of North-East cannot be dealt with in isolation.

You will be having contradictions there. You already have Laloos today. You have the Mandal Commission division taking place here in North India. There are fantastic contradictions which will come if not today, tomorrow. You are already having it. These are very pertinent points. But there are one or two equally pertinent points which have not been pointed out by anyone. I would like to just ponder over it by hinting at the problem. Sir, you will be surprised if I say that insurgency, extremism and massacres are very profitable businesses in politics. Sir, excuse me for saying so. Suppose I say today that in my State I have a problem of extremists. Can I exploit that situation with an unlimited political authority that I have with me? Can I go on exploiting people? Can I go on taking recourse to corruption? Can I

go on misusing my political authority? Can I hide all my inefficiency by saying that my State is a trouble-torn State? Suppose I assume that there is a possibility of political interest or for my own personal benefit, insurgency and anti-national activities are allowed to go on unabated, what will you say? Is it not a very dangerous thing? Whenever there are massacres, you send relief materials. You are distributing these relief materials to more than one lakh people, Suppose I say that it gives us an opportunity to get 50 per cent commission for distribution of medicines, then what will you say? Suppose I say that politics of human blood must become the future profession in this country, then what will happen? Can you just dismiss this as an unfounded truth and wild imagination of a young idiotic Parliamentarian? When truth hurts you and inconvenience you, then truth hurts you more. I would appeal to you all and to this House once again to understand the psyche of the North-East as has been said by Mr. Inderjit. The psyche of the North-East has to be seen in its multidimensional aspect not in one aspect. I am an Assamese, I know that my State was in isolation. So I have every right to feel aggrieved. Does it mean that you will allow me to take up arms tomorrow in order to kill somebody? The Indian nationalism, the land of this country and the commitment to this country cannot be sacrificed because I have certain grievances. Because of these grievances if I take to arms, I cannot be pardoned. A line has to be demarcated whether there is a border or no border.

Unfortunately, Accords are made at the drop of a hat; Accords are made for exhibiting in Television, Accords which are never implemented and people get hurt. We have to understand the compulsions of situations. Sir. I am

saying these things precisely because these are distortions which are coming into our political system. These are the distortions which are taking place in Indian Parliamentary democracy. People are misusing the system to discredit the system and this might finish off the entire political edifice of the country. So, we have to be a little alert and cautious.

Sir, I was the President of the Youth Congress of Assam for six years. Those were the days when ULFA killings were taking place. The General Secretary of the Youth congress of Assam was killed because he held a Congress Meeting. I am not saying this because I was there. I believe in a particular ideology. We are nationalists. The Congress is the only nationalist party. I brought his widow along with all the MPs of Assam. I went to a particular Minister. I told him that her husband had sacrificed his life for the cause of nationalism. You at least sanction her a petrol pump of a gas agency so that her family can be rehabilitated. They had an independent business also. Their business was totally shattered because of this. Still nothing had been done. But the person who had killed him had been rewarded. The Home Ministry's policy was such that they had given Rs. 2 lakh, a Gypsy car, contracts, jobs and what not.

Some of these people had come and asked me to give them petrol pumps, I said, "my goodness, petrol pump also", I am helpless. I am a member of Parliament from Guwahati for the last three years. Can you believe that I could not give contracts or liquor shops, jobs and so on being given to some of them. A number of workers were working for me for the last six years for the cause of nationalism, but I could not do anything for them. Why? It is because the people

who had surrendered to ULFA rule the roost.

Everybody listened to them. The Government officials listened to them. that is the policy of the Indian Government. We condemn Bodo extremists who killed these people. We are saying that they should be brought to book. The guilty has to be punished. Suppose tomorrow they decide to join the mainstream. What do we do? How long will this process of appeasement, appeasing anti-national forces continue? If my son tells me today, "My dear dad, I should have killed you because you are a nationalist. If I had killed you, I would have got what I wanted; but I did not kill you. So, I am suffering." What answer do I have? But there is an answer from the top. It is being practised by top people.

So, Assam's problem is not a simple problem of tribals and non-tribals; it is not a problem of immigration only; there are other facets also. Who are these immigrants, the Bangladeshis Hindus? Who are immigrants from Bangladesh? You had partitioned this country. They did not have any place to live there. They came and settled down here. They are Bengalis. When they came here, they did not bring everything. They are people like simple shopkeepers: they are ordinary people. You condemn them to hell. That is the obligation you are doing to this country for the partition. Who are the immigrant Muslims? Infiltration is not welcome. Most of them were invited by the Government to do cultivation because they needed peasants. That side has to be looked into. Every problem has got different facets. You have to look into its totality; you cannot isolate it. It is not a question of making $2 + 2 = 4$. Had it been so, there would not have been any problem in Assam.

[Shri Kirip Chaliha]

Unfortunately, nothing has been done in this regard.

The other day, I asked the Home Secretary in a meeting of the Standing Committee certain questions. You will be shocked to know that the reply of the Home Secretary was that if I could answer all these questions, there would have been no insurgency in Assam. So, what do we do? It is not that these people do not know it. I know Shri Rajesh Pilot, who is sitting in front of me, since my young political life. You will be surprised to know that more than 60 per cent people who know politics in Assam do not consider him U. P. walla; they consider him Assamese. He knows each and everybody by name. But has he been able to do anything? What is the secret of not doing anything I do not know? There may be some secret. But I am just hinting at certain things. It is difficult to say certain things. What is really important is the role of the army. Once again, we have placed certain districts in Assam under the control of the army. But What can army do? When you send army there, the State Government issues an official press statement condemning the role of the army at times questioning the wisdom of the army. How do you blame the poor army? I do not find answers to these questions.

You are talking about extremism. At one point of time, three top ULFA leaders—Chairman, Vice-Chairman and the General Secretary except the Commander-in-Chief—were in police custody. One morning we heard that they had fled to Bangladesh and they were under pressure from ISI. I asked who sent them to Bangladesh, who allowed them to go from this country. I did not

get any answer. No constable was suspended for this decision; no Inspector was suspended for this decision. Now, if we allow the extremists to go to another country, who is to take this blame? Is it I or you or the Home Ministry or anybody else?

Someone earlier had said why has it failed? Something must have gone wrong somewhere. When everything was all right, still things failed. It means that accountability has to be there.

I have been repeatedly appealing, whenever I get a chance to speak I try to keep myself away from the controversy of Assam—that this question has to be taken very seriously.

What is the future of hundreds of thousands of nationalists like me in this country? The people and my children, who believe that this land, this country belongs to us, is our country and no amount of provocation can take us away from this country—what future we have for them? Have we been encouraging nationalism or have we been encouraging terrorism? Have we been encouraging idealism or have we been encouraging corruption and opportunism? Have we been encouraging straightforward commitment to the nation or have we been encouraging small time machiavillian machinations which are ruining this country?

These are the questions which I cite keeping in mind not only the specific incident of Barpeta massacre but these are the questions which concern us all. These are the questions which will come up today or tomorrow in the context of Barpeta, if not in the context of Barpeta, then in the context of Ayodhya, if not in context of Ayodhya then in the

context of some other place which will keep coming. We hope these questions get stopped and we find an answer and a political will of the Government is exhibited in full measure not only for show but in the real sense. Otherwise, it will be very difficult to control this situation and one day my children, like Lady Macbeth, might say, 'Is this a dagger which I see before me; the handle towards my hand, come let me clutch this and stab somebody.'

SHRI KABINDRA PURKAYASTHA (Silchar): Mr. Chairman Sir, I rise to support the Adjournment Motion brought in connection with the Barpeta incident and the present situation in the State of Assam.

The Barpeta incident is not a solitary one. It is one of the incidents in chain of the incidents. While speaking regarding this incident, I must bring before the House the activities of the Government now ruling the State of Assam.

First thing is since the independence of the country may a time in the House, I have told, the sense of alienation among the people of the North East is growing. This is only because since the partition of the country, no Government—neither the Central Government nor the State Government—put any importance on the problem of the North Eastern States in any field; in the economic field, cultural field, social field or in any respects. So this is the main cause that the people of North East feel alienated from the mainstream of the country. This is most unfortunate and for that the party which is ruling is solely responsible. The Government at the Centre as well as the State Government are solely responsible for this.

Sir, in 1991, the Saikia Government came to power in Assam and I must say, what my friend Shri Krip Chaliha has elaborated is correct. I am very happy that he showed the courage to depict the real picture and activities of the Government of Assam. Whatever he was telling were the activities and actions of the State Government of Assam.

19.00 hrs.

And since this present Government came to power in 1991, in all the fields, in the State of Assam, the situation has been worsened. In no field, there is any sign of improvement.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Purkayastha, please sit down for a minute.

We took up this Adjournment Motion at 4.30 p.m. and the time permissible is two hours and thirty minutes. Now it is 7 p.m. If the House so desires, we will extent the time. There are 11 more Members who would like to participate in this discussion.

The hon. Members are aware that this is an Adjournment Motion and we have to wind up the discussion today itself. So, we extent the time by one hour, that is, upto 8 p.m. I request the hon. Members to be brief.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI BIBHU KUMARI DEVI (Tripura East): We can take it up tomorrow. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is not possible. So, I take it that the sense of the House is to extend the time up to 8 p.m. for the time being.

Shri Purkayastha, you can continue your speech.

SHRI KABINDRA PURKAYASTHA:

Sir, this Saikia Government is somehow trying to maintain its power, to retain its power. That is why. this Saikia Government has taken up the path of divide and rule. Sir, it is so unfortunate that all the tribal groups are somehow allured to approach the Government to get autonomy. Whoever approaches the Saikia Government, without any thinking, the Saikia Government says that they will get autonomy. This is not for the benefit of that particular group of tribal. This is only to maintain the position of the Saikia Government in the State and to create divide and rule policy among different groups to retain its power. This is the policy of Saikia in the State of Assam and that has created division in the State of Assam among different sections of people and among different communities.

Sir, this Bodo agreement was made and the people at that time thought that definitely through the Bodo agreement, some sort of peace might come. But you will find that after the agreement was signed, practically no peace has come, rather people have been divided further. This has become one of the causes for the latest incident.

Sir, the question of infiltration has come up. It is surprising to notice that while that Home Minister. Shri S.B. Chavan, speaking in a Press Meet in Guwahati, in the presence of the Chief Minister of Assam, declared that this infiltration had created a havoc in the North-Eastern States whereas the Chief Minister of Assam says that there is no infiltration. So, you will notice, where the Government stands. Practically, there is no correlation or coordination between the State Government and the Central Government. As a result of this, this infiltration is being denied by the State Government. And this is also another

cause for dissatisfaction and division among different communities and linguistic groups in the North-East.

Sir, the present incident has started on 13th, of this month when one Additional SP and six police persons were killed. This is the starting of the present situation. And after that, for two or three days, there were to some extent calm. But from 18th again, this group clash has started. And it is so unfortunate that it happens when the Saikia Government has moved its Cabinet and is sitting at Barpeta. Even then, they cannot control anything.

The tackling of the matter by the State Government or by the Ministry was very unfortunate. The Government should take initiative as to how the peace can be restored as to how the situation can be changed. However, the Government is thinking to divide the people.

Then, under the leadership of one Minister of State and with the help of a high police official, an attack was made in the Bodo villages and Bodo people were killed and women were raped. That incident created a resentment among the people of the area. That happened on the 22nd. This created a resentment among the Bodo people and that is why killings took place on the 23rd and for that the Government of Assam is solely responsible. After the incidents, the people had to abandon their own houses to take shelter in the camps. In the camps, there must be some sort of security. There was no security. So, this happened. And Hindu, Muslim, tribal and non-tribal questions have grown so much. There are many other things which are linked with this incident.

Recently, the Saikia Government took another step. The Saikia Government started to award pattas to people particularly

to the char inhabitants. Generally the people of the State of Assam were of the opinion that the awarding of pattas should be made just after taking a decision or making an investigation whether a man is a citizen of the country or of the State. But without doing this the Government of Assam started awarding pattas. This also created resentment among the tribal and non-tribal people of the State. This is not a solitary incident. This is due to the wrong policy and wrong action of the Government and the Government is solely responsible for all these things. At this stage, what I say is that the Government must take an attitude not of division and not of dividing the people but to see as to how the problem can be solved.

Lastly, though it is said that punishing the culprit is not the solution yet in my opinion, at this stage, culprits must be detected and punished so that such incidents do not occur in future.

With these words, I conclude my speech.

DR. MUMTAZ ANSARI (Kodarma): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is a tragic incident which has taken place in that part of the county which must be condemned by all in the strongest words and in the strongest language. But it is very much surprising that at least 60 or 70 persons have been killed in the refugee camps in Barpeta and at least 100 persons have been wounded and more people are reported to have been killed and dead.

19.10 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

But still, the persons from the Treasury Benches are also mixing up

different aspects of the issue like the illegal migrants from different borders, the issue of different tribals and non-tribals etc. Sir, this is very much surprising that this has not been taken up very seriously though it is a very much tragic incident and a very serious matter. It should have been taken up by the Treasury Benches with all seriousness.

My young friend from the Treasury Benches, Mr. Krip Chaliha has told a lot of things. He has touched all the aspects and he has rather exposed the State Government in all respects. Mr. Krip Chaliha has rightly said that the present government*...

Similarly Mr. Chaliha has gone to the extent of charging* and the State Government is adopting all sorts of methods, all sorts of tricks and all sorts of games in order to woo different sections of the people.

MR. SPEAKER: I will look into the record and that which cannot go on record will be removed from the record.

DR. MUMTAZ ANSARI: Sir, I am saying whatever has been said.

MR. SPEAKER: Let us speak as responsible Members of the House.

DR. MUMTAZ ANSARI: Sir, I am telling the same thing that has been said by the hon. Member.

The entire Government machinery has failed to protect the life and property of the people—whatever they may be, either Muslims or Hindus or tribals or non-tribals, whatever may be their colour. I do not dispute the fact that it is very

* Expunged as ordered by the chair.

[Dr. Mumtaz Ansari]

much tragic incident where the Home Minister has also dashed and he has also assessed the alarming situation. Separate notes by both the Ministers of Home Ministry have also been submitted to the Prime Minister saying that these are the realities, these are the incidents which have taken place. Similarly the hon. Member from the Treasury Benches who is just inciting the feelings all over the country by such statements that North East region is burning is making such statements. These statements will just incite the feelings all over the country and in that case the whole of the country will be burning. So, let us refrain and let us just abstain from such type of statements. We must see it with all gravity and seriousness and in the right perspective as to how to stop the massacre and how to stop the mass killing and how to stop such type of tragic incidents which are taking place in that part of the country.

And, Sir, this is not the single incident which has taken place. In October, 1993 also some people were killed in Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon districts. Similarly in the month of May, 1994 at least 40-50 persons were killed by the 'Bodo Security Force'. I think a different nomenclature has been given to them. So, these incidents show the political willingness on the part of the State Government that the State Government is not willing to control all such types to incidents which are very much tragic in nature.

We see that the Chief Minister was also there at a distance of just 15 kilometres and the police guards were also posted in order to safeguard all these persons who are living in the refugee camps. They number at least 4

to 5 thousand. Some 50,000 persons have fled from different villages. Sir, there is the rule of jungle there. The people are seeking refuge. They are coming to shelter camps and refugee camps. They are coming under the umbrella of the State Government in order to get protection of life and property. It is surprising that the shooting spree is going on there also. In such circumstances, where will the people go?

It is just lame excuse and it is very inhuman approach that the people say that they are the illegal migrants coming from across the border or coming from Bangladesh. There may be different other issues also. I do not dispute that. There is the law of land and the law of land is there to discriminate these illegal migrants coming from different other borders and the real inhabitants, those real citizens of the country who are the real inhabitants of the State. These are all separate issues.

But when the human beings are being killed, these people are not sensitive enough and they are mixing up all the issues together. That is why, I say that this Saikia Government should not stay in power even for a single day more, because for a long time such type of inhuman and tragic incidents are taking place in that part of the State on one pretext or the other. The State Government is very much insensitive to all these issues. The State Government has altogether failed in its duty. The State Government of Assam headed by Mr. Saikia has no moral authority, no moral right to continue in power. It is the primary duty of the State Government to look after the law and order problem. It is the primary responsibility of the Central Government also to look after the life and property of the people living in that part of the country.

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude now.

DR. MUMTAZ ANSARI: Sir, the State Government has failed, the entire machinery has failed and the Central Government has also failed. The Central Government is not foisting any responsibility on the State Government. The Central Government is aligning blatantly to carry on the Government there.

Sir, the people who killed the innocent people there are of such nature and they should rather be hanged because they are just killing the people. It is the primary duty and responsibility of the State Government to protect the life and property of the people. But they are making discrimination and they are trying to take political mileage.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, you have to conclude. Otherwise I am going to call other Members.

DR. MUMTAZ ANSARI: Sir, I have just started.

MR. SPEAKER: You come to the main points; description is not necessary.

DR. MUMTAZ ANSARI: There are many issues.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not want if you touch the issues.

DR. MUMTAZ ANSARI: Sir, I am concluding.

There are regional imbalances. The Central Government should try to remove all these regional imbalances. There are certain tribal issues also. The Central Government must try to solve all these

problems of tribals and non-tribals. There are certain issues relating to poverty and backwardness of the State in certain parts of the State. So, the Central Government must attend to all these issues. They are the responsibilities of the Central Government. The Central Government cannot escape from all these responsibilities. Why is the Central Government not invoking the provisions of Article 356 of the Constitution? This type of a State Government has no moral right to continue in power. So, Article 356 of the Constitution there at a very short notice.

So, this is my humble appeal that the Central Government must take action and the State Government must be dismissed summarily. The Central Government must also try to attend to all these bubbling issues so that such type of tragic incidents do not take place in the country again.

[Translation]

SHRI ABDUL GHAFUOR (Gopalganj): Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Jaswant Singh ji delivered his speech. I have an infatuation for the voice and dictum of Vajpayee ji. I was sitting here to listen to him but he did not speak. After all this one thing flashed in my mind. Babari Masjid was demolished. Vajpayee ji had regretted the incident and said in the House that it should not have happened. The demolition of mosque did not hurt me as much as the scene of deployment of army there. After watching it on TV, I asked to myself what was happening here? What sort of Government is it? Same thing is being repeated today. You and these people will greatly benefit from this. We stand now where but what will you do? I can tell you the way out. This is second such incident 'Aaye Aapke Ghar Aur Wahan Hua Khatle Aam'. In

[Shri Abdul Ghafoor]

[Translation]

some paper, I read that Shri Saikia while in the Circuit House was gheraoed by people who enquired what the Government was upto? The bodyguards of Shri Saikia abandoned him. He had a very narrow escape. This is the prevailing law and order situation in the country. What is happening today? President's rule is imposed on a State on petty excuses and the case is filed before the Supreme Court. Two-three days back, I watched on TV some military personnel saying that all our Ministers are corrupt. They apprehend the people and beat them up. It is happening everywhere. Why do not you dare to do something in this regard?

While speaking Shri Jaswant Singh ji had made a theme of the things. Shri Pilot and Shri Chavan are at loggerheads. Why do not you say anything. Their Member said that a person like me can not contest election. *(Interruptions)**

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: This is not going on record.

[Translation]

SHRI ABDUL GHAFOR: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I give them a warning. That... *(Interruptions)** May say it gently that they should be removed.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: This is also not going on record.

SHRI ABDUL GHAFOR: This way, the blot on them will also be washed off. We removed them and we removed ourselves, too. With these words, I warn them and sit down.

[English]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE (Calcutta South): Sir, I oppose the text of the Adjournment Motion moved by Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav.

Sir, I am grateful to you because you have given me this opportunity to express my view. Since everything has been said by the other Members, I am not going to discuss this issue in detail. I wish to make only one observation. We condemn what has happened in Barpeta; we condemn the massacre. Earlier also we have seen the Nellie incident and the Mandhai incident. Even in Shillong also, the same thing is going on. In Bihar also, eleven persons died. This is a very serious matter. But the only problem is that wherever the Congress Government is in power, then all Opposition Party Members ask for the imposition of the President's Rule under Article 356 and they also ask for their resignation, but wherever they are in power, they would not criticise their Government. Whatever we have to do, we have to do it consciously.

In Assam, though everybody is criticising Shri Hiteswar Saikia, we have to admit the point that Shri Hiteswar Saikia is the man who has tried his best to restore normalcy. *(Interruptions)* You will say that nothing has been done because your Government is not there.

If I say that so many things are happening in Rajasthan, then you will not admit it. I am not politicizing it.

What has happened in Barpeta is a very serious thing. My first demand is that the Home Ministry should investigate the matter through the CBI and find out who are the leaders who have a relationship with the underground world. They have relations with the insurgent leaders, the Mafia gangs and those who have the money power, especially the muscle power of the insurgent world. There are some political leaders who have got good relations with those people and that is why, sometimes, the political leaders due to their vested interests mislead the people and create these problems.

So, I request the hon. Minister to investigate into the matter and if you see anybody, however big a leader he may be, if he indulges in insurgency, he should be punished and he should not be rewarded and he should not be allowed to contest the election.

Of course, I was told that they are using modern equipments. In Barpeta also, they have used the rocket and other modern equipment. Assam Government did not have the modern equipment. Assam is a very poor State. Tripura is a very poor State.

I request the Government that when State Government has declared it a disturbed area, the Central Government should hand over this area to the army with full authority so that army should control the situation.

• Shri Inder Jit has said that it is because of infiltration. Of course, there is some infiltration problem. But you have

to consider the infiltration problem that existed up to 1971 and what it is now. According to our Constitution and agreement, we have to appreciate that Pandit Nehru and Shri Liaquat Ali Khan in Pakistan and Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdul Rahman have made some pact and, according to that pact, those who have come from Bangladesh upto 25th March, 1971 were very much Indian. They are not foreigners. So, do not compare them with people who are staying there from 75 years or 100 years and 25 years. They are not foreigners. If there are some problems of infiltration, then Government can take over the issue with Bangladesh Government and with other Governments.

The House will be surprised to know that in the North Eastern region, specially the minorities are a problem. They do not have right to property. Even women and children are not spared. I have seen this in Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Assam. We have to look after the problems of different tribals and remove their problems.

[Translation]

SHRI DAU DAYAL JOSHI (Kota):
In 1971, there were only 35,000 Bangladeshis here. Under Nehru-Liaquat agreement, there were only 35,000 Bangladeshis and today 3 lakhs of them have intruded into the North-Eastern region. What do you have to say about it?

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE:
Why are you crying? I do not know. Every Bangladeshi is not a bad character. You should know this. Those who migrated to Indian during 1971, came under the Indira Gandhi-Mujib-ur-Rehman pact and not because your party wished

[Kumari Mamata Banerjee]

that. You must understand that it is a sensitive subject, whether it is so or not. I do not know wherefrom he has procured these statistics.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You do not have to reply please.

[Translation]

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: I agree that the problem of infiltration is more serious in the North-Eastern States. But another factor that should not be ignored is that the people who have migrated under the Indira Gandhi-Mujibur-Rehman pact during 1971 war or at the time of Nehru-Liaquat Pact should be entitled to Property rights and right to live here. It should be examined as to how, why and when Bangladeshi people came over to India. I am not talking about the present. You should not make a discussion in this regard.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You do not get delayed. You proceed with your speech.

[Translation]

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi): What have you to say about their number rising from a mere 35,000 to 3 lakh? Who is responsible for that?

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE: You are responsible and your politics is responsible for that. It is because of politicising every issue. You want the Government of Assam to resign for what has happened at Barpeta but two days

ago 11 people were burnt alive in Bihar. Why do not you seek the resignation of Bihar Government. You must be fair but when it affects your party, you will keep mum and raise a hue and cry in the matters in which our party is involved. This is not a party matter. I would like to speak the truth only. I would request to hand over the disturbed area to the army.

[English]

There is a feeling among the tribal people that more and more developmental works should be carried out in their areas. They have a feeling that they are isolated from the mainstream. People should not get this feeling. Secondly, the army people should get the full power and authority so that the lives of the minorities can be protected there. The Government should give compensation to the families of those who had died. The Government should rehabilitate the families of those who had died. I must say one thing to the Minister. In the case of the ULFA people, those who have surrendered, they are getting Rs. two lakhs. But in the case of these people who had died, who fought for the country, their families are not getting one rupee. Their families have not yet been rehabilitated. I think the Government should change the policy and Government should rehabilitate the families of those people who died for the sake of the country.

Sir, I do not want to elaborate much because there are so many speakers who want to speak, I think, our country is a vast country. Different types of people are staying in this country, Somebody may be a Hindu, a Muslim, a Bengali, a Bihari and a Maharashtra. Somebody may belong to other community. But we have all to live

together. We are Indians. We have to be Indians. We have to strengthen our country. That is why I think this Adjournment Motion should be withdrawn. We have to strengthen the hands of the State Government. The Central Government should give all sorts of assistance to the State Government so that the State Government can curb the terrorist activities immediately. If it is not done, if the Government is going to indulge in this type of a thing, then, everywhere this type of people would come up and create havoc. You know about the politicians. They are playing vote politics. They are doing this for their own vested interests. This type of a thing is going on. Ultimately, the people are suffering most. That is why, the political leaders should not be spared in this type of an activity.

With these words, I conclude. I am grateful to you because you have given me this opportunity to speak. At the same time, I request the Minister to look into the matter seriously so that this type of an incident cannot occur.

[Translation]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI (Hyderabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, whatever happened is very deplorable and these incidents should be condemned. And when Shri Rajesh Pilot went there, there was a report in the newspapers that it happened due to lack of communication as a result of that information could not be received on time which worsened the situation there. Now the question arises why all this is happening there when a Government very much exists there? On the other hand, it is being said that Bangladeshis have infiltrated. The question is who allowed them to infiltrate and how did they infiltrate to all. Then the subsequent

massacre is a clear indication to the fact that the Government has totally failed in this matter and the Congress is itself advocating the handing over of the area to the army. I would like to say that in such a situation where the Government has failed miserably, why President's rule is not being imposed there? How long can we remain silent spectators of the loss of human lives there?

I only want to say in this matter that enough is enough and the Government must take some steps. Such incidents are repeatedly taking place in Assam. I feel that such incidents are a stigma on humanity and these should be stopped by taking drastic steps.

SHRIMATI BIBHU KUMARI DEVI (Tripura East): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Adjournment Motion. But today we have to analyse the situation of the North-East from the national angle and from the point of view of security of the country. Therefore, this House has a collective responsibility towards the Indian people. Every time I read of these holocausts, I am reminded of the 6th June, 'Mandai Massacre' that we had suffered in my State in 1980. It was in 1980 and I remember it because Mrs. Gandhi was then alive and I remember having had a lot of discussion with her with regard to this problem, I have seen how both the communities had suffered then. When we discuss these things here in this House. It becomes an issue for every party. It becomes a personal issue for those who want to promote one community or the other. And as my friend Shri Kirip Chalia has said, in politics, a new trend has come where political benefit is also derived by using these communal problems for personal benefits. I have spoken earlier in this House with regard to the problems of the tribals. Why has this problem come up? Why

[Shrimati Bibhu Kumari Devi]

has this problem become such a burning issue? My friend Shri Inderjit earlier has said that they do not want another Tripura to be repeated. Tripura was a tribal State, tribal majority State and today we have to literally beg for our own seats, either it goes to insurgency as some political regional parties have started which is bad for the nation, which is bad for the State, which is bad for the country and which is bad for our national image seen fingers of little children being crushed, I have seen women whose hands have been hacked, I have seen young men who have become landless. At the same time, wherever the opportunity has arisen it has happened to the other side also, maybe in a lesser degree. Our Government must recognise this fact. This House must recognise the fact that whichever Government comes to power that for the sake of the vote banks, we cannot sacrifice national interest.

In Tripura, in 1949 when it merged with the Indian Union, there was a reservation made by the then Government, the erstwhile princely State for a 1960 square miles of tribal reserve and it was implemented in 1974 during the time of Mrs. Gandhi. She was first advised by the Government to remove this reservation and mind you, in all the manifestos of the State Government, the promises that were given to the tribal people were that this 1960 square miles of territory which was reserved and today which has become the scheduled reserve area would be theirs. In the meantime, we allowed infiltrators to enter there. They had already captured the administration, they were more educated, economically better off. Tribal lands were acquired for rehabilitation of the non-tribals. Therefore, bitterness started. At

the same time, you had a commitment, the Indian Constitution has a commitment to settle tribals, landless tribals and the Jhumias on their own land.

Their land was taken first to settle immigrants or people who had just come in; they were not even immigrants; they were also people who had walked into the State. I must stress again and again that it is not against certain groups or certain classes of people; but it is for the national interest. Today in Tripura we have no rehabilitation Department. Since 1961 there is no rehabilitation Department. You are spending only Rs. 80,000 on the refugees in Tripura, the erstwhile East Bengal refugees. I do not know what West Bengal is getting. In Dandakaranya for twelve thousand people you are spending crores and crores of rupees. Where does that money go? That means there is no coordination among the Home, the Law, the Agriculture and the RD Departments. As per the All India Land Reforms Act there was a certain ceiling on land. That ceiling limit is not applicable in places like Tripura where one family can take 50 acres of land because it takes in the wife's name, wife's mother's name, etc. I was the Revenue Minister there and therefore I went in depth into this problem. You find that people just got their lands transferred, a system which does not exist in the State, the Bargadar system coming from West Bengal. We have all the non-tribal population forced on the State.

Recently I had brought about the Sixth TLR amendment. Our people do not even know why it was passed unanimously by both the parties. It was a welcome proposition. But, for four years it kept hanging over here. It has been sent back by the President or was recalled. I do not know why. It was for

helping those tribals whose lands have been alienated and to ensure that the transfer of land would not become easy. The present Government there has now made it easy. I did not allow any mortgage to any institution, any company. My friends over here can influence their Government in this regard. Why are these poor people being used?

The Bodo problem is a similar problem. They have become terrorists trying to protect their own lives. They have been called insurgents when they were trying to protect their lives. They are not educated. Their livelihood depends on land. They get their food from that while a non-tribal has some occupation; either he is a caste based man or he has got some education or he has got some training with regard to putting up a shop and getting some sort of employment. So we must be rational about it and look at it from that angle. I have also suggested to the Home Ministry time and again...

[Translation]

SHRI HARCHAND SINGH (Ropar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, lands have been taken away from princes; poor farmers have not been divested of their lands.

[English]

SHRIMATI BIBHU KUMARI DEVI: We have a long boundary. I met the State Home Minister. I have made enquiries and found out that more than 50 per cent of our Border Security Forces have been moved to Kashmir. Our border outposts are very thinly manned. According to the Home Ministry budget this year no amount was spent or anything invested for the last five years on the Assam Rifles. One should have one's

own forces. We have got educated young boys; we do not have job opportunities there; we do not have industries there; we have a different style of life; not a single person has been recruited. I have suggested that instead of giving profits to the contractors and politicians and whoever they may be, why do not we raise about a hundred battalions?

The people, who know the topography of the area, who are the people of the region, if recruited naturally feel involved in the national activities of trying to protect the borders. That is one of my suggestions. That way, we can seal our border. We will be spending about Rs. 15 crore. But you will spend more than that by putting up barbed wire. You cannot put up barbed wire through jungles. We have about 10,000 Naga boys who are graduates just sitting idle. We must not forget the fact that in the whole world, the international politics has changed. The polity of small nation theory has come up. We have seen the Soviet Union breakup. People are conscious of their ethnic identity. A Bengali say, "Yes, Bengali is my language." A tribal says, "Khasi is my language. Why should I not be allowed to speak in that language? Why should I not be allowed to dress myself in that dress?" So, these are psychological motivations for any nation to come up. A Bengali today is proud of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. He is proud to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. He is proud of Rabindranath Tagore. He is proud of the whole galaxy of great people. That is one of the reasons that the Bengalis will think of the tow Bengals uniting one day. Of course, that is from West Bengal. I would not say that of East Bengal.*

MR. SPEAKER: I do not think that is necessary. It will go off the record.

* Not recorded.

SHRIMATI BIBHU KUMARI DEVI:

Another thing which, I think, we should all be sensitive to is that for the last 17 to 18 years, the tribals, who come from across Bangladesh, have been living in camps. They are given a teaspoon of oil and terrible rations. When the immigrants come or the infiltrators come, there is somebody to take care of them here. They are not put in a jail. Today, we are driving them back without giving any guarantee to their customary personal law, their religion of any thing. Therefore, they come back again. We are pushing the Chakmas back again. So, this creates a feeling of injustice from the Government side. I am sure, the House also appreciates this fact. These are some of the things which I have raised now. But I think, the time has come for us to set our house in order and seriously analyse the problems of this insurgency, the problem of terrorism. Why should it happen in a free India, in a country which has believed in Gandhian principles, a country which has secular principles? I definitely and most unhesitatingly condemn the heinous killings of Barpeta. I hope that some of my suggestions will be taken note of. There have been very many valuable suggestions coming from the opposition as well as from my own party.

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I also share the views given expression to by my hon. colleagues condemning what has happened in Assam. Whatever happened in Assam was not only a mere law and order problem. It was a challenge to the very ethos of our country, the spirit of co-existence and also the rule of law for which we have been proud about, in this country.

I may take this opportunity to pay a compliment to you, Sir, for admitting

this adjournment motion as it is very important on the part of the Government to be accountable to this highest forum of democracy in our country.

The Government of India is fully aware of the fact that such things are happening in Assam. First it was in 1993. Again Sir, within a period of one and a half months, three massacres have taken place. The first one was on May 27 when the Bodo extremists attacked villages in Kokhrajar killing 27 people and maiming several people. Twenty five thousand families were rendered homeless. I would like to ask the hon. Minister of State for Internal Security one thing. Having known the situation in Assam and the attacks of Bodo extremists in recent past, well in advance why did not the hon. Minister himself visit there?

It is a known fact that the State Government of Assam has miserably failed in protecting the lives and property of innocent people and the Administration has failed in discharging their duties. And it was not once! It happened several times. The Government should also have known the fact that in the Bodo Act passed by the Assam Government in 1963, there are two very important provisions. One provision is regarding minorities that in the Bodo autonomous land, the life and property of the minorities should be given protection and in the event of the failure of the concerned authority to protect the life and property of the minorities, the Government has the power to dissolve the Council. No protection was given to the citizens of the Bodoland area. I do not want to communalise the issue. Since there is a provision towards the protection of the minorities, is it not the duty of the Governor to dissolve that Council in the event of failure to give protection? And is it not

the duty of the Central Government to direct the State Government accordingly?

The second massacre has taken place on July 17 in Barpeta district to which many hon. Members have referred. Therefore, I avoid repetition and I do not want to go into the details. Even then, what actually happened? I do not want to hold Shri Saikia or anybody personally responsible. But as the Chief Minister and as the head of the Government, is it not his duty to keep the Central Government informed of the matter and ask for the help of the Army? Why did the State Government, or for that matter even the Central Government, wait till the Ministers from Delhi flew into Assam to see and arrange for the military support? Had there been military support earlier and had there been timely action, this unfortunate massacre would not have happened. Well, Mr. Inderjit would say that they are foreigners, I deny it. Even Shri Chaliha and other hon. Members in the treasury benches have denied it. For argument's sake, even if those people were foreigners, should they be killed like that? Is it not quite an uncivilised manner of doing things? Should such events occur in a country like India? Have they not damaged our prestige and tarnished our image in the comity of nations? Should we not behave in a responsible manner? It is not a matter whether the Muslims are killed or Hindus are killed or Bodos are killed. First of all, such things should not have happened. We must see to it that they shall never occur again. The third massacre happened yesterday at relief camp, killing 72 persons, quite horrible.

It is an undisputed fact that a cluster of villages where the minorities have been predominantly residing were burnt down. It is a fact and I am referring

to it only because it is a fact. I do not like to refer to such matters with any sort of communal overtones or feelings. But it is a fact that hapless minorities have been massacred. It is a fact that Hindus also helped Muslims. It has been pointed out by Shri Kirip Chaliha. Therefore, there is a lapse incident on the part of Assam administration.

I do not want to take much of the valuable time of the House. Many hon. Members have referred to the Bodo Issue, the problem of ethnic feelings and how all this has happened and so on and so forth. I do not want to go into all those details.

But what is the guarantee that the Minister will be able to assure the House that such things will not happen in future? He should also enlighten the House what steps he has taken in this regard. One thing is certain that the people of that State—I am mainly referring to the minority communities—have lost the confidence in the State Government not because it is a personal matter but because of the act of omission and commission on the part of the State Government.

Sir, with these few words I once again appeal to everybody in the country to be aware of this sort of act of terrorism which is being indulged in by certain people. The Government should be very careful in tackling these things and should take appropriate and urgent measures to give protection to every citizen, particularly the minorities in this country.

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV): Mr. Speaker, Sir, several hon. Members from different

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parties have participated in this debate. Being a North-Eastern Member myself I was just thinking what is our status in the national scenario. The discussion that has taken place so far has highlighted one thing, that the situation on North-East is very bad and the political parties and their leaders in North-East are totally corrupt and they are unable to run the State.

My good friend Jaswant Singhji has brought out an analogy that after Independence the North-Eastern States have been mostly ruled by the Congress and, therefore, Congress is basically responsible for the situation that is prevailing there now. It is a fact that in Assam we also had Janta Party rule and the rule of AGP, a regional party. Similarly in Mizoram we had the rule of Shri Laldenga, CPM and Congress ruled the Tripura and other regional parties ruled the State of Manipur. So, it is something unpalatable to identify the Congress as a villain in the North-East. I would say that is a total injustice to the party.

There is no denying the fact that after so many years Independence the situation in North-East is not the one which is desirable and it will be wrong to identify the Congress Party as the culprit for it. The people of North-Eastern States have time and again changed the Government. On the floor of this House I have even heard my friend Jaswant Singhji saying that during the Assam agitation he was made to liaison on behalf of his Party with the agitationists. In the last week he also said that as one of the Advisors he gave them the opportunity to come to power and rule the State. I am not against AGP or any other party. Being a North-Eastern Member I must say that we must

assimilate ourselves culturally, politically and also mentally with the national feeling.

Jaswant Singhji made five points in his speech and he referred to emotional separation and distance. Emotionally the people of North-East are separated from the rest of the country. I think in a very very emotional and harsh word Shahabuddinji has also referred to it. Maharani Bibhu Devi has mentioned that in tribal and non-tribal areas are lakhs and lakhs of unemployed people.

20.00 hrs.

There are elements from outside who tell them and give them an idea that if their problem is not solved, let them take to arms. That is the only solution. As one of my colleagues. Mr Kirip Chaliha himself being a Congress Member-maybe out of pain - has also said that taking arms into the hands has become one of the fashions in the North-Eastern States and it is more easier to earn than to ask for a job. How are the national parties and national leaders going to solve this problem? This is the issue of today.

During Nelli incident myself, Mr. Rajesh Pilot, along with some journalists and other, reached there within four or five hour. We had seen that people were killed and thrown out there. They were saying that as foreigners they were attacked. They were saying that you see the mango trees. The age of the mango trees is as old as theirs. The age of the mango trees is more than fifty years or fifty-five years. But because they are speaking Bengali or because they are Muslims or Hindu, they are considered as refugees or foreigners.

Now, the leader of the Bharatiya Janta Party, Mr. Vajpayee has also

encouraged me to speak here. But I quite humbly ask Mr. Vajpayee, one question. Mr. Jaswant Singh has reiterated it today also. The people who had come to Assam, after 1971, if they were Hindus, they must get the voting rights and they must stay there permanently. The muslims must be thrown out. An analogy has been brought forward today by Mr. Jaswant Singh that they being the refugees should be given their rights. Does his stand not lead to irritation with the muslims? You may also be thinking that I am telling something against the interests of the Hindus. As Mr. Shahabuddin has said that you must also see that if the Congress says that all the muslims are foreigners, we are committing a mistake. Today, in Nagaland, in the voters' list, if your title is 'Roy', your name will be deleted. But there are so many 'Roys'. Who are Khasis you can ask the Chairman of the Panel who is here; that a retired Chief Secretary whose title is also 'Roy' his name had also been deleted. The enumerators thought that he was a Bengali. In Assam, there are 'Bhattacharyas' who are Assamese. Their names were being deleted. In North-Eastern States, the Bangali-Hindu and Muslims are being treated in a manner which is creating irritation among the tribals. The Prime Minister formed a nine-Member Committee, consisting of the following Ministers viz., Mr. S.B. Chavan, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Dr. Manmohan Singh, Mr. A.K. Anthony, myself, Mr. Margaret Alva and so on. We had toured that place. There is a talk that the Centre is neglecting them. The mandate was to look at the tribal problem *vis-a-vis* non-tribals. An hon. Member from Manipur was also there. I think he is present here. One of the former Chief Ministers came and told us that there are foreigners in Manipur and they must be evicted. We said, 'yes', but that will be done according to our policy from viz. 25th March, 1971.

They said, 'no'. They said that the students are saying that there are people who come from Orissa and Bihar and they stayed there as foreigners. This is an overall thinking of certain regional parties. Are we going to adjust to that situation? I do not think so. Today, there is an allegation against the Chief Minister of Assam. The Chief Minister of Assam must resign. Mr. Hiteshwar Saikai has failed. The incident which had happened is one of the worst incidents that had ever happened. But does the Chief Minister leaving the State Capital and staying in a camp after the incidents which had happened after 19th not prove that there is a problem? There is failure of the administration. As Mr. Rajesh Pilot said, as the Congress Party, we never failed to admit that we have not been able to protect those who are in the camps. Definitely there are some failures. But under what circumstances? Do you mean to say that it is intentional? As Mr. Shahabuddin has said that the Chief Minister of Assam is playing one group with the other. If you say that the Assam Government should resign, first let the 10 MLAs of the BJP resign. You show us the way.

You show us the way. Resignation is not the solution. I was a Member of Parliament in 1980 when the Dinesh Committee Report was submitted here. Many MPs in this House said that the CPM Government should resign. Mrs. Indira Gandhi said, "Resignation is not the solution. That is the elected Government; it must be there. With their help, we must solve the problem." That should be the attitude of the debate. This debate is not to score any point against any individual.

If Mr. Saikai is to be removed, it is the prerogative of the State Government and the State Congress to decide, not

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by telling that Saikia is guilty. You hold an enquiry. If it is proved that he is guilty, then you remove him. We will be too pleased. When Mizoram agreement was signed Mr. Lalthamhawla resigned. Then the election was held there. Mr. Laldanga was in power. Mr. Saikia was there Assam in 1983. After the Assam Accord, he resigned. I do not want to go into the details of these Accords. But we never, as the Congress Party, tried to stick to power for the sake of power. Naturally, any political party will try to rule the country. But the basic that problem is the forces which are operating there from outside the country, they are trying to put Nagas against Kookies. When I was there, Mr. Inder Jit was in Nagaland. People came and told us that one group was fighting against another. When they were brought to the police station they said that they had received training in Bangladesh. I come from one part of Assam. It was told by my mother Mrs. Indira Gandhi that it was an island of peace. Just two days ago, the gun of one guard of the BJP MLA—BJP Members of Parliament will bear me out—was snatched, which never happened before. Ultimately, the people chased them along with the police and caught them. What do they say? I do not know whether Mr. Rajesh Pilot will agree with me.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have done a right thing by allowing this debate. Those people who were arrested said that 22 boys from Manipur went to Bangladesh and received training. They came back. They also divulged that Bengalis from Meghalaya and Manipur Muslims—as admitted by Mr. Syed Shahabuddin—had gone to Bangladesh. They were trying to create trouble all over the North-Eastern region.

Mr. Jaswant Singh has rightly said that the Kashmir Government is probably taking control over the situation there. They have done it better than in the past. In Punjab, we have proved it that we can do it. Now, this thing is being shifted to Assam. This is an issue in which all parties should join together and solve this problem.

Again I shall appeal to you, not as a Minister but as one belonging to the North-Eastern region, that it is high time that all political parties either under your leadership and guidance or with the help of the Prime Minister should sit and decide about it, not by identifying which political party is guilty and which political party is not guilty. I am not one of those who want that any national party, whether it is BJP or CPI or CPM or Congress, will try to see that Assam or the North-Eastern region should go in that way. Let us forget what regional parties said; let us come together and try to see that it should be decided once for all.

One of the bogies in Assam today is that is being wasted in all the States. If you go to any Ministry and ask for rice, they will say, "Why should we give rice? It will go to Bangladesh." If you go as an Assam MP or Tripura MP and ask for money for Tripura, they say, "Money is being wasted." That is not a fact. It may be a fact that some of us are corrupt. I may be corrupt. You need not be. If I am corrupt and you can prove it, then you can say that Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev has no authority to stay with the Central Government. If any Minister is corrupt, you remove him. But for that, don't punish the people of North-Eastern region. If you say that we are all corrupt—as he has said—without proving it, then this will not help. If there is corruption, there is a system to identify it.

But the same corruption is starving Assam and other North-Eastern region out of funds. It is a volcanic situation. I do not want to dispute anybody. They have said their point of view. As a man from Assam, I am grateful to the present Prime Minister that he has formed a committee. I do not want to share all that we have said, but we are submitting our report to the Prime Minister.

A booklet was presented to us in Nagaland, demanding greater Nagaland to be formed. I have passed it on to the officer in charge in the Home Ministry that it should be enquired into. This is what is happening. All of us must come together.

Shri Rajesh Pilot has visited the spot very quickly. It was so quick that he forget to call me. I came to know about this when he reached there. But he has taken a prompt action. He has visited the site and he will tell about the incident. I do not want to go into all this. I only want to draw the attention of the House that, let us not try to say that Shri Saikia is bad or so and so is good. Removing Shri Saikia will not solve your problem. Another Saikia will come from the Congress or somebody else may come. That is not the solution.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttack):
The Congress is full of Saikias.
(Interruptions)

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: I would like to appeal to this august House as a man from North East, I am extremely grateful to the hon. Speaker that he has given the first day itself for discussion on this subject. Thereby you yourself have sent a message to the North-East that the Parliament of this country is not neglecting them. I am not flattering, Sir,

it is true. By taking this on the first day itself a message has gone to the distressed people of Barpeta that this august House has given importance to them.

All of us condemn these killings. Whoever is guilty must be punished. We are distancing the North-East as Shri Jaswant Singh has said. He has gone to the North-East and he knows about it. So I appeal to you that let us take a decision that we will come together to solve the problem of North-East, going above party level, not identifying who is at fault and who is not. All political parties have their share. If there is a fault it belong to the national and regional parties; if there is a credit it goes to the people of North East. But I can say from the North Eastern side that till now 80 to 90 percent people of the North East are nationalist. They do not believe in these regional activities.

We have met many professors, we have met many Government officers and they have given us very valuable suggestions. What Shri Jaswant Singh has said, was also discussed in Manipur. They said let there be a Monitoring Committee from the Centre in each State to see that every penny that comes is utilised properly. They are not saying that do it, they are saying monitor it, especially because in the North Eastern States we get 90 percent as grant and 10 percent as loan. We are being looked after.

With these words, I again appeal to everybody that do not treat us from North-East as if we are your bad children. I am sample from the North-East. We are here, we have certain black spots. We have certain things which you must correct and for that we need your blessings, we need your guidance. We do not want you to

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primand us. We do not want you to tell us to go to hell. Call us, we will sit with you and discuss with you. Let there be a debate other than this. Mr. Speaker is pressing me to finish, otherwise I would have spoken more.

I am grateful to you for giving me a chance, Sir.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE (Vijaywada): Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity to participate in the discussion. I will take only three minutes.

Several hon. Members have made several points, with which I agree. Sir, the main intention with which I have taken this opportunity is to support the Adjournment Motion moved by Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav and to express serious concern on behalf of our Party to the victims and to condemn the heinous crimes committed by the militants belonging to Bodo Security Force. Here, the most important thing which makes us feel very bad is that presence of the hon. Chief Minister and nearly two-thirds of his Cabinet Members, who were at 15 kilometres away from the scene, could not prevent this incident. And that too, for nearly two hours, this killing spree was going on, there was nobody to protect the unfortunate people, who were there in the camp. Sir, this is the most condemnable thing. Here, I would like to point out two things. Firstly, in this Bodo Accord, which was signed, I find in this civil and police services, nowhere it has been stated, whose responsibility is to protect the law and order. It is merely stated here, I quote:

"The officers posted to the Bodo Autonomous Council areas will be

accountable to the BAC for their performance and the assessment of their work recorded by the BAC authorities.." (Interruptions)

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Kindly see the next sentence, which says: ".. and the assessment of their work recorded by the BAC authorities, will be incorporated to their ACRs by the State Government."

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE: What I would like to notice of the hon. Minister of State is this. You clearly demarcate whose responsibility is to protect the law and order situation in the Bodo Autonomous Council area. Does it come under the State Government? If the Bodo Autonomous Council been entrusted with the development and giving protection to the people of that area, naturally it must be with the Bodo Autonomous Council. This is what I would like to bring to the notice of the Minister.

The second main point which I would bring to the notice of this House is—Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev has also mentioned about this—that a good number of youth is being influenced by ISI or some other organisations or some other agencies working from outside the country. They are unemployed and it is the poor condition, which is influencing them.

Though the Annual Plan for Assam has been fixed by the Planning Commission at Rs. 960 crore, nearly a sum of Rs. 700 crore has been deducted towards the amount due in the previous years, leaving only a sum of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 crore to the Assam Government for developmental work of the whole State. Now, will it be sufficient? Now, one

more very alarming point is that though a sum of Rs. 25 crore has been earmarked for flood relief programme, a sum of Rs. 24.6 crore has been deducted for the earlier dues of the State Government. My submission to the Central Government is this. Kindly have a rethinking over this matter and postpone the collection of these dues and allow substantial amount with the Government of Assam and also the Autonomous Council to really develop the area. Just forming the Bodo Autonomous Council will not do any help to the Bodos or non Bodos in the Autonomous Council area. You must provide necessary funds for their real progress and development, which alone, at least to some extent, will not make these unemployed youth to fall prey to the designs of this anti-national element. I only suggest that an All Party delegation may go to this place and enquire into these happenings and again report to your goodself.

Sir, I congratulate you for admitting this Adjournment Motion on the very first day of this Session.

SHRI BALIN KULI (Lakhimpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Adjournment Motion of the Opposition.

It is a very sad thing that had happened in Assam. We are ashamed for it and it is a shame for the democracy. The House is discussing this today and the hon. Members are also expressing their concern. We are also expressing the same concern about the matter. The hon. Members failed to mention one thing and that is the diagnostic reason for such happenings again and again. Shri Inder Jit and Shrimati Bibhu Kumari Devi have analysed this problem. There are reasons why the tribals are dissatisfied and there is an uprising in the North-

Eastern Region. Those causes must be found out. There are many reasons why the Bodos are not satisfied with the Accord. The Accord is neither satisfying the Bodo nor the people of Assam. This has confused the people of the Assam. I want to say that this is the direct fall out of the Accord. The Central Government as well as the Opposition Parties are trying to pass the back to the State Government. The State Government with the limited paramilitary forces are fighting against all odds of the extremists in Assam. There are extremists in ULFA, NSCN, there are Bodo extremists and there are other communal and regional forces. With the limited forces how can the State Government manage all these things. It is difficult to manage unless the Central Government sends the Paramilitary forces there.

Again, I want to cite an example. The Punjab is having 350 companies of paramilitary forces whereas in Assam there are only 50 companies. That is not sufficient. There are 21 roads to the Bhutan border from the Bodo land through which the Bodo extremists operate. The State Government has asked the Central Government to seal this route with Bhutan border years ago. But, it has not been done so far. So, the Assam Government or the paramilitary forces are not able to check the extremists.

Some hon. Members particularly Shri Jaswant Singh have expressed their feelings that the people of North-Eastern Region are corrupt. The meaning of the word 'Corruption' has a wide dimension. He has properly explained whether the people of North-Eastern Region are sexually corrupt or monetarily or socially corrupt. Though Shri Santosh Mohan Dev has replied to it properly, yet the North-Eastern Region is yet to find people

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like Tulmohan Ram and V. Ramaswamy, about whom the House had discussed. They are not from the North-Eastern Region. The people of the North-Eastern Region are learning corruption from the people of this part of the country. The IAS Officers; the IPS Officers, businessmen, administrators and Governors are all from this part of the country. The people of the North-Eastern Region are learning corruption, if any, from these people only. If you being out these people then only you can see whether the North-Eastern people or the tribal people are corrupt or honest.

The other thing Shri Chandra Jøet Yadav has also said that the Assam Government has given crores of rupees, cars, business and employment to the murderers.

It is also not fair to allege such things against the Assam Government.

The democratically elected Government of Assam cannot be dissolved or suspended for one incident or the other. If this Congress Government under the leadership of Shri Saikia is functioning, it is functioning under heavy odds. This Government is protecting the minorities. This Government is fighting against corruption, against extremist forces and for the national interest. It is Shri Saikia who is standing like a rock against all odds fighting for the cause of the nation.

He is not helped by the other national parties like the B.J.P. which is *dividing the people in Assam between Hindus and Muslims*. The other regional party like the A.G.P. is also there; it wants to *separate Assam from India*. The

Congress Party and the Government of Assam are fighting against all odds. If it is not supported by the national parties and by this House, then Shri Saikia alone cannot fight against all these things.

Sir, I appeal to the Members of the hon. House and all the political parties not to speak of dissolving the House or suspension of the Assembly and they should rather help the State Government and support the State Government to fight out all these external forces in keeping Assam with India.

With these words, I conclude.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: I think we had this discussion for sufficiently long time. There are two or three names with me and I would like to allow them to speak. But I request them to be very brief. Shri Shibu Soren to speak now.

[Translation]

SHRI SHIBHU SOREN (Dumka): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the incident that took place on 23rd in Barpeta in Assam is related to tribals. I am also a tribal and the people have elected us to solve such problems.

It is not true that the State Government had no information regarding such a serious incident, whatever takes place in the villages is known to somebody or the other. Therefore, there is the need to go into the root of the problem. Bodoland Autonomous Council was recently set up there to bring peace and for making development of the area and to avoid such serious incidents. The facts

relating to it have been suppressed and no actual picture is being presented. Problems and strategies are extensively discussed by the tribals in the villages.

In 1982, I visited Assam. I am a Santhal and many Santhals of Dumka, Ranchi and Orissa for the last 100 years have been living in Assam. There I had got a chance to interact with the local people for a week or 10 days. Educated youth of the area expressed their discontent and all of them stressed only one thing that the Government is deliberately not solving their problems. The Government is neither giving them their rights nor providing them with jobs. On being enquired from many qualified youth about their intentions, all of them expressed their disappointment by saying that now there seems to be no way out.

Jharkhandis in Bihar are also facing similar problems *i.e.* development of the area and returning of their lands as the tribals of Bihar have no other means of living. The tribals cannot enter into trade and business and also do not have ample employment opportunities. Though for name sake reservation is there in the State Government and in the Centre Government jobs yet no adequate follow up action is being taken. Earlier it was believed that with education, employment avenues will open up. However, now even after getting educated jobs are not in sight. Therefore, discontentment is prevailing. I think this is the reason why the youth of the area have taken such a wrong step. In the entire country justice has not been done with the tribals. Everywhere, whether it be Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Assam or Andhra Pradesh, tribals are being killed. Whatever may happen anywhere but we are only being killed. We condemn such incidents, but such killings are still continued. The Government must be in the knowledge

of entire details in this regard. Merely making speeches in the House will not serve any purpose. Tribals are totally dependent on forests. After forests were out, the tribals started making use of such land for agriculture purposes, but the crooked elements got the lands registered in their names. Though many laws were enacted, yet not a single one proved effective. After every incident the Government officials visit the site and hold discussions, but nothing happens. A paltry sum of Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000 are paid as compensation. It has been happening in the country till date. The tribals do not want any other thing, but to join the mainstream.

MR, SPEAKER: You are raising a question, which is time-consuming.

SHRI SHIBU SOREN: Sir, I am not taking much of your time. Nobody wants to discuss our problems. Even after getting educated the tribals are unemployed. The tribals of one village are being benefited, but of other villages are not being given any benefits. If you say that tribals and non-tribals have done anything wrong, you must prove it. Injustices being meted out to the tribals should come to an end. Every Government speaks about the problems of the tribals. I would like to know what are these? If problems are there, then these should be solved. Problems like Bodoland will surface all over the country which cannot be stopped. From where AK-47 rifles are coming to kill the people. Tribals are less educated and less intelligent. Simply supplying arms, food and other things to us anybody can tempt us to do any wrong. Tribals jumped into politics became MPs, MLAs and Minister, yet nobody listens to us. This is what we experience here that even tribal Ministers have no say in any

[Shri Shibu Soren]

matter. I am not saying it all for the sake of speaking. This relates to Bihar....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude now.

[Translation]

SHRI SHIBU SOREN: What would become of our country. For years we have been shouting. Incident like Assam might happen in Bihar also or in any other State. Such incidents should not recur. Such incidents are also happening in West Bengal.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: You should conclude now. I am going to call the next Member to speak.

[Translation]

SHRI SHIBU SOREN: Sir, I conclude.

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria): Mr. Speaker, Sir, since time is less, I will raise some specific points only. Statistics regarding the persons killed in ghastly incidents are not available with us. The hon. Minister is requested to furnish these details. Consequent upon Bodoland agreement with the consent of the Hon. President on 14th May, 1993 in the Gazette of Assam an Act was notified. Section 51-52 of the Act is as follows:-

[English]

"All rights and interests of the non-tribals citizens on the date of

constitution of the Bodoland Autonomous Council within the Council area shall be protected in matters pertaining to land and their language."

[Translation]

Section 12 of the Act says that if the Council fails to discharge this duty then the Governor can dismiss the Council and assume all its powers. The hon. Minister should inform us what has the Governor done in this regard?

Thirdly, since the signing of the Bodo Accord, may statements have been given by the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India and in the interview to PTI the hon. Minister of Home Affairs of the Government of India has categorically stated that:

[English]

"The Bodo Accord was arrived at without working out all these details. It is because of this that the demarcation of the boundary of the Bodo Autonomous Council is proving to be a very difficult task, Mr. Chavan told the Pressmen. Chavan said.."

MR. SPEAKER: We do not quote the newspapers.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria): Sir, I mean to say that the hon. Minister of Home Affairs of the Government of India has himself admitted that the Bodo Accord was signed in haste. The hon. Minister further states that split has taken place in the Bodo leadership as some new extremists have joined in and the

Chairman appointed by the Centre is not recognised by other extremist organisations. The hon. Minister is urged to throw light on the present status of the Bodo Accord. I would like to submit that on 17th June a Committee was set up by the Hon. Prime Minister which comprises members of the rank of Ministers and it will tour whole of the North-East and submit a report regarding the problems being faced by the people there. I would like to urge the hon. Minister to also lay on the Table of the House a copy of the report and then discussion should be held on it to ascertain the views of the House regarding the problems of North-East.

The fourth thing that I would like to mention is that the amount of Rs. three thousand crores given by the Central Government for checking terrorist activities there, is not an aid, it is rather a sort of loan against the State. In order to suppress agitations there Assam owes a debt of rupees 3000 crore to the Central Government at present. Therefore, no development work takes place there. I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what are the Government doing to resolve the problems which impede the development work in Assam and the Government have resorted to take loan? There are certain issues on which I would not like to speak but I would like to put them in a question forms because the time is short and with these words I would like to conclude here.

SHRI BRAHMANAND MANDAL
(Monghyr): Mr. Speaker, Sir, several persons including children, women and old men were massacred in the Assam-Barpeta incident that took place on the 23rd. It should be condemned strongly. I support the Adjournment Motion introduced here and whatever has been said in the august House, it seems that

nobody is prepared to take responsibility of this incident. Neither the State Government nor the Centre prepared to take the responsibility. No party is prepared to take responsibility. Then why such incidents are recurring unabated for years? Just now Shri Barmanji gave the details of the incident in a chronological order. On the 19th, the houses were gutted, looted and people were killed. The incident took place when the Chief Minister was also present there. Economic issues have also been raised here. As Shri Shibu Soren has stated here that the tribal people are exploited, tortured and under privileged. The Central Government and the State Government do not pay attention to their economic demands, therefore, they resort to extremism. We do condemn the incidents which recur there. We discuss them in the House but we do not come forward to find a solution. The persons who have been given this responsibility are not prepared to discharge their responsibility. This is the reason that such incidents are taking place continuously which is harmful for the country.

On behalf of my party, I would like to submit that dialogue should be started with the Bodo extremists tribals and minorities on economic problems and restoring law and order. Government should guarantee the safety of lives of all the people. If the security of lives of people is not guaranteed by Government, who-else will do that? There should be rule of law, extremist forces should be contained and if necessary army should be pressed into service then only the safety of the people can be ensured. The State Government and the Central Government were aware of the possibility of such happenings. But the Government could not take effective steps in time. Therefore, I am of the opinion that the State Government should be dismissed

[Shri Brahmanand Mandal]

and the Central Government also should take the responsibility and make a clean breast of it. The situation cannot improve unless the mistakes committed are conferred.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have to say only that it is a matter of great sorrow that such massacres take place in which hundreds of people are killed but no endeavour is made to solve the main problem although a discussion is held. I hope that the Central Government will pay attention to it in future. With these words I conclude.

[English]

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE (Berhampore): I am a new comer to this House. May I be allowed to speak something on the matter?

MR. SPEAKER: You will be allowed, But you please make a very brief statement.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE: I rise to support the Adjournment Motion moved by our hon. friend Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav.

This is only because in Barpeta, human lives have been lost and valuable public property has been damaged and communal harmony is at stake. The situation stands so critical that it may give rise to communal tension and communal riots all over the territorial districts of the country. It is my unfortunate observation that the State Administration and the Assam Government have totally failed to control the situation. They could not realise the gravity of the situation beforehand and they could not control

the situation. I do not suggest that the State Government should be dismissed. But it may be noted that Assam Government should have no moral or social right to hold on to power.

With your kind permission, I beg to recall the saddest episode of Kokrajhar killings or Bongaigaon killings. I think Barpeta is a new addendum to the tragic history of mankind where man was killed by man. May I remind this House that it is the feeling of the local people, of the minorities specially that the minorities are in danger there. Their sentiment has been ignored. Their sentiment has been wounded brutally. The situation is so sensitive that it may lead to the growth of international misunderstanding between the two countries—Bangladesh and India. So, I beg to submit that the entire North-Eastern Zone has turned into an active volcano which may erupt at any moment. This is due to the mishandling of the situation by the Government of India during the last three or four decades. If the grave situation in Barpeta is not stopped now, then, it may act as a prelude to the volcanic eruption which is undesirable. So, I beg to support the Adjournment Motion. I offer my thanks and gratitude to you for allowing me to speak on the burning issue. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI LAETA UMBREY (Arunachal East): Sir, I rise to oppose the Adjournment Motion. At the same time, I also condemn the barbarous, indiscriminate killings of innocent people in Barpeta. In this incident, if any individual has been pained and sincerely concerned them, it must be Shri Hiteshwar Saikia. But unfortunately there have been wild allegations against him. I would like to say that Shri Saikia was not on holiday. Hew was not doing merry making with his Cabinet colleagues in Barpeta that

night when the incident took place. He was very much concerned. He had taken all efforts to contain the situation. In spite of his efforts, it is unfortunate that it has been alleged that he has not taken any steps. It is not only that. When we see his life history, in his long innings in politics, he has made many sacrifices which, I think, any one of us might have never made. So, let us not allege that Shri Saikia has not done anything. Let us try to find out solutions. While trying to find out solutions, we must be very careful. I have heard my colleague Shri Inderjit. He said that this is because of the continuous infiltration. But I think I must put it in other words. It is because of the continuance of the encroachment and exploitation which has provoked all these unfortunate incidents. It is the exploitation and encroachment of the non-tribals on the tribal land which is leading to this situation. Whatever be the number of the tribal land people, they have their cultural, economic, social and above all political aspirations. You cannot deny them those things just because you are in majority. This is one thing. The other thing is, as Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev has rightly said, it is the ignorance of the people who are in authority.

And anybody who had been to North-East once in his life-time, becomes the authority, he becomes the expert on North-East. This is unfortunate. So, I must say that whenever there is a problem, it is not the North-Eastern problem alone but any problem of any region. I think, it is better to consult and discuss with the representatives of those areas. There are so many problems in the North-East. I have been here for the last five years and I have never found whether this Government or any other Government, ever consulting the representatives of that area. It is unfortunate, I think, it is the bureaucrats

who decide everything. Now, I must say that Shri Hiteswar Saikia has done his best. But perhaps, he must have taken certain wrong steps. He should try to correct himself and take the suggestion from his colleagues. There is nothing wrong in consulting the opposition in his own State.

However, last but not least, I would like to say that the problem in the North-East is aggravating because the tribal sentiments are not properly understood and they are not properly consulted. I hope, Shri Rajesh Pilot, the Minister of State for Internal Security, who is very popular and who is very familiar with the entire North-East area, will come up with new strategies, new policy for the North-Eastern region.

With these words, I oppose the Motion.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAJESH PILOT): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I share the anguish and the concern of the House with a very heavy heart. And I think, any Minister in this Ministry will always pray to God that he does not have to reply to such a debate. I was hearing everyone's view and I would share some of the information which I have received from the State Government so that records are set correct.

As desired by the hon. Prime Minister, I with my colleague Shri Sayeed and Shri Tarun Gogoi and some of the MPs, who were available, flew to Guwahati and then to Barpeta Road where this camp was there. The Chief Minister and his all colleagues were available. State Government officials were also available. So we were there and had a discussion with them. They told us that

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on 19th July, some of these Bodo security force people started creating some problem in some of the villages in the Barpeta district. And there was a counter by the police and between 19th night and the 20th night, they set fire to some 250 villages and nearly 16 people lost their lives between 19th July and 21st July. Police also countered them at some places and three miscreants were reported to have been killed by the police during the exchange. Police was active between 19th to 21st July. But what impression, I gathered after talking to police officials and the officials of the State administration was that the strength of the force was not adequate up to 21st. By the time they called some of the forces further to augment their efforts, from 21st to 23rd night, it was all quiet, there was no incident. And on 23rd night and 24th morning, that is, round about 1 o'clock in the morning, some people from Bhutan border came to the civilian camp at Bansbari which is roughly 30 to 35 kilometres from the Bhutan border. People by that time had started coming out from those affected areas and started setting on in these camps.

At that juncture these people started firing first at the police post which was guarding them and then on the innocent people who were camping there. This is where the tragedy took place. That night 35 inmates were killed and nearly 70 were injured on 24th early morning.

The crux of the total problem is, we at that moment did not have sufficient force and the arms which the Bodo Security Forces had were all LMGs, AK 47 with tracers and SLRs. At this juncture what I was briefed by the State administration was that at one stage the police countered them. It was nearly a

two hour firing with them and three of the Border Security Force personnel were killed. But by that time the damage had been done. The army was called on the 20th itself for a flag march in that area. But they were not deployed on the points. They thought that the flag march will be able to control and the police will take care of the situation.

They have told us that a total number of 54707 persons have taken shelter in 26 different camps and the situation is tense in Barpeta and the adjoining districts. We were talking to the hon. Chief Minister and his colleagues; I had a detailed discussion with the local leaders. When we went to the camp we talked to the inmates of the camp also. Some of the people in the camp, as the hon. Member said, did point out that they did inform the police, but the police force was not available. I must not hide this from the House. I said this there itself. That is why in my briefing with the Chief Minister I said that the people who were from the administration, who are responsible there, should have acted on the 19th and the 20th some degree and some more supplementary forces could have brought there knowing the apprehension. Then I asked the DC whether he had any apprehension that this incident could be more serious. He said yes and no—he could not answer me very correctly. I called my IB Officer. I asked him whether he had informed the State Administration about the likely apprehension of serious incidents with their movement.

Here what I would like to share with the House is that we had been asking all the State Governments to use the information available with the intelligence agencies, so that such situations could be avoided. That is why nearly a year back we have taken a decision. I wrote

to all the hon. Chief Ministers that every week our IB Officer would brief the DC and SP; once in 15 days the Commissioner, IG Police; and once in a month the Chief Secretary and the DG to brief about the whole State, so that everyone from the district level to the State level is aware of what is happening in their respective district and respective State. This coordination was not there; I must accept it. That is why the arrangement of supplementary force and other things could not be made which I pointed out to the hon. Chief Minister on the spot there itself. When we went there to the camp, relief had been provided whatever the State could do. But the main demand from everyone was that the Army must be moved in.

Before going there I had a word with the hon. Prime Minister and he said that he had already received that message from the State Government and the State Government must do the formalities of calling the Army for such operations. By the time I took off they had done it and when I reached there the Brigadier was available and he said that they are moving into all the places required by the State Government. Just now, one hour back, I have got the information that the full brigade was moved in by today afternoon. In addition whatever battalions were there—we were operating one or two battalions in those areas—they have taken over positions and 55 companies of paramilitary forces of CRP and BSF were there. They wanted an additional 15. But we have five companies near Guwahati and we have routed them to Barpeta and kept them at the disposal of the State Government.

At the moment the situation is under control. It is very unfortunate. You can well imagine that it is my third visit

to the same place, to the same area. Earlier I had gone there when the incidents in Kokhrajhar and Bongaigaon took place.

The Accord has been talked about very much by most of the Members. Let me share some of my views on this. Where were we in 1991 in Assam? What was the situation in Assam? I do not want to compare the figures that in so and so year, so many were killed in the Bodo agitation and now so many have been killed. It is not the right approach, I am not comparing them. But when we came into the Government in 1991, the situation was very tense in Assam.

21.00 hrs.

The Bodo activities were on the peak in 1989-90. I do not want to mention the figure. They are very scaring. In 1989-90 the whole area was disturbed. When we came in the Government subsequently, from 1985 onwards, late Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister. I still remember that the talks were going on so that we could reach some decision and the peace could be restored.

After late Rajivji, Mr. V.P. Singh took over as the Prime Minister. That Government was continuing the talks on the same lines. When we came in power, what had been discussed between subsequent Government, we followed the same trend. We brought them down from asking for a Bodoland to Bodoland Autonomous Council. That was the crutch. We wanted them to come to a Council. We told them, "You want your development. You want your culture to be retained." So, Bodoland is not acceptable to the Government. We can give you autonomous Council so that you can achieve what you want to achieve

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through Bodoland Autonomous Council. On that platform, me and hon. Chief Minister, Shri Saikia, had a long discussion with them. Then, an accord was agreed and it was signed.

No accord is perfect. No accord could be said that this is the best solution for any problem. Accord is an approach to reach nearer the solution. You take any accord—Assam accord, Mizoram accord. About Kashmir, we had an accord with Shri Farooq Abdullah. We had tried to reach nearer the solution. Everyone has said that there was a political lining on this accord. As far as Congress Party is concerned, I still remember that in 1986, when late Rajivji was Prime Minister, we had a Government under Chief Minister, Shri Saikia. And Shri Saikia resigned. We fulfilled whatever the accord was desiring.

Similarly, in Mizoram, as Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev has said, we had an elected Government. We had sacrificed to bring normalcy in that area. You see the whole history of North-East. The efforts of every Government at the Centre have been to bring them into the mainstream. Today, the main job of the Government is how to bring every part of the North-East into the mainstream. We have problem in talks in every State whether it is Nagaland or Manipur or Tripura or Arunachal Pradesh—peculiar problems in peculiar States. The common approach that we have is that we have open-heart talks with anybody who has any communication gap. Wherever the Government could come out with that approach, we can bring them together into our mainstream. We have been taking that approach.

As far as insurgency is concerned, we have been going very strong against insurgency. We have tried to curb insurgency to a great degree. We had been achieving that in many ways in the State of Nagaland, Manipur and, to some extent, in Assam itself. So, accord was done with that spirit. What Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav has said is unfortunate. Shri Syed Shahabuddin also said that when they did an accord, they were not a team. All of them were together. We signed the accord.

They all went with a very good feeling. I still remember that in 1993-end, when I had gone for a public meeting, there were really 10 lakh people. All were walking on their foot to the public meeting. There was a sea of people. All were happy about this accord. The apprehension among the people is about Bodos and non-Bodos. Unfortunately, an election could not take place. Frankly speaking, it is an *ad hoc* body which is functioning. It is supposed to be an elected body. We have kept 'nominated from non-Bodos' so that they have a say in the functioning and in implementing the policies and they have a say in development. That is why that ratio has been kept.

As far as boundary is concerned, it is 50 per cent and above where the Bodo population is or in the form of contiguity if it is less than 50 per cent. In that spirit or with that yardstick, we have demarcated the boundary.

They met me nearly a month back. They - both groups - said that this was not proper for us. We have said, "All right, we will sit with you. Whatever are your problems, we are ready to solve them. But you must bring peace."

Bodo Security Force was not a part of the accord. Bodo Security Force never wanted an accord because they are living on extorting money. They are living in many ways. They are killing people and have their own line of living. So Bodo Security Force was never happy with the accord. But AAPSU and PPP were against the accord from the beginning. At that time, it was Bodoland Action Committee and now it is Bodoland People's Party. They were all agreeing that they would see that peace was maintained.

Sir, our efforts will continue to bring them around on a common platform because it is very important and development in that area can take place only when there is peace and normalcy.

Many hon. Members have asked as to what we are doing about the situation. Shri Inderjit has said that the situation in the North East is becoming more and more tense. Yes, to some extent it is correct. Even yesterday, we had received information that a while colonel was going in a jeep, an underground militant fired at him and he was killed. If you see the history of Nagaland and Manipur, we find that for the last so many years, we have been facing the insurgency problem in these States. One point is raised as to whether the ISI is involved in this sector. Yes, we do have some information that some of the groups are in touch with the ISI and they are making Bangladesh or Thailand as their rear base through Chitong Hill Tracts and are trying to fuel insurgency in our part of the country. We are aware of that and we are taking counter measures. We have succeeded in many ways whereby they are not able to achieve their designs.

As a special case in the North East, we have given them special

allocations for modernising their police forces, their weaponry, vehicles, communication systems and so on. Even in Assam, we have straightway given 500 AK-47s so that the weaponry of our police force is equally good and the insurgents do not have superior arms compared to ours. Modernisation of communication facilities and updating them is also resorted to. I am told that most of the States are modernising their police forces or are in the process of modernisation.

We have taken yet another decision. The North-East being a very sensitive area, whatever paramilitary forces we have got in that area, we have made a separate zone for the North-East and at Guwahati itself, there is a reserve available which can look after all the seven States. We have made it a permanent zone so that we do not have to transport the Force from Northern or Southern parts of the country to the North-East. We are keeping certain level of the Forces always available in the North-East. I may also mention here that the Army has done such a good job in those areas. They have become so very friendly with the people there and they have helped a lot in bringing the people to the mainstream in these States.

One more thing is mentioned here and I must share it with the House. There was not much of coordination earlier and I must accept that it was one of the faults in our system. This problem is there in all the seven States and what is happening in Nagaland was not known to Assam and what is happening in Assam was not known to Manipur. Nearly four months back, we have coordinated with all the seven States and we have started with a coordinating centre at Shillong so that the Chief Minister of Assam would know what is happening in Manipur and the

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Manipur Administration would know what is happening in Arunachal Pradesh. All the seven States must coordinate and correlate together and then only we can fight insurgency as a team. As it is a national problem, it has to be fought with that spirit. This is being worked out. This has been started just two or three months back only and it will take some more time before it becomes perfect. Once this coordination work is perfect, it will reduce half of our problem in the North East.

I have got to verify from the State Government. Many Members from different parties have raised a number of points. I have not replied to all the points raised by the Members but I assure you that I have noted down all the points.

MAJ. GEN. (RETD.) BHUWAN CHANDRA KHANDURI (Garhwal): But, those are very serious allegations against the State Government and those should be looked into.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: The Chief Minister has accepted in front of me that wherever lapses have taken place, he will take action against the people concerned. As far as other things mentioned by my colleague are concerned. I would certainly verify from the State Government and let the House know about it. I request the House to seriously consider this. North East is a very sensitive part of our country. The people there are very sensitive in nature. They are straight forward and very affectionate people. The main thrust of the Government is to bring them back to the mainstream, Even today I got a call that tomorrow they are sorting out the HPC problem. We have tried our best

to accommodate their views and bring normalcy and peace in that part of the area otherwise it will not be able to develop. Jaswant Singhji has said that geographically and sentimentally they feel that they are away from the rest of the country. We have taken decision to connect these areas with rail and even we have asked to connect at least the State Headquarters or Capitals of these States with airlines.

The Central Government has always treated North-East as a special sector. We have a separate formula to allocate funds for them so that we can understand their problems better. Our main thrust is to bring them to the mainstream. Our thrust is that our brothers and sisters living in the far flung areas do not feel far away from us. Every effort should be made to see that such incidents do not recur again. Our approach will be strong administratively as also politically. We will definitely see to it that they are brought to the mainstream.

KUMARI MAMATA BERNEJEE:
What about compensation?

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: You may give reply to her point only and other points may not be replied.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: The State Government has assured that due relief and compensation will be given to all the victims.

With these words I request Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav, knowing the sensitivity of the subject, to withdraw his motion. We are all one. There is no difference between the Opposition and the ruling party. We all share the same

concern. We have made efforts though they may not be visible to you. I assure you that they will soon be more visible to you and you will then realise that we are moving in the right direction. Wherever we have faltered we will certainly try to improve. We all have the same spirit, the spirit to improve the situation there. So, this should go as a message to the nation that we will fight such forces and we will bring our brothers and sisters living in that part of the area to the mainstream. We will not relax till that aim is achieved which was set forth by late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he spoke in Nagaland saying, "I do not need Congress here. I need my Nagaland people with India, Congress is the second part. Nagaland people with India is the first part." That should be the spirit.

SHRI SOBHANADREESWARA RAO VADDE: You have told a very right thing.

MR. SPEAKER: I am not allowing this.

SHRI RAJESH PILOT: Sir, I request Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav to withdraw his motion.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV (Azamgarh): Sir, I must start my reply by thanking you because but for your consent this debate would not have taken place. As Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev has said very rightly, this debate has served a great purpose by sending a message to our brothers and sisters living far away in that area that this highest forum in a Parliamentary democracy feels concerned if such incidents happen anywhere in any part of the country. Our main purpose was that we must immediately express our concern. We should take necessary steps to prevent such unfortunate things to happen again in future.

Sir, I think that this is one of the very few Adjournment Motions which was not debated on party lines. I find that most of the speakers expressed the same concern. They had not only pointed out the weaknesses, the lapses but they had also made many positive suggestions so that the things may improve, I am glad that the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Rajesh Pilot had accepted that there was lack of coordination; there were certain lapses; and there were certain information but the local administration could not promptly act upon them. Even the Reports which were submitted by Intelligence Agencies were also not seriously taken note of. I think that the Government should have come out with some more positive thinking about certain issues that were raised in this debate. We have said that still there is a confusion regarding the real area which forms the Bodo land. It has been found that round about 100 villages are there which are not Bodo majority villages but even then they form part of Bodo land. This is one of the serious concerns.

There is another genuine feeling among the Bodo people that the border areas of Bhutan had been taken away from them. There were some doubts. It happens to be an international border. Why have they taken out those areas? While the other States viz., Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab have also border areas, those areas belong to those particular States. I think that the Government should give a serious thought to it and rectify the mistake.

Another thing which the Home Minister himself had admitted is this. It is unfortunate that there are two groups in Bodo. But this is also a fact that because of political interests, a rivalry within that organisation has been exploited and has been used. I think that when

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it comes to the question of national interest, such petty politics or small party interests should not be taken into consideration.

Mr. Jaswant Singh had used a very appropriate phrase or expression that there is a kind of emotional distance between our people and the people living in that area, I think that not only economic measures but some other measures have to be taken. I am glad that the Prime Minister had set up a strong nine-Member Cabinet Committee to look into the problems of those areas and also to mobilise extra resources in order to help the people of North-Eastern areas. I am happy that the Prime Minister himself - while addressing his Party rally at Red Fort - had said that many people feel that now he has a majority and therefore he will give up the path of consensus but he said that he will not give this up.

But, I think, somewhere, there are certain weaknesses. When such issues come up, the Government not only should take into confidence the Ministers and form a Committee of team for sending them to the affected places - because administrative measures after all have to be taken by the Government - but on such issues, I think there is a need for wider consultation. I say that the Leaders of all the Parties in Parliament should be taken into confidence. It is not that we are going to make excellent suggestions and find a magic wand to solve all the problems.

But that sends a message itself. It also serves the purpose that it is being taken as a national issue and the people of other parties are involved. I think the weaknesses which the Government has

identified, I am sure immediate and prompt action will be taken to remove them.

Other issues have also been raised. I do not want to repeat them; but I think the Government must take them into consideration. So far as the Home Minister's appeal is concerned, I will only say that I am not asking for division nor will I request other Members of the House from this side to ask for division. But it will be difficult for me to withdraw the motion at this stage.

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put Motion for Adjournment moved by Mr. Chandra Jeet Yadav to the vote of the House. The question is:

"That the House do now Adjourn"

The motion was negatived.

21.21 hrs.

[English]

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Wage Revision of Port and Dock Workers

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF SURFACE TRANSPORT (SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER): The wages of Class III & IV workers and employees of Major Port Trusts and Dock Labour Boards have been due for upward revision from 1.1.93. A Bipartite Wage Negotiation Committee under Chairman, Bombay Port Trust and consisting of representatives of labour has been negotiating the increase since some time. On 24.7.94, the negotiations