

laying down their lives, we are proud of Keeler, as we are proud of Somnath Sharma.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can continue tomorrow.

15.30 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

FIFTH REPORT

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI: I beg to move:

"That this House do agree with the Fifth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 16th July, 1980."

MR CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House do agree with the Fifth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 16th July, 1980."

The motion was adopted.

15.31 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: SERIOUS SITUATION IN NORTH-EAST INDIA--
contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now further discussion on the following Resolution moved by Shri Krishna Chandra Halder on 4th July 1980 alongwith the amendments moved thereon.

"This House notes with grave concern the prevailing serious situation in North-East India where secessionistic, chauvinistic and communal passions are being roused endangering the unity and integrity of the country and calls upon the Government:

(a) to take suitable steps for a political settlement of the

question of foreigners and to pay special attention for resolving the genuine problems of the people of the North-Eastern States;

(b) to strengthen further the security of the borders of the North-East India with neighbouring countries in order to prevent the intrusion of the foreigners and infiltration of the armed gangs;

(c) to take stern action against those who are actively behind the secessionist activities; and

(d) to rouse the public opinion in the country in favour of preserving the national unity and assuring full freedom to all linguistic nationalities and ethnic groups to preserve their separate independent identities and for full socio-economic development according to their desires by strengthening the real federalism in our States structure."

Shri G. M. Banatwalla may continue his speech

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): It must be appreciated that the Government has repeatedly clarified that the doors are open for negotiations without any pre-condition in respect of situation in Assam. However, there can be no compromise with secessionist activities, let there be no mistake about that particular factor. Further, firm measures are needed in the face of orgy of violence that we see in Assam. It is shocking and most unfortunate that police officers, magistrates, the entire machinery is in league with the agitationists. This is a particular factor that must receive our attention.

I may, for example, point out that the Assam Minorities Students Union wanted to submit a Memorandum to the authorities on 26th May, 1980. Not only were attempts made to prevent them from submitting this Memorandum, a fundamental right of their but the peaceful processionists of

[Shri G. M. Banatwalla]

the Minorities Students Union were fired upon by the Assam police and the Assam battalion. It is shocking that in Bijni in Golpara District the sub-Duty Collector asked the Officer Incharge of the Police Station to fire upon the crowd which was very peaceful. The officer refused to fire because he pointed out that the crowd was very peaceful. On his refusal to order firing a policeman even hit him on his head. That officer fell down but vowed that when the crowds were peaceful, he could not order for firing on them, it was this sub-Duty Collector who himself ordered firing and consequently there was a colossal loss of human life also. I, therefore, say that an attempt to restore normalcy in Assam pre-supposes that local officers of the Assam Civil Service as also Assam Police and Battalion be replaced by C.R.P. and I.A.S. officers from other States. A very serious conspiracy is going on in Assam in order to bring about major, still greater communal holocaust. We have a serious allegation coming from Shri K. Ramamurthy, Governor's Senior Advisor. According to the U.N.I. Report, Shri K. Ramamurthy had alleged that wall posters threatening Hindus to leave Assam or face bloodshed have appeared on the walls of Mandia areas of Barpetta.

15.33 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

It is further alleged that these wall posters have appeared in the name of Muslim Leaguers of Mandia. I must with all the vehemence at my command denounce this as baseless. It is a mere hallucination. As the General Secretary of the Indian Union Muslim League, I must say in most categorical words and with all the vehemence at my command that we have always stood for national integration, national solidarity and amicable relations between all the communities that are there in India so

that India becomes one nation and remains as such without any attempt to disrupt it.

I may conclude by saying that every attempt at a solution of the foreigners question must be within the framework of the Constitution as also our international commitments that have been made and to which I have already referred. There is this talk of the so-called formula by the Gandhi Peace Foundation. In so far as this Gandhi Peace Foundation formula concedes 1951 as the cut-off date and ignores all international commitments made by India, I must say that the so-called formula will be most unacceptable because it is pregnant with serious repercussions. I have moved a specific amendment to the resolution that is there before the House pointing out that the solution to the foreigners issue must be both with respect to the Constitutional provisions as also the international commitments to which I have referred.

SHRI G. S. REDDY (Miryalguda):
Sir, I rise to speak on the serious situation in the north-eastern India. It is noticed that the Press is issuing statements to the effect that foreign missionaries, Christian missionaries and the Church in general are treated with suspicion, as if the whole trouble and the serious situation in the north-eastern region is of Christian origin. What is the basis for such allegations? Have the Church and its missionaries in India become insurgents? What is the mission of the Church throughout the centuries? It is a mission of peace and love and the whole basis for the mission is love and peace. Just as its founder, the missionaries have sacrificed their lives throughout the centuries for this peace and love. In India too we find shining examples of this sacrifice made of their lives for the sake of the downtrodden. Take the example of the Jesuit fathers of Bihar who were murdered in their own homes because they openly espoused the cause of the Harijans and the

tribals. The noble mission is of educating, enlightening and 'cons-cientisation' of the Harijans and the tribals. If as a result of this awa-kening, the Harijans and the tribals assert their rights—their right as hu-man beings—is the missionary to be blamed for that? If the tribals claims their right as tribals for land and employment opportunities whe-ther in Tripura or Assam are the mis-sionaries to be blamed?

Please verify the situation before indulging in freelance statements. If some individuals are found guilty of subverting national policies, they should be punished. Do not blame the whole lot of foreign or Indian mis-sionaries for a situation for which they are not responsible. They are not here in the House to answer the charges.

I read below the statements com-ing from the Bishops themselves ex-planning their stand. The *States-man* of Calcutta has also explained by its editorial what the situation is and why the suspicions are ill-founded:

"The Union and State Govern-ments have more than a right, a duty, to guard against infringements of national sovereignty. But it is not politically mature to base policy on suspicion, or to look on all foreign missionary and welfare or-ganisations as instruments of sub-version. There are only a handful of foreign missionaries left in India; even they operate under restrictions and are closely watched, as Mr. Basu admitted.

"..Missionary work might some-times lead to uncomfortable situa-tions for the Government but it is necessary to understand its huma-nitarian achievements before pas-sing judgment. Assamese, for instance, was regarded as a dialect of Bengali until the Serampore missionaries helped to equip it with the appurtenances of a sepa-rate language. This may indirect-

ly have contributed to the later cultural awakening and present upheavals, but it would be palpably unfair to blame Serampore's lin-guistic pioneers for today's tumult in Assam."

Please allow me to read the state-ment of the North-East India Catho-lic Bishops:

"We, the Catholic Bishops of North-East India, are very much concerned and perturbed at the violent turn of events affecting this region. We, therefore, consider it our pastoral duty to issue this statement:—

1. The Message of Christ is essen-tially one of peace and love. We, therefore, condemn any form of violence with its consequent dis-truction of human life and proper-ty, as this is totally contradictory to the teaching of Christ, the great Peacemaker.

2. It is with great sorrow that we learn of the increasing outbursts of violence in our region every now and then. In this connec-tion we strongly resent the growing tendency in the press to put the blame on Christians and Christian Missionaries in particular, for any trouble or unrest that may occur. Such a biased attitude only causes further communal disharmony, does not help the cause of peace in any way, and injustice is done to the Christian communities. His-tory will bear witness to the fact that the Catholic Church in India is proud of the loyalty and servi-ces of her children to our country at all times and all the more so now. It is, therefore, the duty of a responsible press to pinpoint the criminals—whether individuals or organisations—and not to cast slurs on all Christians or Christian Missionaries.

3. We, therefore, appeal to all men of good will to offer fervent prayers to God, our Father, for a true and lasting peace, based on

[Shri G. S. Reddy]

Justice, love, the brotherhood of man, and the constitutional safeguard of our country."

This statement has been issued by Archbishop of Shillong-Gauhati, Bishop of Imphal, Bishop of Silchar, Bishop of Dibrugarh, Bishop of Tura and Bishop of Kohima.

There is another statement issued by the West Bengal Catholic Bishop:

"We, the Catholic Bishops of West Bengal view with concern the present difficulties encountered by Christian Missionaries in this State. As leaders of the Catholic community in West Bengal, we feel it is our duty to issue this statement. We speak for our Catholic missionaries in West Bengal, both Indian and foreign who have a record of dedicated service to the people of this state over the past 100 years, in the field of education, medicine and social welfare.

As citizens of this country, we Catholic missionaries have the fundamental right enshrined in the Constitution of India to profess, practise and propagate the message of Jesus Christ. The Integrity of the country and its welfare is as much our concern as of any other citizen.

While the Government has the right to regulate the entry, residence and movements of foreigners, including foreign missionaries, we request the Government not to place more restrictions on foreign missionaries than are necessary, so that their noble work, especially among the poor may not be unduly hampered. Our country has a long standing tradition for tolerance. Nothing should be done which will tarnish this image. All foreign Catholic missionaries in this State work under our guidance, and they have been directed to observe carefully all Government regulations.

We resent strongly the growing tendency among certain sectors of the press and a few Government officials to blame the Christians and Christian missionaries for almost any unrest or trouble that occurs especially in the tribal areas. Such an attitude very often aggravates an already tense situation and disturbs communal harmony which is essential for peace in India."

"It is well known that the Catholic missionary labours hard to proclaim and establish the values of the Christian Gospel as portrayed in the person and life of Jesus Christ Himself, above all:

—to respect human life in all its stages, from conception to old age.

—to love and respect every human person irrespective of race, culture or community.

—to forgive even their enemies and to pray for those who persecute them."

This is the statement issued by Cardinal L. T. Picachy of Calcutta, Bishops of Darjeeling, Raiganj, Jalpaiguri, Krishnagar and Baruipur.

Now, all these statements prove that the catholic missionaries and Christian missionaries as a whole are for peace and love and they abjure violence in any form and they are not at all the people who opt for secessionist policies. They are as patriotic as anybody else and as National President of the All India Catholic Union I assert and state that our Bishops and priests are as patriotic citizens as anybody else and they will not dabble in politics for any cause. Many of these Bishops are from Kerala, Mangalore and Goa and they wish well the Government of India under the leadership of Shrimati Gandhi.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Bapusaheb Parulekar. Every hon. Member will take not more than 10 minutes.

SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULAKAR (Ratnagiri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I will seek your indulgence for a few moments and you will not be harsh on me because I had an opportunity....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am always kind to everybody.

SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULEKAR: I am thankful to you. What I am saying is that I had the opportunity to be amongst these people last week. I met many of them, I had a chat with them and I think I will be in a position to contribute to this debate better.

Sir, the problem that has been brought before this august House by my friend, Mr. Haldar is a problem of a very serious nature and I will appeal to all my hon. colleagues to rise above the party level and to give a very serious and considerate thought to this particular issue, and if we lose heads and go on making speeches, I am afraid just as we lost some territory to China and we lost some territory to Pakistan, we may be losing some territory to some other country. That is the feeling. There is a volcano burning there which I saw. Along with some of my friends, I visited Manipur, and Mr. Deputy-Speaker, you too will be surprised to find as to how we were questioned by young people there. They asked us whether we have come from India. That is the question that was asked to us by young people who claim to be members of the PLA. PLA is an organisation that is, People's Liberation Army. They are underground, they are armed, they have brought arms from China, they are taking training in Lhasa, they are murdering the people right on the streets in the broad day light in the city of Imphal, and unfortunately none of the culprits had been traced because the people are damn scared to go as witnesses. We met the Chief Minister at Imphal and we asked him, and he said that the witnesses are not coming to depose. That is the position as are as PLA is concerned.

I had the opportunity and fortune, along with my friend, Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, to visit Jawaharlal Nehru University at Imphal. On every wall something was written in favour of PLA. We could find not an inch of space left where something could be written. All slogans are in favour of PLA.

Sir, there is another organisation which is known as PREPAK organisation. Both of them have joined hands. The only difference between the two is, there is a quarrel over the leadership. So, the leadership quarrel has started even before their dream of independent Manipur has come into existence.

The third thing which I noticed there is the communal element which is springing up. There is a community which is called Maithie community. We were told that about 200 or 300 years back they were converted to Hinduism. Now they want to go back to Maithic and relinquish this particular Hinduism. I have nothing to say about it because under the Constitution anybody can embrace any religion. But there is a fight going on between the Vaishnavas and these revivalists. On the 14th of this month we anticipated serious trouble when there was the Rath festival of the Vaishnavas, and lakhs of people were going to oppose it.

We find that the Government is not in a position to check all this. They day we were in Imphal, in the city hospital an army officer and a civilian were murdered by the PLA people, but even then the Government was not in a position to arrest a single person.

As far as the PLA students are concerned, they treat the army officers and personnel as also all leaders of political parties as stooges of the Government of India, and they are ready to kill them. They say they do not want these people in their land. They do not want independence along with the other six States, but they want in

[Shri Bapusaheb Parulekar]

dependence for Manipur separately. This is the case.

What have we been able to do for these people all these years? The railway station which is nearest to Imphal which we could provide in the last 33 years is 250 k.m. away at Dim-paur. There is only one First Class berth in the train, reserved for Imphal. There are no jobs. The officers told us that if jobs were given to these young people, they would leave the PLA and also serve the country. They are dying of hunger, they are poor. We were there only for 48 hours, but I was reminded of the Sanskrit sloka:

बुभुक्षितं किं न करोती पापम्
क्षीणा नरा निष्करुणो भवन्ती ।।

We were also told that the amount that has been sanctioned by the Government of India has not also been properly utilised. That is the position.

There are two or three more things which I would like to tell hon. Members. The State Government have an ambitious programme of providing employment to 5,000 young boys in five years, and we were told that the number of unemployed there was one lakh. So, you can imagine the time that would be necessary to cover this number.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): What is the total population of Manipur?

SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULFKAR: These are the statistics given to us by the Secretariat there. If you feel it is wrong, you can take it up.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: How can it be one lakh when their population is very small?

SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULEKAR: We met the Chief Minister, and these statistics were given by the Secretariat there.

A sugar mill was planned so that jobs could be provided, but without

the availability of sugarcane it could not be run. They found some fields for sugarcane cultivations, but afterwards it was found that the cost would be three times. The same is the case with cement. This is the turmoil in Imphal.

We went to Tripura. It was with some fear that I visited the village where there was genocide I have read many things about murders, I have also conducted criminal cases as an advocate, but what happened in the village of Mandai, I respectfully submit, is an act which no human being can tolerate. It is a village of 200 houses, all occupied by Bengalis. All the 200 houses were totally burnt. Out of 650 villagers, only 136 survived. The previous day the tribals came and told them that there would be dacoities, and asked them to bring all their ornaments and jewellery. They collected all the villagers. On the four sides there are mountains. The villagers brought their ornaments, but they were surrounded and attacked.

May it kindly be noted that even a child in the cradle was not spared. There was a mass burial. If you go even today, you will find the trace of that particular mass burial. We tried to investigate as to what happened. We visited the camps and the hospital. In the hospitals, we found that out of 450 patients, only six per cent were tribals and the rest were all Bengalis. Is this a communal riot, class struggle? These are the various questions which remain to be answered. I came to the conclusion that this cannot be a class struggle. The figures given by the Chief Minister of Tripura show that 87 per cent of the people are below poverty line. This cannot be a communal riot. But there are certain things and certain data from which we can come to certain conclusions.

The first conclusion to which myself and my friends have come is this This incident in this particular village was a pre-planned and pre-meditated one. Village Mondai is only 26 km. away

from the Capital, Agartala. But when this genocide, killing, looting and murders were going on, the State Government could not send the rescue force, the police, though they have 7000 policemen and two thousand Rajasthani policemen, for 36 hours. The first enforcement was sent only after 36 hours. Who is responsible for this? Either the Government was totally negligent, absolutely careless or they might have got some information, but still they might have kept quiet, I do not know. There is one more thing—which we came to know when we met the Chief Minister next morning. He said, two-thirds of Tripura is all quiet and all these troubles and disturbances are only in the remaining one-third area. We happened to meet a journalist who edits a paper and he told us that all these incidents have taken place in those villages where the voting in the last election for TUJS people and the Communists was evenly balanced. This is the data and from these facts, we have to draw certain conclusions. The Chief Minister of Tripura told us that no sooner he got the information, his deputy asked for rescue force, for military enforcement from the Centre, but the Centre did not send any force and he was helpless. The situation has still not improved. The people are terror-stricken. The dusk to dawn curfew is in force in Imphal and Agartala and you cannot go out after six.

As far as Gauhati is concerned, the problem is a little bit different. There the question of foreigners which is the pre-dominant one. We could meet some of the leaders of AASU and they told us that the question of foreigners is to be decided first. According to them, the question of foreigners is to be settled on the basis of the provisions of the Constitution and the Citizenship Act. They want to make a distinction between a refugee and a foreigner. We persuaded them to accept the Gandhi Peace Foundation formula. They were not ready to accept the suggestions made

therein, but they were ready to accept this formula as the basis for negotiations across the Table with the Prime Minister. I request that the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs may take into consideration this so that this issue can be settled amicably.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: What prevents them from saying that openly? The Prime Minister has offered them to come to negotiation table several times.

SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARLULKAR: They have said it openly.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North-east): What prevents the Government from asking them openly about this?

PROF. N. G. RANGA: The Prime Minister has offered several times to have negotiations. (*Interruptions*) Some say that the Chief Minister should have been dismissed long back.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: There is no Chief Minister in Assam.

SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULEKAR: I am speaking about Assam now. I do not know why my learned friend, at this age, is becoming angry with me.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Not with you, but with their irrational attitude.

SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULEKAR: We met Mr. Sarin, the Principal Adviser to the Governor.

16.00 hrs.

We have read in the papers that he has been made the Governor or he is to be made the Governor. In fact, the Chief Adviser to the Governor should talk less and should talk in such a manner that the feelings of the persons are not hurt.

[Shri Bapusaheb Parulekar]

We have read in papers what he told one of the hon. lady members, Mrs. Pramila Dandavate when she met him. She asked him as to how it was that these ladies were coming in such great number on the streets and making agitations. She was told**

About the influx also, we asked Mr. Sarin as to whether there are check-posts. He showed us on the map, 'Here is a check-post; there is a check-post'. But the people of Assam, at Gauhati, told us, 'You come with us. We will take you to Bangladesh, 30 miles inside. You will come out and you will not find any check anywhere.' That is the position even today.

I have a publication of the Government of India entitled *Influx* published in the year 1963. On page 3, there are statistical figures given of the census of 1951 and 1961 and therein we find in Assam, the Muslim population of Pakistanis has increased by 39 per cent; in West Bengal, it is 38 per cent and in Tripura, it is 68 per cent. The second chart that has been given may be compared along with this. It is on p. 5. It shows what was the increase of population in Bangladesh district-wise and therein we find, from 1951 to 1961, the minimum was 4.7 and the maximum was only 34. Then, there is the third schedule, a very important schedule, wherein the number of persons who migrated from Pakistan, below 14 years, between 15 and 59 years and over 60 years, is given. We find that for young boys below 14 years and over 60 years, the percentage is increasing but between 15 and 59 years, the percentage is decreasing and specially in the case of Noakhali village from which there is a great influx, the increase is (—) 5.5.

All this was done by the political parties. That is what the publication

of the Government of India says. I quote:

"The fact is that enlistment of foreigners in the voters' lists has at times taken place at the instance of politically interested persons or parties. Political parties have been known to take dubious steps to inflate the number of their supporters at election time and some undoubtedly used illegal settlers from Pakistan towards this end."

It is further stated:

"Many Pakistani nationals who left Tripura themselves stated on return that they had helped, worked and voted for the candidates of a particular political party in India."

They helped them to go into that particular country. This is in the year 1963. Which is that particular party? I leave that question to be answered by everyone.

In conclusion, I would like to make some suggestions. If this question is to be solved—the problems are inter-linked with various Ministries—a separate Ministry at the Centre be formed for looking after the Seven-Sisters State. Otherwise, these questions, these problems, are not likely to be solved. Secondly, we may be having some difference with RSS but they have given a formula that a Committee of non-politicians, be appointed consisting of jurists, journalists and other honourable people and they have made certain suggestions. If an approach is made on this basis, on humanitarian grounds, then only the question can be solved. This question can never be solved at bayonet ends, rifles and guns.

I therefore support the Resolution, but I would say that removal of the Government is necessary, in the interests of our country, of certain State. It will have to be done. About neg-

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

lect, serious thought will have to be given to it. In my submission, if this is done, I think this part will be saved. Otherwise, it will be something like Aksai Chin. Unfortunately, when the part is gone we will forget that it was an integral part of India. Just as we are calling the other part Aksai Chin instead of Aksai Ladak, after fifty years we may also say this is North-East Burma or North-East Bangladesh.

श्री मूल चन्व डागा (पाली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पुलिस की गोली शरीर को दबा सकती है, लेकिन मन की गहरी पीड़ा को नहीं। चाहे मिलिट्री, पुलिस और रिजर्व पुलिस की सारी ताकत आसाम, मेघालय और त्रिपुरा में नगा दी जाये, लेकिन वहाँ के लोगों की भावनाओं को दबाया नहीं जा सकता है। एक बार नागालैंड में ऐसा किया गया था, लेकिन आज भी नागालैंड के लोग अपनी बात पर अड़े हुए हैं और कभी न कभी वह ज्वाला फिर भड़क उठेगी। यह मान लेना चाहिए कि सभी राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ इन समस्याओं को हल करने में असफल रही हैं।

जब माननीय मोगरजी देसाई प्रधान मंत्री थे, तो वह आसाम नहीं गये। श्री एच० एम० पटेल गृह मंत्री थे, वह भी आसाम नहीं गए। उस वक़्त से आज तक आसाम, त्रिपुरा और मेघालय की समस्या बराबर खड़ी हुई है। जब देश में नया शासन बना, तो हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री 22 अप्रैल को आसाम गईं। हम लोग भी वहाँ गये हैं। हम समझते हैं कि इसके पीछे वहाँ के लोगों की भावनाएँ हैं। जो माननीय सदस्य इस संकल्प को लाये हैं, उनकी पार्टी का विचार है कि इस आन्दोलन को कुचल दिया जाये। त्रिपुरा में उनकी पार्टी का शासन है। मैं एक चर्चा के रूप में उनसे प्रश्न चाहता हूँ कि त्रिपुरा की 98 प्रतिशत पापुलेशन काश्तकार है, उसकी जमीन को गैर-कानूनी तरीके से किसने दबा रखा है। वहाँ पर लाखों की तादाद में बंगाली गये हैं। गैर-आदिवासी लोगों ने वहाँ की सारी जमीन हड़प ली है और उस पर काबिज हैं।

आज आसाम की आर्थिक स्थिति क्या है? हिन्दुस्तान में आमदनी 1236 रुपये है, जबकि आसाम में सिर्फ 852 रुपये हैं। हिन्दुस्तान को आसाम क्या देना है? वह 400 करोड़ रुपये की चाय प्रति-वर्ष देता है। 80 करोड़ रुपये का प्लाईवुड और जूट वहाँ से आता है। 40 प्रतिशत मिट्टी का तेल आसाम देना है। लेकिन आज आसाम के लोगों की हालत क्या है? मेघालय और त्रिपुरा के लोगों की आर्थिक हालत क्या है? वहाँ के 90 प्रतिशत लोग बिलो पावर्टी लाइन रहते हैं।

वहाँ पर आवागमन के साधन नहीं हैं। अगर कोई भाई त्रिपुरा की राजधानी, इम्फाल या कोहिमा से टेलीफोन पर बात करना चाहे, तो वह तीन दिन तक वार्तालाप नहीं कर सकता है। वहाँ पर एक सड़क है। कुछ समय पहले मैं राजकीय उपक्रम समिति के दौर के समय उन लोगों में घूमा था। जब लोग गरीबी के कारण अपनी मांगों को ले कर खड़े हो जाते हैं, तो सेना और पुलिस के बल पर उनकी भावनाओं को कुचलने की कोशिश की जाती है।

कृष्णा चेट्टी को फाँसी की सजा क्यों हुई, क्योंकि उन्होंने इन्कलाब पैदा किया। आज आसाम में सात लाख लोगों ने मूवमेंट में भाग लिया चाहे वह स्त्री हों, पुरुष हों या मिलिट्री के कर्मचारी हों, उन्होंने यह समझा कि आसाम की जनसंख्या कितनी बढ़ी है। उसके आंकड़े मेरे पास हैं, लेकिन मैं ज्यादा आंकड़े देना नहीं चाहता। मैं केवल यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की पापुलेशन में ज्यादा आसाम की पापुलेशन बढ़ गई। आप यह देखें 1951 में सारे हिन्दुस्तान की पापुलेशन में 13.31 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई जबकि अकेले आसाम में 19.94 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि पापुलेशन में हुई। 1961 में हिन्दुस्तान की पापुलेशन में 21.64 प्रतिशत और आसाम की पापुलेशन बढ़ी 34.98 प्रतिशत और 1971 में सारे भारत की पापुलेशन 24.80 प्रतिशत बढ़ी लेकिन आसाम की पापुलेशन 34.98 प्रतिशत बढ़ गई। किसी भी प्रान्त में इतना लोग चले जायें और उन लोगों की समस्याओं का निराकरण न हो, आवागमन के साधन न बने तो वहाँ की क्या हालत होगी? आप यह देखें दवा लाने का मवाल है, दवा चाहिए तो कलकत्ता आना पड़ता है उसके लिए। त्रिपुरा की राजधानी से या मेघालय की राजधानी से कोई कागज भेजा जाए तो चार महीने बाद कागज आता है कि तुम दवा ले जा सकते हो। छः महीने बाद वह दवा ले जाते हैं और गाँव के अन्दर नौ महीने बाद वह दवा जा कर पहुँचती है। शुरू साल की दवा नौ महीने बाद वहाँ पहुँचती है। यह हालत है वहाँ के आवागमन के साधन की। तेल वहाँ से निकलता है लेकिन उसका आफिस आपने बना रखा है कलकत्ता में। चाय वहाँ निकलती है 400 करोड़ की और आफिस उसका है कलकत्ता में। आसाम के युवक कहते हैं कि हमको नौकरी चाहिए, वह उनको मिलती नहीं। वह आज अपनी भाषा में गलत बातें कहते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने एक बात सोची कि केवल दवाने से काम नहीं चलेगा, पहले परसूेशन किया जाए, उनसे बात की जाए, केवल मिलिट्री काम नहीं कर सकती। मैं पहले भी गृह मंत्री को राय दी थी और गृह मंत्री ने माना था कि हिन्दुस्तान में कुछ इंडिपेंडेंट लोग हैं, ये राजनीतिज्ञ लोग नहीं, ये जो चरमा लगाए हुए हैं, किसी ने कोई चरमा लगा रखा है तो किसी ने कोई और लगा

[श्री मूल बन्ध डाला]

रखा है, कोई पीला है, कोई भगवा है, कोई लाल चमगा है, इन चमगाधारियों से बहुत दूर रहने की जरूरत है, हिन्दुस्तान के कुछ बुद्धिजीवी और समाजसेवक जिनमें देश की भावना हो, उनकी एक पार्टी बना कर वहां भेजी जाए और सचमुच इस बात को जाना जाए कि आज जो कुछ हिन्दुस्तान के उस पूर्वोत्तर भाग में हो रहा है उसका हल किस प्रकार निकाला जा सकता है। आज हिन्दुस्तान के उस हिस्से के लोग बर्मा में जाते हैं और वहां से ट्रेनिंग लेकर आते हैं। चीन उनको मदद देता है। बंगलादेश का सैकड़ों और हजारों मील का बोर्डर है। बंगलादेश से भी और कई जगहों से विदेशी सहायता इनको मिलती है, हथियार मिलते हैं, भोजन मिलते हैं। कारण क्या है कि आदमी अपनी जीविका को चलायाना चाहता है। जब उसको भरपेट भोजन नहीं मिलता, कमाने का साधन नहीं मिलता तो वह क्या करे? उस समय में कोई आवाज उठाता है तो आप कहते हैं कि यह तो एकता को भंग करता है। लेकिन वह वही पुयकताकदी नहीं बनना चाहता। वह हिन्दु तान को समझता है। लेकिन वह अपना सवाल उठाता है। इसलिए मैं समझ नहीं पाया कि यह जो संकल्प आपने रखा है उससे कौन-सी समस्या मूलभूत है। आप त्रिपुरा में कुचलने की बात करते हैं। आपने यह सोच लिया कि उनको मिलिट्री से कुचला जा सकता है। आप त्रिपुरा में समाजवाद ले आए तो कम्युनिज्म का क्या यह सिद्धांत है कि कुछ लोग मार डाले जाएं? जो यह संकल्प रखने वाले हैं त्रिपुरा के बारे में मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूं कि मैंने तो उनकी हिस्ट्री पढ़ी है, वहां के आदिवासी लोगों की सारी जमीन उनसे छीन ली गई। उनको कुछ मिलता नहीं। यह सरकार कहती है कि हम समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन वहां का तो यह नमना है। आज मनीपुर और मेघालय में जो हाथ का काम होना है उस काम को वे कर ही नहीं सकते हैं क्योंकि उनके पास साधन नहीं हैं, वहां पर बैंकों की शाखायें नहीं हैं। इस देश की बड़ी धनराशि को फौज पर कम लगा कर, प्रशासन पर कम लगाकर, उस धन से वहां पर युद्ध स्तर पर काम किए जायें, उनके लिए रोजगार के साधन जुटाए जायें और जो जमीनें उनसे छीन ली गई हैं वह उन्हें वापिस दिलाई जायें। इसी प्रकार से अगर वहां पर ज्यादा लोग आ गए हैं तो उनको प्रेम से, मोहब्बत से दूसरे राज्यों में भेज दिया जाए। (ब्यवधान) हमारे गृह मंत्री जी यही कहते हैं कि सभी काम प्रेम से करेंगे।

आपका जो यह संकल्प है कि उनको जबर्दस्ती कुचला जाए तो यह इस तरह का भूवर्षण नहीं है। इस भूवर्षण के पीछे कुछ दर्द है, लोगों की कुछ आवाज है और उनकी तकलीफें हैं।

श्री मूल बन्ध डाला : त्रिपुरा की हिस्ट्री आपकी नहीं मालूम है।

श्री मूल बन्ध डाला : मुझे सब मालूम है, यह तो सरकार चुपचाप बैठी है। मैं कहूंगा कि सरकार को ज्यादा साधन लगाकर वहां पर युद्ध-स्तर पर विकास के कार्य करने चाहिए, आवागमन के साधन जुटाने चाहिए, रोड्स की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए, उन लोगों के लिए नौकरी और रोजगार के साधन उपलब्ध कराने चाहिए। अगर वहां पर अधिक उरवान होगा तो यह झगड़ा खान्त हो सकता है। अगर आप सैन्य बल से झगड़ा खान्त करना चाहेंगे तो थोड़े समय के बाद वह फिर उभर आयेगा।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan.

Every hon. Member shall take only 10 minutes. Even then, I am afraid, we will not complete the list. After 10 minutes I will ring the bell—you must excuse me and I will call the next Speaker.

श्री राम विलास पासवान (हाजीपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पूर्वांचल प्रदेश की समस्या के सम्बन्ध में संसद के दोनों सदनों में काफी बार बहस-मुबाहसा हो चुका है। सरकार की ओर से जवाब भी दिए जाते हैं, आश्वासन भी दिए जाते हैं लेकिन लगता है—ज्यों-ज्यों दवा की, मर्ज बढ़ता गया। (ब्यवधान) डागाजी का भाषण मैंने 4 जुलाई को मूना था, उस दिन उन्होंने जो कुछ कहा था वही आज भी कहा है। मुझे याद है त्रिपुरा के सम्बन्ध में बोलते हुए डागा जी ने मंत्री जी से प्रश्न भी पूछा था क्या कोई इंडिपेंडेंट लोगों की कमेटी बनाकर वहां भेजी जायेगी तो मंत्री जी (श्री मकवाना) ने तुरन्त उठकर कहा था कि मैं "इसको मानता हूं बहुत जल्दी भेजी जायेगी लेकिन पता नहीं आज तक वह भेजी गई है या नहीं? (ब्यवधान) वह गई है तो ठीक है लेकिन आपने कहा था इंडिपेंडेंट कमेटी भेजी जायेगी।

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव (आजमगढ़) : मकवाना जी अपने वायदे का पूरा करते हैं।

श्री राम विलास पासवान : मैं "इंडिपेंडेंट कमेटी" पर जोर दे रहा हूं। उन्होंने कहा था, इस हाउस की प्रोसीडिग्स में है कि इंडिपेंडेंट कमेटी भेजी जायेगी।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मंत्री महोदय की तरफ से हमेशा कहा जाता है कि वहां विदेशी हाथ है। यह उसी प्रकार से है कि कोई पुलिस अफसर कहे कि हमारे घर में जोर

बैठा हुआ है लेकिन वह चोर कौन है, वह पुलिस को पता ही नहीं। ऐसे पुलिस ब्रह्मचर को अपने पद पर रहने का क्या अधिकार हो सकता है जो यह कहे कि मेरे घर में चोर है लेकिन चोर कौन है यह बालम नहीं। भारत के गृह मंत्री कहते हैं कि हमारे देश में विदेशी ताकत काम कर रही है, विदेशी लोग यहाँ मौजूद हैं, प्रथकतावादी शक्तियाँ काम कर रही हैं लेकिन वे विदेशी कौन हैं—इसका गृह मंत्रालय को आज तक पता नहीं और गृह मंत्री को आज तक पता नहीं। मैं उस दिन थी जैल मिड जी से पूछ रहा था, तो उन्होंने कहा कि हाँ-हाँ विदेशी ताकत है, मैं हाथ काट लंगा, हम लोगों ने भी कहा कि काटिए हाथ। मैं मुझे प्रथम यह कहूँगा कि इस तरह की बातें रोज़ विदेशी शक्तियों में छपती हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान का गृह मंत्री कहता है कि देश में विदेशी ताकत काम कर रही है और हिन्दुस्तान के गृह मंत्री को अभी तक यह नहीं पता है कि वह विदेशी ताकत कौन सी है। क्यों नहीं आप उमकी बकड़ते हैं।

ये जो पूर्वांचल प्रदेश हैं, चाहे वह असम, मणिपुर, मिजोरम, नागालैंड, त्रिपुरा, मेघालय य अरुणाचल प्रदेश हों, इनमें से दो चार आप के साथ हैं, लेकिन वे भी कुछ समय तक के लिए शान्त रह सकते हैं, हमेशा शान्त रहने वाले नहीं हैं। आज असम की सबसे बड़ी प्राबलम आपके सामने है। असम का जा मुल निवासी है, व 46 प्रतिशत हैं, जिसमें से 10 प्रतिशत पहाड़ी लोग हैं 54 प्रतिशत वहाँ के गैर-असमी हैं। जब हमने असम के बारे में पता लगाया तो कहा कि वहाँ के राजा अहम थे, वे लोग "ह" को "म" कहते हैं तो टांटल अहम से असम हो गया। इसलिए वहाँ के 46 प्रतिशत लोगों ने एक मांग की है कि विदेशी को बाहर हटाओ। यह एक बत अहम सवाल है हम लोगों के यहाँ, बसूला होता है, जिससे लकड़ी काटी जाती है लकड़ी कटे तो ठीक लेकिन गिरे हमारी तरफ। उधर के लोग भी चाहेंगे कि हम भी काटें, लेकिन गिरे हमारी तरफ। अगर हम दृष्टि से हम लोग काम करेंगे तो समस्या का निदान नहीं कर सकते हैं।

इस आन्दोलन की शुरुआत कैसे हुई। मुझे आप लोग माफ करेंगे, असम आन्दोलन की शुरुआत कैसे हुई—असम शान्त था, लेकिन जब 1977 का चुनाव आया और 1977 के चुनाव में पहली बार जनता पार्टी की सरकार बनी तो आप लोगों के दिल पर, छाती पर साँप लोटने लगा। थक आप लोगों की ही देन है। असम की जो समस्या है, वह आप की पार्टी की ही पैदा की हुई है... (अध्यास) . . अभी कुछ दिन पहले तक आपकी असम की कांग्रेस (आई) पार्टी कहती थी कि मैं

आन्दोलन का समर्थन कर रही हूँ और दिल्ली में आप लोग कह रहे थे कि हम विरोध करते हैं—क्यों? उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सीधा सा सवाल था, जब 1977 में जनता पार्टी की हुकूमत बनी तो इन लोगों ने कहा कि किसी तरह यहाँ "डिवाइड एण्ड रूल" की पालिस बलाओ, आपस में तोड़ी और तोड़ने के लिए हम लोगों ने यह करामात की थी कि लोगों को कहा—विदेशियों को हटाओ। यह कांग्रेस के लोगों ने वहाँ "सीड" ली और सीड लेने के बाद बायद आप के दिमाग में यह बात रही हो, हम मानते हैं कि बंगाली लोग बंगाली हैं, वे कांग्रेस (आई) का समर्थन नहीं करते हैं, इसीलिए आप ने इन को तोड़ने का काम किया और नतीजा यह हुआ कि वहाँ आन्दोलन बढ़ा और आन्दोलन बढ़ने के बाद आज यह स्थिति है कि वह आन्दोलन आप के हाथ से निकल गया है और नौजवानों के हाथ में चला गया है, जिन को आप इग्नोर नहीं कर सकते हैं।

डागा साहब ने ठीक कहा कि आप बन्दूक और तोप के बल पर, सेना को साथ ले कर आन्दोलन को समाप्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान ही नहीं, बरूँ के इतिहास में यह पहली दफा मौका आया है—जब आपकी आर्मी मशीनगन, एल0 एम0 जी0 और स्टेनगन लेकर खड़ी रहती है और करपसू में "शूट-एट-साइट" जहाँ देखो वहाँ गोली मार दो—इस तरह के आदेश हैं, लेकिन फिर भी बच्चों को गोद में लिए हजारों औरतें सड़क पर निकलती हैं लेकिन आप की आर्मी कुछ नहीं कर सकती, मूक-दर्शक हो जाती है। आज इस आन्दोलन का सेण्टीमेण्ट गांव-गांव के साथ जुड़ गया है, घर घर में पहुँच चुका है, इसलिए इस समस्या का समाधान आप को करना पड़ेगा। आप कहते हैं कि हम 1971 के बाद मानते हैं—मैं समझता हूँ इस में भी आप का कोई पोलिटिकल मोटिव है। कोई कहता है कि 1951 के बाद मानो, मैयह कह सकता है कि दोनों मामले 1951 और 1971—थेहुत गहन विषय है . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : तब फिर क्या किया जाय ?

श्री राम विलास पासवाग : अभी बतलाता हूँ कि क्या करना चाहिए। मैं कह रहा था कि वह बहुत गहन विषय है और यह बात भी सही है कि जब प्रतिक्रिया चलेगी तो विदेशी शक्तियाँ भी आयेगी और जो प्रथकतावादी शक्तियाँ हैं, वे भी आयेगी, इनको अगर कोई रोक सकता है तो सरकार रोक सकती है। आपके जितने बार्डर्स हैं उनको भी क्यों नहीं करते हैं, जहाँ से यह सारा मामला

[श्री राम विलास पासवान]

हो रहा है--आने जाने का, उसको आप सील क्यों नहीं करते हैं? मैंने कल भी कहा था कि इसके दो तरीके हैं। पहली बात तो यह है कि आसाम में जो काम होता है, उनके हेड-ऑफिसिस सब असम से बाहर हैं, बिहार में भी ऐसा ही है, वहां भी सारे ऑफिसिस बाहर हैं, नतीजा यह होता है कि राज्य को उनका लाभ नहीं मिलता है। गयल्टी का केवल 12 पैसा मिलता है। तो एक तो यह आर्थिक समस्या है, दूसरी समस्या जो विदेशियों की है, उनके साथ बैठकर बात कीजिये। सेना की बात को छोड़ दीजिए, सेना के द्वारा आप उनकी समस्या का निदान कर सकेंगे यह संभव नहीं है। आप उनके साथ बैठिये, उनके दिल के जो जज़बात हैं, वे क्यों परेशान हैं, उनकी बात को समझिये और उन बातों पर गहराई से सोचिये। जो अल्पसंख्यक हैं वे भी इसमें आपको रोकते नहीं हैं, इस लिये विदेशियों को वहां से हटाइये और जब विदेशी चले जायेंगे, तो अगर बिहार के लोगों को हटाने की या पंजाब के लोगों को हटाने या दूसरे लोगों को हटाने की बात चलेगी, तब आप कह सकते हैं कि असम के लोगों ने गड़बड़ फैला रखी है, लेकिन अभी तो ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है। उनकी तो इस समय सीधी सी मांग है कि विदेशियों को बाहर करो, ऐसी स्थिति में आपको यह स्टैण्ड लेना चाहिये जो विदेशी हैं उनके बारे में उनके साथ बैठकर मुला-मिमत से विचार करना चाहिये और जो वास्तव में विदेशी हैं, उनको बाहर करना चाहिये। जो विदेशी ताकत आपकी दृष्टि में वहां काम करती है, उसको बतलाना चाहिये ताकि सदन को पता चले कि कौन विदेशी ताकत आज वहां पर काम कर रही है।

उनके आर्थिक विकास के लिये हमारे एक साथी ने ठीक कहा है कि आप पूर्वांचल के लिये एक अलग मंत्रालय बना दें और अगर उनके विकास के लिये प्राथमिकता देकर कोई मधन कार्य-क्रम चलाना चाहिये। यदि आप ऐसी व्यवस्था करें तो इस समस्या का निदान हो सकता है।

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां (एटा) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम आज एक महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। इस विषय पर इन सदन में पहले भी कई मतवा चर्चा हो चुकी है। सबसे बड़ी दिक्कत की बात यह है कि 10-11 महीने से यह प्राबलम हमारे सामने है, लेकिन हमेशा हमारे होम मिनिस्टर कोई-न-कोई समझानेवाला भाषण देकर अलेहदा हो जाते हैं। इसको हल करने के लिये कोई ठोस कार्यवाही इन्होंने नहीं की है।

मान्यवर, यहां पर चर्चा की गई कि फारेनर्स को रिजून से निकाल दिया जाय, मगर आज

तक कोई यह नहीं बना सका कि वहां फारेनर कौन है? क्या उन लोगों को फारेनर मानते हैं जिनको 1971 के चुनाव में बोट देने का अधिकार दिया था, जिन्होंने सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट बनाने में अपना पूरा योगदान दिया था, जिन्होंने सब की सरकार बनाने में पूरा योगदान दिया था, जिनको वहां के गहरी हकूक हासिल हैं? किसको फारेनर मानते हैं? कुछ लोगों की राय है कि जो लोग 1951 के बाद बंगला देश में आये, जो पहले ईस्ट-पाकि-स्तान था उनको फारेनर माना जाय। यह ठीक है कि वे लोग जरूर आये होंगे, वहां का वाइंडर और जंगलात ऐसे हैं जहां इस तरह की निगरानी करना मुश्किल है, लेकिन सवाल यह है कि जो आज से 30 साल पहले आये, उनके बच्चे और पौते हो गये आज उन के बच्चे जवान हो गये हैं, --क्या उनको फारेनर कहना चाहते हैं-- यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रही है। चाहे किमी की गलती में आये या उम वकन की सरकार निगरानी नहीं रख सकी उनको यहां आने की इजाजत दे दी और फिर 30 साल तक यहां रहने की इजाजत दे दी, आज यह कहे कि उनको निकाल कर फेंक दीजिये, इनके बच्चों को, इनके घरों को उखाड़ कर फेंक दीजिये--क्या यह सं-नियत है, भलमनसाहत है? मैं एक बात और कहता हूँ--हमारी सरकार ने फैसला किया कि 1971 को बेस यान कंग फारेनर्स का आईडेंटिफाई करें, और एक बात मैंने अखबार में पढ़ी जा बड़ी खतरनाक है और आज भी हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने चलने चलने उमका जिज्ञासा किया कि कुछ लोगों को वहां से निकाल कर दूसरे सुत्रों में बसा दिया जाए। बड़ी खतरनाक बात है। यह मानना है कि यह लड़ाई कम्युनल नहीं है, कही कही कम्युनल हो गई है या उसको एभी शकन दे दी गई है पर ओवरऑल यह प्राबलम आसामी और नान-आसामीज की है और मैं तो इसको नान-आसामीज की बात भी नहीं मानता। इसलिए कि जो लोग वहां गये और लौटे वे आसाम के थे जो लोग गये और लौटे वे त्रिपुरा के थे, जो लोग गये और लौटे वे मिजोरम के थे। तो यह प्राबलम आसामी और नान आसामीज की भी नहीं मालूम होती। इसलिए पत्र-पत्र को आईडेंटिफाई करना है क्योंकि एक गाफ-सुधरी तस्वीर हमारे सामने रखी नहीं गयी है कि यह प्राबलम है।

एकानामिक बात आई कि वह परिया बहुत निरलेक्ट हुआ है और हममें कोई शक भी नहीं है मगर आज इन हालात में जो हालात वहां पर हैं क्या गवर्नमेंट ऐसी क्षमता रखती है कि उसको ठीक किया जा सके? आज जहां इतने डिस्टर्बेंस हो रहे हैं, इतनी मारकाट हो रही है, जहां इतने लोग बेघरबार हो रहे हैं, कौन से कदम उठाए जा सकते हैं। जब तक वहां पर स्थिति मामा च न हो जाए, जब तक वहां के हाजान सुधर न जाएं, तब तक क्या किया जा सकता है। यहां पर जब आसाम के बजट पर बहस हुई थी, उसमें स्पेशल प्रोविजन किये गये हैं वहां पर तरक्की करने के

लिए, वहाँ के हाकात को सुझाने के लिए, पर हाकात सभी सुधर पायेंगे, जबकि बड़ा पड़ने स्थिति सामान्य हो।

मान्यवर, वहाँ पर फारेन पावर का जिक्र किया गया। हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने भी एक दो बार कहा है। बड़ी जिम्मेदारी से बात को कहना चाहिए। जब इस बात का जिक्र किया गया कि फारेन पावर का हाथ है, होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने फारेन पावर की बात कही, तो मालूम होना चाहिए कि वह कौन सी फारेन पावर है, जो उसमें दखलान्दाजी कर रही है। इतनी बड़ी शक्ति सरकार के पास होते हुए, इतनी इन्टेलेजेंस की पावर आप के हाथ में होते हुए, यह आप को बताना चाहिए कि कौन सी फारेन पावर है। या तो आप जानते हैं पर बनाना नहीं चाहते हैं और आप कहते हैं कि हम ऐसे लोगों के हाथ काट देंगे मगर हाथ काटने की क्षमता आपमें नहीं है। 10, 11 महीने हो गये हैं मगर कितनों के आरने हाथ काटे हैं और कितनों के मिर काटे हैं तो मैं यह कहूँगा कि आपको आइडेंटिफाई करना चाहिए कि कौन सी फारेन पावर है।

अब एक दूसरी बात मैं यह निवेदन करूँगा कि जब इस तरह की बातें होती हैं तो कुछ यकीन सा होने लगता है कुछ डाऊट मा हीने लगाता है कि कहीं हममें से भी कुछ लोग उसमें शामिल तो नहीं हैं? अब यह बात मैं कहूँगा कि तो हमारे पासवान साहब नाराज हो जाएंगे। 16 मर्तवा हमारे जार्ज फर्नान्डीज साहब वहाँ पर गये हैं।

श्री राम विलास पासवान : जाना चाहिए।

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां : जाना चाहिए, जरूर चाहिए, बातचीत करने के लिए और ट्रेनों को लूटना चाहिए आप के कर्तव्य के अनुसार। जो डाइनामाइट केस में रूढ़ हो, उस को जाना चाहिए... (व्यवधान)... आप को पूरा अधिकार है। मैं कह रहा था कि वे 16 मर्तवा गये और एक ऐसा आदमी जिस ने इकबाल किया है कि उन ने 51 ट्रेनों लूटी हैं जनता पार्टी में कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर होने के बाद, यह इकबाल किया है... (व्यवधान)... इमर्जेंसी की बात में बाद में कहूँगा होम मिनिस्टर की डिमान्ड्स के बावत। जो डाइनामाइट केस का मुल्जिम रह चुका है,

उस की एक्टिविटी नेशनल है या एन्टी-नेशनल है, यह फैसला तो लोग करें, मैं तो यह कहने के मूड में नहीं हूँ। 51 ट्रेनों को लूटाना नेशनल एक्ट है या डाइनामाइट केस का मुल्जिम हो जाए, यह नेशनल एक्ट है ऐसा आदमी 16 मर्तवा ऐसे इलाके में जाएँ, जहाँ पर आग लगी हुई है, यह कहाँ तक ठीक है। आप क्यों नहीं गये पासवान साहब या और क्यों नहीं गये? यह चीज जरा शक में डालती है। जब ये ग्रन्डप्राउन्ड थे तो इन पर चार्ज लग चुके हैं और उन को वे साफ नहीं कर पाए हैं मुल्क के सामने। जब ये गवर्नमेंट में थे, मिनिस्ट्री में थे तो गंभीर चाफ़िज हाउस के फ्लोर पर इन पर लगाये गये थे। और जित्त को आज तक वे साफ नहीं कर पाये। तो इन की एक्टिविटीज से कुछ शक सा होता है ये ग्रन्डप्राउन्ड बातें करते हैं, यहाँ कुछ कहते हैं और करते कुछ हैं। इन के कहने में और करने में अन्तर है।... (व्यवधान)... कहने में और करने में अन्तर तो नहीं है, तो बड़ी गंभीर सूरत है। मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि यह जो सरकार की पालिसी है कि जब आप बाहर लोगों को लूटाना नहीं चाहते, तो आप उनको उनकी जगहों से हटाना क्यों चाहते हैं दूसरे सूबों में बसाने के लिए, तो पहली बात तो यह है और दूसरी बात यह है कि आज चाहे यह कम्युनल पोलीशन न हो मगर आज अगर उन को वहाँ से हटाया गया और दूसरे सूबों में भेजा गया, तो मैं एक खूली हुई बात कह दूँ कि बंगाली तो जाएगा नहीं बिहार में बसने के लिए। बंगाली बिहार या उत्तर प्रदेश में बसने के लिए जाएंगे नहीं। प्रुटी-मेटली जो वहाँ पर माइन्डोर्टी कम्युनिटी के आदमी मुसलमान होंगे जिनको कि आप कहते हैं कि 51 में आ गये, उनके बाद 56 या में 57 में आ गये (व्यवधान) मैं अपनी अक्ल के मुताबिक अपनी बात कह रहा हूँ, आप अपनी अक्ल के मुताबिक कह दें।

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र हान्दर : मुस्लिम भी बंगाली है।

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां : मैं बहुत साफ कहता हूँ। जब मैं कहता हूँ कि बंगाली, उस में हिन्दु और मुसलमान दोनों शामिल हैं। मैंने उस समय भी यह जुमला कहा था। उन लोगों को रो मुसलमान हैं जिनको कि आप कहते हैं कि 51 में आया 54 में आये, उनको दूसरी जगह आप बसाने की कोशिश करेंगे। जिस वक्त आप उन मुसलमानों को बसाने की कोशिश करेंगे तो वह बीमारी दूसरे सूबों में भी फैलेगी और उसको फिर आप कंट्रोल करने की कोशिश करेंगे दूसरे सूबों में भी यह बीमारी फैल सकती है जो कि बहुत खतरनाक बात होगी।

एक बात मैं निवेदन करूँगा। मैंने होम मिनिस्ट्री की कंसलटेडिव कमेटी की रिपोर्ट पढ़ी है। उसमें इस सदन के उन माननीय सदस्य श्री जार्ज फर्नान्डीस साहब जिनकी कि बकासत पासवान जी कर रहे हैं की बात पढ़ कर मैं हैरत में रहा गया।**

[श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां]

उन्होंने होम मिनिस्ट्री की कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी में कहा था कि नार्थ ईस्ट रीजन आई करोड की नेशन है, इस मुद्दा की कोई शर्वाहिया जीव है। कितनी खतरनाक और कितनी गलत बात है। इस हाउस का एक जिम्मेवार मेम्बर है जो कि सर्वनमेंट में एक मेम्बर रह चुका है वह यह बात कहता है। जब मैंने यह कहा कि 18 बंकर लगाये तो पासडाय साहब को नाराजगी हुई मगर पासवान साहब क्या नार्थ इस्टर्न रीजन की पापुलेशन को प्रलहिवा नेशन कहना तर्ज की बात नहीं है। यह बड़ी शर्जनक बात है। (व्यवधान) इसको हमने प्रखबार में पढ़ा है। (व्यवधान)**

श्री राम बिलास पासवान : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर है। कल मैंने इसी सदन में एक एजीनेशन लगाया था मिनिस्टर श्री श्री० एम० सिंह के खिलाफ**

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, उसको एक्सपंज किया गया। आपके सेनेट्री साहब बैठे हुए हैं। उस समय यह कहा गया था कि यदि आप किसी मेम्बर के विरुद्ध, या किसी मिनिस्टर के विरुद्ध एजीनेशन लगाते हैं तो पूरी जवाबदेही लेकर के आप एजीनेशन बगाइये, नहीं तो उसको एक्सपंज किया जाएगा। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता कि यह जो माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे हैं वे पूरी जवाबदेही के साथ कहें कि नार्थ फर्नांडीस एन्टी नेशनलिस्ट हैं, नहीं तो इसको एक्सपंज कीजिए।

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां : यह मेरा अधिकार है। मैं प्रखबार से पढ़ कर के कह रहा हूँ। हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में, डाइम्स आफ इंडिया में छपा है। सारे प्रखबारों में छपा है। प्रखबारों से कोटेशन को देना मेरा अधिकार है। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You cannot make a speech merely based on a newspaper report. You have got to take the responsibility for making an allegation.....Therefore, I will expunge all those things for which you do not take any responsibility because it is not right to make allegations like this.

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां : मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आपकी इस रूलिंग के बाद अब इसके बाव से सदन में प्रखबार की न्यूज को कोट नहीं किया जा सकेगा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You can quote from the newspapers. But the point is that certain allegations....

SHRI MALIK M. M. A. KHAN: I named the newspapers—Hindustan Times and Times of India. I am quoting from newspapers.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You named the newspapers, but you are quoting from the newspaper, an allegation against an hon. Member. Even if there is an allegation against you, it will be stopped. But if you take responsibility for the allegation you have made against hon. George Fernandes, I have no objection; you should also give notice. You must inform me that you are going to bring such allegations against any other Member. So, this is the parliamentary practice. And so, I would request you to avoid allegations against another Member. (Interruptions) I have given my decision.

श्री राम बिलास पासवान : मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर है। आपने हम को दस मिनट के बाद रोक दिया था और आपने कहा था कि दस मिनट हो चुके हैं अब और समय नहीं मिलेगा। माननीय सदस्य को आप कितना समय देंगे।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am very careful. He started at 4.29. If this had not started, I would have rung the bell. He started at 4.29; he can go upto 4.39. In the meantime, this started. Therefore, he can take these 3 or 4 minutes. Let us be charitable and good to Mr. Khan.

श्री मलिक एम० एम० ए० खां : मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि असम की हालत काफी दिन से खराब थी। हम असम के बारे में चर्चा करते रहे। उसी दौरान में होम मिनिस्टर साहब भी कहते रहे कि यह बड़ा सेंसेटिव एरिया है, इसकी हम को बड़ी निगरानी रखनी है, यह मर्ज दूसरी जगह न फैले इसको हम को देखना है। लेकिन एक रात सो कर उठे तो मालूम हुआ कि—त्रिपुरा में दो ढाई हजार आदमी कत्ल कर दिए गए हैं, लाखों आदमियों को घर से बेघरवार कर दिया गया है। इस कदम सेंसेटिव एरिया होते हुए भी बराबर की स्ट्रे में इतना बड़ा जीनोसाइड हो जाए तो

में जानना चाहता हूँ कि इसके लिए जिम्मेदार कौन है, सेंटर है या राज्य सरकार है। मुझे जानकारी है कि जिस दिन वह बाका हुआ उस दिन मुख्य मंत्रालय दिल्ली में थे और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का चाकें ऐसे मिनिस्टर के पास था जो उन लोगों से ताल्लुक रखता था, उनका रिप्रिजेंटिव था जिन्होंने यह जेनोसाइड किया।

अभी मेरे दोस्त ने कहा कि वहाँ पर 36 घंटे बाद पुलिस की मदद पहुंची। मुझे जानकारी है कि जो मिनिस्टर इनचार्ज थे उस वक्त सिपुरा में उन्होंने सात इंस्ट्रक्शंस पुलिस को भेजे कि गोली न चले। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ इतना बड़ा जेनोसाइड होता रहा, कत्लेआम होता रहा, बंदों को प्राण लगाई जाती रही, इस सब का रोकने के लिए कितनी गोलीया चलाई गई उन लोगों को बचाने के लिए? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कौन इस सब के लिए जिम्मेदार है?

मैं ने यह भी पढ़ा है कि वहाँ की सरकार ने 1978, 1979 और 1980 में भी सेंटर से मदद की मांग की थी। 1980 में तो प्राण थे। इतना बड़ा जेनोसाइड हो जाए प्राणकी नाक के नीचे, इतनी जानें चली जाए, इतनी ज्यादा डिस्टर्बेंस हो जाए, तो इस सब की कही न कही तो जिम्मेदारी आयाद होती है, इस जेनोसाइड के लिए कोई न कोई तो जिम्मेदार है ही, किसी न किसी की गफलत में ता इतना बड़ा बाका हुआ है।

महज इन चर्चाओं से, स्टेटमेंट दे देने से कि एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन हाथ काट देगी, गर्दन काट देगी, सिर काट देगी काम चलने वाला नहीं है। आप कोई ठोस कदम उठाएँ। कौन जिम्मेदार है इस गडबडी के लिए, इसका पता लगाएँ और उनको जिम्मेदार ठहराएँ। ऐसे ठोस कदम उठाएँ ताकि वहाँ पर अमन और चैन की लौ लगे। गाम ले मके, उनको राहत पहुंचाई जा सके ताकि आप को भी भौवा मिले कि आप वह जो अर्नाइवेलेंड एरिया है उस में डिवेलपमेंट के काम कर सके ताकि उन लोगों की नाराजगी दूर हो और वे सही रास्ते पर आ सकें।

SHRI C. PALANIAPPAN (Salem).
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Resolution of my hon. friend, Shri K. C. Halder is of great national importance and none can have any doubt about the efficacy of this discussion at this juncture here on the floor of this House.

For the past 8 months the agitation in North-Eastern States is spreading

like wild fire. Initially it was a socio-economic problem. But because of the inaction of the then Janata-Lok Dal Government in finding a lasting solution to this problem and because of the encouragement of certain foreign powers, the crisis has deepened. The raging Assam agitation is a classic example of the ineffective functioning of the Janata-Lok Dal Government. After the defeat in the Parliamentary Elections, on account of political interference from the opposition parties, this socio-economic issue has become a political wrangle.

If steps are taken to abolish starvation from the country, it will be welcomed by all. If measures are adopted for abolishing poverty and for bringing the common people on par with the affluent sections of society, without resort to violent means, that would also be welcomed. Now, is the time for the Opposition Parties to shed all their differences and function unitedly in the interests of national integrity and freedom. The Assam agitation should prompt the Opposition Parties to think in this direction.

Arignar Anna used to say that the condition that prevails in the country acts as the constraint on the thinking of a nation. Our hon. Home Minister has categorically stated about the interference of foreign powers in the agitation in North-eastern States. I would refer to what our Information and Broadcasting Minister, Shri Sathu has said in a recent Conference. Taking advantage of the deteriorating law and order situation, the foreign powers are keen to dismember this area from India. There is also international conspiracy to create nation-States within Indian Union. Our Home Minister has also warned foreign countries which are active in this matter. I welcome wholeheartedly the speedy steps being taken by our Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi to normalise the situation in these parts.

[Shri C. Palaniappan]

Thandai Periyar used to say that giving succour to the suffering millions should be the primary duty of everyone of us and not giving protection to one's religion. Here I am reminded of what Mr. Walter Crankail, Radio Commentator of Columbia Radio in the U.S.A. has said about our Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi. Mrs. Gandhi in her own inimitable manner, with an ever-smiling face, without any hesitation, is trying to discharge her onerous responsibilities. She is firm in her ideas and ideals. At the same time, she gives a patient hearing to the viewpoints of those experienced in Statecraft. But she is not a handmaid of others. She is acting independently relying on her unshaken convictions arrived after deep thinking. No power on earth can shake her or destroy her. Once she decides to act, she acts unswervingly.

It is time that our opposition parties realise their responsibilities to the nation. If the situation in Assam and other north-eastern States is allowed to continue, I am afraid that political parties thriving on such agitations will not hesitate to create chaotic conditions in other States also. We should see that our country's respect among the comity of nations is not sullied by our continuing this kind of agitation in North-Eastern States. I assure the unstinted cooperation and support of D.M.K. to all the steps that the Centre may take in curbing this dangerous trend in these parts of our country. Since it is no longer an issue of just North-eastern States and it has assumed national significance, the Opposition Parties should change their outlook. The situation in Assam is grave. The strike that is going on there has led to serious losses in the distribution of crude oil and other petroleum product. Though work is going on in Digboi and Gauhati Refineries, since December last, no petroleum products are coming out of Assam. Yet, the Centre is supplying to this area the requirements of petrol, gasoline, kero-

sene oil etc. On account of this kind of inability to take petroleum products out of Assam, the monthly loss is reported to be of the order of Rs. 350 crores—Rs. 100 crores from petroleum products and Rs. 250 crores due to production loss. The Government may meet the shortage by imports of crude oil, but that will deplete our foreign exchange resources.

The Co-ordinating Committee has recommended the inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 45 lakhs of scheduled tribes working in the Tea Gardens of Assam. The Government of India should accede to this legitimate demand of the scheduled tribes people working in the Tea Gardens.

The D.M.K. will offer its unqualified support to the Centre if any State in the country raises the banner of secession. If anyone tries to make political profiteering in a national problem, it is equal to a crime committed against the interests of the nation. It is not that the ruling party alone is responsible for this serious situation in Assam and other eastern part of States. It has become grave because of the failure and inaction of the opposition parties which were in power then when the agitation started as a socio-economic problem. It must be borne in mind that only when nation is there you can have your house and when you have your house you can have a roof. Bearing this in mind, all the political parties in the country should extend full cooperation to the Government which is endeavouring to settle the disputes amicably and put an end to this agitation.

With these words I conclude my speech.

श्री राम स्वल्प राम (गया) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन में जिस संकल्प पर चर्चा हो रही है, मैं उसके बारे में चन्द सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ।

प्रश्न आज पूर्वांचल का नहीं, बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान की अखंडता का है। हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में हमारी यह परिकल्पना रही है कि काश्मीर से केप कामोरिन तक और आसाम से पश्चिम की अन्तिम सीमा तक फैला हुआ भूभाग एक अखंड

देश है। लेकिन 1977 के बाद देश में कुछ प्रतिक्रियावादी ताकत पनपी जिन्होंने क्षेत्रीय भावनाओं को ज्यादा प्रकृत्य दिया। हम क्षेत्रीय भावनाओं, क्षेत्रीय समस्याओं या क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं के खिलाफ नहीं हैं। लेकिन हमें इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि क्षेत्रीय भावनाओं की प्रास्ताविक करने से कहीं राष्ट्रीय भावना गौण नहीं जाये।

और यही हुआ। सब से पहले सी० पी० एम० ने अधिक स्टेट आटोनोमी की बात कही। श्री ज्योति बसु ने कई बार कहा कि हमें अपनी सीमा पर रखने के लिए बार्डर सिक्कुरिटी फोर्स कीजिए। इसकी क्या जरूरत थी? हम सभी एक अखंड भारत के नागरिक हैं और संविधान के अनुसार सभी राज्य एक दूसरे के साथ सम्बद्ध हैं। अधिक स्टेट आटोनोमी की मांग से ही पृथक्तावादी भावनाओं का अंकुर उत्पन्न हुआ। असाम, मेघालय, त्रिपुरा और अरुणाचल प्रदेश आदि जो हमारे पश्चिम की स्टेट्स हैं उनमें अधिक समस्या बहुत जर्बंदस्त पैमाने पर मौजूद है उन के अक्सप्लायटेशन के बारे में मौखिकता लोमों ने कहा है। मैं अब के साथ आप के सामने कह देना चाहता हूँ कि जो उधर बैठने वाले हैं और अपने को सी० पी० एम० कहते हैं, इस सारे मुवमेंट के पीछे तमाम सी० पी० एम० का और बंगालियों का हाथ है जिन्होंने आदिवासियों की हर चीज का वहां षण किया है। इसके लिए मुख्य रूप से जिम्मेदार सी० पी० एम० के लोग और बंगाली लोग हैं। मैं तो बराबर यह कहता हूँ और प्रधान मंत्री ने बराबर उन आन्दोलनकारियों को लिए दरवाजा खोल कर रखा है चूंकि हम जानते हैं कि लड़ाई से किसी चीज का अन्त नहीं होता है, न किसी समस्या को ही सुलझाया जा सकता है। लेकिन जार्ज फरनांडीज साहब 16 बार वहां क्यों गए हैं। एक रिपोर्ट आई है कि इस में विदेशियों का हाथ है। 1 जून 1980 पैट्रियट अखबार में यह निकला है —

“Unaccounted US dollars detected— According to intelligence reports here, unaccounted dollars have been recovered in Assam from most unusual places. The first clue was found with a taxi driver on whom a good number of dollar bills were found. Subsequently dollars were found with a pan shopkeeper too. The Union Home Minister has been informed. Sources say that the dollars are a part of the wages paid to the agitators in Assam. It is rumoured that the Assam agitators have with them huge funds estimated at Rs. 30 lakhs. According to uncon-

firmed reports, AASU leader, P.K. Mahato had been to Calcutta recently and established contact with certain Naxalite elements in West Bengal, apart from meeting Lok Dal and Janata leaders.”

यदि यह स्टेटमेंट सत्य है तो इस बात को कहने में हम को थोड़ी सी भी हिचक नहीं है कि इसके पीछे तमाम विरोधियों का हाथ है। इस में दो रायें नहीं हैं। कहीं सी० आई० ए० के रूप में, कहीं चीन के दबाल के रूप में ये लोग हमारे आदिवासियों भाइयों को बरगला रहे हैं। यदि यह स्टेटमेंट करेक्ट है तो इस में उन लोगों का हाथ है।

मैं एक चीज और स्पष्ट कह देना चाहता हूँ। यह बहुत अहम् सवाल है और इस सवाल को एक राष्ट्रीय कर्तव्य, नेशनल ड्यूटी के रूप में हम को लेना चाहिए। या नहीं कि कांग्रेस (आई) क्या कर रही है? या सी पी एम क्या कर रही है, बल्कि जैसा कि हमारे डागा साहब ने प्रस्ताव किया है, नान-पॉलिटिकल डंग से इस को स्टार्ट किया जाय और इन समस्याओं में कोई भी पॉलिटिकस फी नू नहीं आनी चाहिए। विपिन पाल दास साहब ने इस समस्या को कैसे सुलझाया जाय, इस के लिए चन्द सुझाव दिए थे। श्रियातन एवं असाम के लीडरों को सुझाव दिया था कि किन को फारेनर कहें और किन को स्थानीय मानें? उन का कहना था कि 1951 के सेन्सस में जो लोग हैं उन को वहां का सिटिजनप करार द और 51 से 61 के बीच में जो आए हैं उन को भी हम सिटिजनशिप दे दें, लेकिन 71 के बाद के लोगों को कहा गया कि किसी भी तरह सिटिजनशिप नहीं दिया जाय। ऐसी स्थिति में उनको दूसरे प्रान्तों में भी बसाने बान हो सकती है और यह जरूरी बात है। जो बंगाला देश से रिफ्यूजी बन कर आए उनकी आवादी दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ती जा रही है और वहां आदिवासियों पर बोझ बढ़ता जा रहा है। इसलिए उनका सर्वांगीण विकास वहां करावइये और 71 के बाद जो लोग वहां आए हैं उनका दूसरे प्रान्तों में शेर कराइये दूसरे प्रान्तों में बसाइये क्योंकि यह भारत की समस्या है, केवल पृथक्त्व की नहीं है और केवल एक ही प्रान्त में इसका भार नहीं हो सकता है। जो प्रदर्शनकारी हमारे भाई हैं उन से मैं मासिक अपील करता हूँ कि प्रधान मंत्री ने उनके साथ बातचीत के लिए दरवाजा खोल रखा है। एक जगह पर बैठ कर बात कर लें। उनकी सामाजिक और राजनीतिक एवं आर्थिक समस्याओं के लिए लड़ें नहीं बल्कि हल निकालें। कांग्रेस उनकी हमेशा वकालत करती रही है। यही चन्द सुझाव हैं जिन्हें आपके सामने रखा है।

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is very unfortunate that in the North-Eastern Zone, it is almost 10 months that this situation of de-stabilisation has been there and the whole region is in turmoil. In spite of the fact that the entire country is expressing its concern and all political parties also are trying to find some solution, the solution has not yet been found.

While discussing this issue, we have to be very careful. It is not a question of making any allegation against any political party or against the people of any region. It is unfortunate that those very people who say that the issue should be treated as a non-political issue and above party line, try to make allegations against certain political parties. By this way, you cannot solve the problem.

On account of this movement, certain serious things have come to the notice of the country and we should take note of those.

We should appreciate that in that part of the country, because of certain situation and certain background, may be historical or socio-economic, there are certain apprehensions, fear, doubts and anger in the minds of the people. If the entire people somehow feel strongly then we cannot deal with this kind of a situation with the help of Police, Army and by repressive measures. It has to be solved in an amicable way, in a national manner, within the framework of our national values and policies and in a spirit of accommodation and adjustment. That is the thing that is required there. If some feel that only a small section of people are agitated over this issue, it is wrong. Somehow, the entire population in that part of the country is involved whether they are youth, students, women, children, Government officials, or non-Government officials. Otherwise, to sustain a movement for 10 months is not an easy task. The 1942 movement could not go beyond four or five months. This movement is going on for a long

time. Therefore, we must understand the gravity of the situation. The Prime Minister has announced time and again that the Government has no intention to bring about a solution in any repressive manner. The Prime Minister is seriously concerned because she tried to consult political parties collectively, individually, tried to talk to those people who are in the movement, sent people to make studies on the spot. I think the time has come when all of us should put our heads together to find an amicable settlement to the satisfaction of the people in that part of the country.

Sir, I would say that while finding a solution certain basic and fundamental things must be accepted. No. 1 is that the Government must make it very clear that there will be no compromise on this principle. If anybody objects and says that people from other parts of the country will not be allowed to live in that part of the country, it is a very major mistake, it will go against our national interest. In Assam, or for that purpose, in any part of the country people belonging to any other part of the country have got equal rights to go there and live as brothers and sisters with equal rights. Many of our Assamese brothers and sisters are living in different parts of the country. This thing must be made very clear and there cannot be any compromise on this.

Another thing is that there cannot be any deliberate movement against a particular community, whether it is a linguistic minority or a religious minority. There cannot be any movement and that cannot be encouraged and should not be supported. If there is a movement against any community, this should be condemned because this will not help our national unity and national integration.

I have been reading in the newspapers that the Prime Minister is planning to go to Assam again. If she goes, it will be welcome, but the Prime Minister should come out with certain very categorical statements

now. No. 1 is that the Prime Minister must again assure the people living in that part of the country, that their cultural heritage will not be in any case in danger, their language and their identity will not be in danger and Government will take all necessary steps to the satisfaction of the people in that area and that they will be given full safeguards. No. 2 is, they have a very genuine fear. From their own experience for the last many years, even after 1971, there has been an influx of population from across the border. They have a fear that unauthorised foreigners have been coming and the Government have totally failed to prevent unauthorised foreigners coming to our country. This is a serious situation not only in North-Eastern zone, but in any part of the country, on our western border, northern border and eastern border. No Government worth the name should allow unauthorised foreigners to come to our country and also later on indulge in any kind of activities. The Government will have to ensure, and I must say that the Government must come out with a clear statement that the borders will be totally sealed and no unauthorised persons will be allowed to come into the country. Only the people with valid passports, visa and other necessary documents can be allowed to come, not otherwise. If they had come as unauthorised persons after 1971, the Government must take the issue with the Bangladesh Government. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhai Patel had said that 'after partition, if the lives and honour of our brothers and sisters living across the borders are in danger, they are our brothers and sisters and so we would give them full protection and we will stand by them.' Because they belong to a different religion, if they are subjected to any kind of difficulties and if they have fear of the elimination of their religion or their lives in Bangladesh, or for that purpose in any country, the Government must take up this issue strongly with the Government of Bangladesh and tell them that this should not happen.

The third thing I would like to say is that those who are agitating should also call off this movement. A solution has to be found. If they go on agitating and if they paralyse the entire machinery, it is going to harm their interests also. After ten months of agitation, the entire Government machinery is paralysed, almost the entire business is paralysed. That is going to cause severe harm to the people living in that part and also the other parts of the country. Therefore, after this assurance of the Prime Minister, the movement must be called off by its leaders, so that the necessary atmosphere is created for an amicable settlement across the Table.

All the political parties have expressed their strong opinion that some solution has to be found of this issue. If the leaders of the movement are putting forward some demand, if they feel that certain leaders have to be released so that a conducive atmosphere may be created, Government should not make it a prestige issue.

I will not say that the entire movement consists of elements which are secessionist, communal and chauvinistic. This kind of language should not be used, I am not a party to that.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: It does not serve any purpose.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: I entirely agree with you.

We should also see the aspirations and the strong feelings of the people there. However, there is a possibility that secessionist elements are trying to take advantage of this kind of difficult situation. That should not be allowed because on our borders there are enemies who would be very happy if there is destabilisation in that part of the country so that they can take advantage of it. That should not be allowed. So, the secessionist elements should be dealt with firmly.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYA RAO (Karimnagar): I am very happy that

[Shri M. Satyanaraya Rao]

Mr. Halder has brought this resolution in this House to draw the attention not only of this hon. House, but the whole nation to it.

I am very sorry that Mr. Parulekar was saying something against Mr. H. C. Sarin. I was trying to draw the attention of the Chair even then. If this goes on record, if it is published, you will be encouraging the movement, and not helping the situation. I do not know whether there was any conversation at all. Even if there was, it should not have been mentioned in this House.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: To try and depend upon some foreigners...

SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULEKAR (Ratnagiri): I did not rely upon any report. I relied upon the statement made by one of the hon. lady Members of this House, Mrs. Pramila Dandavate, to whom Mr. Sarin told this. It was not hearsay, I heard it from her.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will go through the proceedings and take appropriate action.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYA RAO: You know the situation there, it is very serious. That is why I was trying to draw the attention of the Chair even then, but I could not succeed. Anyhow, I request you to see that that remark is expunged in the interests of the nation.

Shri Chandrajit Yadav was saying that the situation should be kept above the party level. This should not be politicalised at all. It is not in the interest of our nation. I know the feelings of the people. You know that we started an agitation in Telengana and at that time also, people blamed us because it always happens that in an agitation, some anti-social and anti-national elements try to take undue advantage of the situation. That does not mean that these people

are not having any national outlook at all. Some people may be there who are playing some mischief. I would request the Home Minister to find out who are the elements behind it and punish them. As Mr. Khan was telling, I am always hearing from the hon. Minister and his senior colleague that there is some foreign power behind it. The time has come now when you must categorically tell this House as to which power is behind it. We told our External Affairs Minister, when we were talking about our relationship with China and other neighbouring countries, that such secessionist elements should not be encouraged, whether it is in the North-eastern region or Kashmir or anywhere else.

Apart from the foreigners issue, the main problem, I think, is linked with the economic development. As a Member of the Public Accounts Committee, I had the opportunity to visit almost the whole of the North-eastern region. As I said, we started our agitation in Telengana in the name of development of that region, because that region was neglected economically, socially and politically and in every respect. As Mr. Yadav said, we could sustain that agitation for a long time just like the present agitation in the North-eastern region. That shows that there is some deep feeling in the minds of the people that they have been completely neglected economically, socially and politically. This aspect should also be taken into consideration. I request the Government to see to it that the development activities are taken immediately in that region. There are no roads, no railway lines. Even after 33 years since Independence, the poor people could not see a railway line. The communication facilities are not at all there. Immediately, steps should be taken to lay roads and railway lines. Let us not bother about the allocation made in the Railway Budget. You can divert funds from the developed States to this region so that their problems can be

solved. If you want to go to Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura or Meghalaya, it takes about three or four days. The poor people cannot go by planes. The earliest they can go is by roads. I am not talking about the big people like MPs. I am talking about the common people, people who live there. I request that the whole hon. House should insist on the economic development of that region.

Mr. Parulekar and Dr. Swamy went to Tripura. They do not belong to the ruling party, they are opposition leaders and they themselves said that the Chief Minister has utterly failed, he could not maintain law and order. Although our forces like BSF and CRPF were there, he could not utilise their services. He is responsible for this. I agree that there is something wrong with the Chief Minister and his party. I know that there are some squabbles between the parties there and because of the political bickerings between the parties, this situation has arisen.

With regard to Manipur, I had been there as I said. Manipur people are peace-loving people. I was really surprised when I saw that this agitation, secessionist movement is going on there. The poor people there are being provoked by certain elements. Culturally also, the Manipuris are bound to the mainland. In Mizoram and other places, the tribals are there, some missionaries are working and the schools are mostly run by these missionaries and they are propagating their own religion. We are not bothered about it. Let them have their own religion and all these things. But you interfere in this way. It is a very dangerous situation.

The whole House should be united on this. Let us not quarrel among ourselves saying, "You are responsible". Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan was saying that it is the Congress party which is responsible. After all, all of you are old Congressmen. Mr. Chandrajit Yadav was the General Secretary of the Congress Party; he

was a Minister here. We used to get inspiration from him. We used to go to him often. That is applicable to everybody, including Mr. Charan Singh. He was also in the Congress party. Mr. Ravindra Varma was also there. So, don't blame unnecessarily. But it is a fact that this Government inherited this problem from the Janata Government. It is during the Janata rule that this situation had arisen. For four months, they could not take any proper steps; they could not control the situation.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Ram Avtar Shastri was also in the Congress Party.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYA RAO: Everybody was in the Congress party.

I conclude by saying, let us discuss this matter dispassionately and let us try to help the poor people of the North-eastern region. Economic development is the only solution. Otherwise, there is no solution. That is my request to the House. Let us be united on this.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank my hon. friend, Shri K. C. Halder, the mover of the resolution for bringing forward this resolution before the House and highlighting the problem that we are facing today in the North-eastern region of our country.

This problem poses before us the basic issues that exist from the very beginning of India's glorious past, unity of Indian culture and tradition on one side and diversity of culture and religion, ways of life, etc. on the other side. These two aspects of unity and diversity have been many times coming into play and the solution of that problem has been depending on the strength or weakness of our country at any particular given moment of our history.

[Shri Bhogendra Jha]

The second problem here is the partition of India in 1947 and the way, on the basis of religion, compromising with the Britishers, our country was partitioned. Bengal was partitioned; Punjab was partitioned. And up till now, the after-effects of that partition cannot be said to have been done away with. We are still facing that problem. Pakistan was formed to stop that problem. But the problem still remains.

The third problem is the legacy of the capitalist path of development that we are following since Independence. Unemployment went on rising; prices went on rising; wealth was being concentrated in the hands of a few and poverty was for the many. So, whenever any problem arises, the unemployed youth, the immobilised youth, participate in any such movement which may have some legitimacy but which in most cases gets derailed and we find that happening when job reservation for certain sections of the people is made, when some communal or religious issue springs up, when some linguistic issue springs up and the like.

Here, the issue of foreigners has sprung up. It is not limited to the issue of foreigners now. The present situation has now engulfed the whole of the North-eastern region, Assam, Mizoram, Manipur, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh and now Tripura. In today's papers we have read that one CPM MLA's family members, six of them, have been murdered in Tripura. An Adivasi family had given shelter to this family of six persons. They were murdered; they could not be saved. Even the Adivasi family who gave shelter to this family were brutally assaulted.

There is another aspect—that the tradition of Gandhi is still being followed. But five CPI members in Assam, four of them Assamese, have been killed by Assamese for having

dared to protect non-Assamese, both Hindus and Muslims. In Assam, CPM workers have been killed. I wish that the biggest Party of the country, the ruling Party of the country, could give us some names of martyrs so that we can believe that the Gandhi tradition is still being followed by them and that they are there to protect the minorities either in Assam or Tripura! Even now I wish the Minister will give us some names—because this is what is required here, not only to lament that the foreigners issue is not there.

I would say that the solution has to be a political one, not non-political. It has to be political. The solution has to be political, but of course on non-Party basis, on national basis, through a national dialogue. It is a political problem. The problem of unemployment is a political problem; the problem of the fear of cultural domination is a political problem, and has to be resolved politically, though the country has to take a united stand on this issue. We all know that no single Party can dare say that it has got a cut-and-dry solution for this, because there cannot be any cut-and-dry solution. Some accommodation is bound to take place. We all will have to accommodate the entire population of Assam or the North-eastern region. We will have to accommodate each other mutually and the population there will have to be assured against future inroads on their cultural heritage or rights or economic interests or social mode of living, etc. In such a situation I think the stage has now come where this House itself, the Lok Sabha, should unanimously appeal, on the one side, to the Government to decide to take political initiative—not through repression but through persuasion, through dialogue. I think the Prime Minister has repeatedly been saying that she has never closed the path of dialogue, that she is always ready for it: that is good for the country. So, Government will have to take the initiative, backed by

the unanimous voice of the House. On the other side I want that the House should unanimously decide to request the people of that region—the eastern region—to suspend all movements and discuss all the issues which are at stake, all the issues which are involved, around a table, so that they can know that for every single just demand of theirs, the entire nation is behind them, the entire Parliament is behind them, that they are not alone and that their just demands, their legitimate demands will be looked after by the whole country, by the whole Parliament.

So, on this two-pronged appeal, I think we should unanimously decide. But when I say that repressive measure should be stopped entirely I cannot dare say that the Army should be withdrawn from there because I am afraid that today if you withdraw it, tomorrow thousands may be butchered simply massacred. I cannot dare say that, sitting here in Delhi or somewhere else. Thousands of lives are involved; they are being butchered. That is the tragedy.

Here, again I will say that from among the ruling Party members, not a single voice was raised against the Youth Congress (I) who launched a counter-movement in Bengal that all traffic to Assam should be stopped, trucks should be stopped, trains should be disrupted and stopped, that nothing should go to Assam. Who were doing it? It is the ruling Party men in West Bengal. So some Bengalis wanted to fight the Assamese belonging to the Party which is ruling in Delhi. I would make an appeal to the Prime Minister. I think some self-discipline should come about. Someone should say that it was a mistake. Someone should pick up the courage to say that it was a mistake so that no one else, no other Party, no other individual can dare do such things in future—because it goes against our national interest, it goes against our national integrity, it goes against our nationhood. It is not a minority party. It

is the ruling party at the Centre. (Interruptions) Thousand of lives have been lost. That is the situation. Had there been no Left Front Government in West Bengal to stem the tide, if, suppose, the West Bengal Government had fallen a victim to the temptation of going with the popular mood, what would have happened? The whole of north India would have been in flames. Lakhs of non-Bengalis would have been forced out of West Bengal. Then, what would have happened to the entire region? So, all glory to that Government who have boldly faced it. The ruling party at Delhi wavered, but the Left Front Government of West Bengal could not be lured and they faced it boldly.

I wish that this House takes a unanimous stand on the Resolution moved by Shri Krishna Chandra Halder, that this House, including the ruling party accept, this Resolution unanimously. It should pick up courage. Some formality may be there. Here the Government is not being condemned. Some basic things are being re-stated. I think the ruling party should accept the Resolution and the nation, through this Parliament, should unitedly raise its one voice for solving the problem, for saving the integrity of the country. Foreign hands are there. Foreign hands have been there since long. When late Shri Kailash Nath Katju was the Home Minister, in this very august House he had stated that U.S.-made arms and ammunitions had been seized from the rebels—in the very beginning of the rebellion in Nagaland when there was no separate identity of Nagaland; at that time, late Shri K. N. Katju had made this statement on the floor of this House, and the U. S Government gave the explanation that the arms were left by their jawans after the Second World War in the jungles and they were those arms. So, foreign hands have been there, and they are there. And they are for dis-integrating our country. We must save our national integrity, we must preserve the unity of India. There should be no wavering on that point. There must be a firm

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voice of this House that, at no cost, there shall be weakness on the part of any one of us or on the part of this House. It must be a united voice, with this united composition. Again I appeal that, forgetting the party differences but taking a firm political stand, this House should unanimously adopt this Resolution, to be a beginning for future united stand on such national issues where the integrity of the country is concerned.

With these words, I conclude.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The number of Members yet to speak is about ten. After the Members have spoken, the Minister will intervene, and immediately after that, the Mover of the Resolution, Mr. Krishna Chandra Halder, will reply. Today the time at our disposal was only one hour and 58 minutes. That is over now. Now, I would like to know the sense of the House.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Extend the time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: By how much? In that case, it has to be continued on the next occasion.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna): What about the next Resolution?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It will be there.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH): I propose that the time be extended by one hour, and we can continue this Resolution on the next occasion.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think, the pleasure of the House is to extend it by one hour.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not by one and half hours?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: One hour is enough. So, it is extended by one hour.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI: Will it be continued next time or today it is being extended?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is not being extended for today; today it will be over at 6 p.m.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI: Then what about the other Resolution?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That will come up.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI: How will that come up next time?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Because of extended time, the Resolution can come up.

Mr. Tariq Anwar.

श्री तारिक अन्वर (कटिहार) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस आन्दोलन को शुरू हुए करीब एक साल हो गया है, लेकिन अभी तक इसका कोई समाधान नहीं निकला है। जब हमारी सरकार नहीं से पेश आती है, तो विरोधी दल कहते हैं कि सरकार कोई कड़ा रुख नहीं अपनाती है। और जब सरकार कोई कड़ा रुख अपनाने की बात करती है, तो कहा जाता है कि कड़ा रुख अपनाने से आन्दोलन समाप्त नहीं हो सकता है। मैं चाहूंगा कि विरोधी दल के लोग बतायें कि आखिर इस आन्दोलन का समाधान कैसे निकलेगा-कौन सा रास्ता अपनाया जाये, कौन सा ढंग अपनाया जाये, जिससे इस समस्या को सुलझाया जा सके।

अभी कुछ साधियों ने कहा है कि इस आन्दोलन के पीछे जहाँ विदेशी शक्तियों का हाथ हो सकता है, वहीं हमारे अपने कुछ साथी भी हैं, जो इस भाग से खेल रहे हैं और भाग सँकने का काम कर रहे हैं। शायद उन लोगों को पता नहीं है कि जिस भाग से वे लोग हाथ सँक रहे हैं, कल वही भाग उनके घरों को ही नहीं, बल्कि सारे देश को जला कर राख कर देगी।

भासाम विधान सभा को भंग नहीं किया गया है, उसको ससपेंड किया गया है। हमारा सुझाव है कि वहाँ पर पापुलर सरकार बने और उसके माध्यम से इस समस्या का समाधान निकाला जाये।

एक और बात भी विचारणीय है। अगर इस आन्दोलन के पीछे विदेशी शक्तियों का हाथ नहीं है, तो सवाल यह है कि इतना बड़ा आन्दोलन पिछले एक साल से चल रहा है, वहां का सारा कारोबार ठप्प है, किसी तरह की धार्मिक प्रगति नहीं हो रही है, सब काम रुका हुआ है, लेकिन इसके बावजूद लाखों लाख रुपये इस आन्दोलन पर खर्च हो रहे हैं। इतनी बड़ी दौलत, इतना ज्यादा रुपया कहां से आ रहा है, किन स्रोतों से आ रहा है, इसकी जानकारी भी जरूर लेनी चाहिए।

यह आन्दोलन आसू द्वारा, आसाम के छात्रों द्वारा, चलाया जा रहा है। लेकिन अगर वहां के अल्पसंख्यक--भाषायी और धार्मिक अल्पसंख्यक, यानी बंगाली भाई, मुसलमान और नेपाली हिन्दू, और दूसरे गैर-आसामी--कोई आन्दोलन करना चाहते हैं, तो आसू आसामी छात्रों की ओर से उन पर जुल्म तो होता ही है, लेकिन ताज्जुब की बात यह है कि वहां की पुलिस भी उन पर गोलियां बरसाती है। 26 मई, 1980 को आस-आसाम माइनारिटी स्टुडेंट्स यूनियन के लोग अपनी मांगों को लेकर प्रदर्शन करना चाहते थे। परन्तु उसी दिन जान-बूझ कर आसू की ओर से भी एक प्रदर्शन का आयोजन किया गया, जिसकी कोई पूर्व सूचना नहीं थी। यह इस लिए किया गया कि माइनारिटी स्टुडेंट्स की मांगों और उनके प्रदर्शन को काउंटर किया जा सके। इतना ही नहीं, उस प्रोसेशन को दबाने के लिए जहां एक तरफ आसू के छात्र लगे हुए थे कि अल्पसंख्यक छात्र जो अपने तरह-व्हाइट मांगों को ले कर प्रदर्शन कर रहे थे वे प्रदर्शन न कर सकें, वहां पुलिस ने भी उनके खिलाफ साजिश करके उन पर गोलियां चलाई और करीब दो सौ छात्र और जवान मारे गए या अभी तक वे लापता हैं। उनकी कोई जानकारी नहीं है। जो वह प्रोसेशन निकल रहा था तो कुछ जो वहां के असमी अफसर थे उनकी भी साजिश थी कि यह प्रोसेशन न निकले। उनकी मांगें जनता के बीच न आ सकें और वे अपनी भावनाओं को प्रकट न कर सकें। वहां के असमी अफसरों ने भी असम के छात्रों के साथ मिल कर इस प्रदर्शन को दबाने की कोशिश की। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि इस बात की भी कोशिश हुई कि किसी तरह यह प्रोसेशन न निकले और वहां तक न पहुंचे। सब से बड़ी शर्म की बात है कि वहां के जो सकल अफसर थे जो प्रोसेशन के विरोध में थे, नहीं चाहते थे कि प्रोसेशन वहां तक पहुंचे उन्होंने लिखित रूप में यह दिया :

'The processionists got back when they were told by writing that the minority communities of Assam have no right to enter any Government offices in Assam. A copy of his note in writing is attached herewith'.

इस तरह की बात जब होती है, जब सरकारी अफसर यह लिख कर देते हैं कि कोई भी अल्पसंख्यक अपना प्रदर्शन नहीं कर सकता है, अपनी भावनाओं को प्रकट नहीं कर सकता है, तो यह बहुत ही विचारणीय बात है और सरकार को ऐसे लोगों के खिलाफ कड़ी कार्रवाई करनी चाहिये, सख्त कदम उठाने चाहिये।

26 मई को माइनोरिटीज के छात्रों का प्रदर्शन निकला, उनके प्रोसेशन को तूंड आफिम और सरकारी दफतर तक नहीं पहुंचने दिया गया। उन पर गोली बरसाई गई और जब वे लौटे तो घर पहुंचते समय भी रास्ते में आसू के सड़कों ने उनको मारा। उस में 16 नौजवान घायल हुए। इसके बाद ताज्जुब तो इस बात का है कि एक नौजवान जिस के पैर में गोली लगी थी और जो घायल हो गया था उस को अस्पताल में इलाज के लिए लाया गया। उसके पैर से गोली निकाल दी गई और ऐसा लग रहा था कि वह बच जाएगा लेकिन वहां अस्पताल के और दूसरे लोगों की साजिश से उसको अस्पताल से उठाकर ले जाया गया और उसकी जिस ढंग से मारा गया उससे इंसानियत के रोंगटे खड़े हो जाते हैं। न केवल उसकी आंख निकाल दी गई और उसके जोड़ जोड़ को काट डाला गया बल्कि इस तरह से उसको मारा गया और उनकी जान गई कि जिस का ब्यान नहीं किया जा सकता। यह जो आन्दोलन है यह इस बात का सबूत है कि किस ढंग से इंसानियत को वहां कुचला जा रहा है और मासूम लोगों को वहां कत्ल किया जा रहा है। इससे यह बात सिद्ध हो रही है कि इसके पीछे ऐसे लोग नहीं हैं जो किसी लक्ष्य कार्यक्रम या नीति को ले कर चल रहे हैं बल्कि उनका लक्ष्य यह है कि इस देश में एनाकी पैदा की जाए और जो इस देश में आपस में मिल जुल कर रहते हैं, पिछले तीस सालों की कांग्रेस सरकार ने जो हमें हिन्दू मुसलमानों को, सिख इसाइयों को, पिछड़ी जाति और ऊंची जातियों को, हर प्रान्त और भाषा के बोलने वालों को एक साथ मिल कर चलना सिखाया था आज उनको टुकड़ों टुकड़ों में बांटने की कोशिश हो रही है। कहीं भाषा, कहीं धर्म कहीं प्रान्त के नाम पर इस देश को बांटने की कोशिश हो रही है।

मैं आप का ध्यान इस ओर ले जाना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को बहुत सोच समझ कर जरूर कदम उठाना चाहिए लेकिन कब तक इस तरह से हाथों पर हाथ धरे रहेंगे? कब तक ऐसे लोगों के भरोसे पर वहां के लाखों लोगों को छोड़ देंगे? आखिर सरकार का यह फर्ज होता है कि चाहे वह अल्पसंख्यक हों या बहुसंख्यक हों, उन की वह हिफाजत करे, उन के जान व माल की तथा उन की इज्जत व आबरू की हिफाजत करे। यह सरकार की इम्पटी है। इसलिए मैं सरकार से चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी कदम वह सोच समझ कर उठाए और ऐसा माहौल पैदा करे जिस से

[श्री तारिक अन्वर]

वहाँ के अल्पसंख्यक महसूस करें कि वे सुरक्षित हैं, उन की इज्जत व भावना सुरक्षित है, महफूज है ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आप का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ, और सरकार से आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार इस ओर ध्यान देगी ।

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat):
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir I rise to support the Resolution moved by my esteemed friend, comrade K. C. Halder.

Sir, you would agree with me that the Resolution is not only comprehensive but timely and appropriate. The Resolution aims not at hurling any allegation or any aspersion against any party or against any group. Rather the main object or the principal object of the Resolution is to rouse the national consciousness on the very vital problem that faces the nation today. It is not the question of agitation of Assam alone. It is unfortunate that many of my hon'ble friends have discussed the matter only in the context of the Assam situation. The entire Resolution speaks of the explosive situation of the entire North-Eastern region comprising of five States and two Union territories. You would agree with me that the entire North East area is in ferment and in the grip of mass turbulence. This explosive situation has posed a certain very fundamental question pertaining to the Indian polity itself. Now, I implore the entire House to have a comprehensive view of the problem and search for a real answer to the question which this situation of North East region has posed today. This answer is necessary not only for the solution of the immediate problem but for the wider interest of the nation's unity, integrity and solidarity.

Sir, I would like to draw your attention to the basic common feature of the situation that has developed in the North Eastern region today. The agitation against the 'so-called only' demand of expulsion or deportation of the so-called foreign nationals has

spread in all the five States and two Union territories. There is one significant point to be taken note of, that is, the synchronisation of the movement, the question of identity of slogan and the identity of the strategy of the agitation. It is not limited only to Assam, Manipur or Tripura. My attempt and endeavour to bring it to the notice of the Home Minister is to urge the government even at this late stage of development to take a comprehensive view of the situation of the North Eastern region. There has been a coordinated and well-concerted action on the part of the agitationists. It is admitted today that the vanguard of the agitation is provided by the students, students not only of Assam but the students of the entire region have been involved to a large or small extent in the movement and a consistent effort is there to coordinate these movements. The formation of NERSU (North Eastern Region Students Union) is a pointer to this that the attempt of the agitationists is to have a concerted agitation and coordinated activity. Sir, insurgency is another aspect of the movement. I say that I quite agree with Mr. Chandrajeet Yadav that all are not involved in insurgency, but insurgencies are there. One particular aspect has to be taken note of, that insurgency has also been taking shape. There is the PLA in Manipur; there is Tripura Sena in Tripura; there is MNF in Mizoram; there is the Naga National Council in Nagaland. Efforts are also being made to organise armed volunteer force under the aegis of AASV; there are efforts made by Amara Bengal to create disorder which is parochial; they are raising slogans and taking to all sorts of subversive activities which are also very much harmful. It has been brought to the notice of the Home Minister a few days ago that SSLA, that is, Seven Sisters Liberation Army organisation is there with a headquarter, which will serve as a focal point for these insurgency activities. And we find that behind these insurgencies and parochial and separatist tendencies there is a linkage of foreign

powers with these agitations. And the hon. Minister had to admit some days ago that the Government is quite well aware of the 'Operation Brahma-putra'. It is quite known for some time that efforts have been made by them to constitute Assam as a separate State, outside India altogether. Therefore, Sir, these are the portents; these are the symptoms of danger; these are danger signals. No Indian citizen who wants the integrity of India would tolerate these things. The integrity of India and the solidarity of India is our supreme concern.

Here I wish to urge upon the Government to realise this great danger. It is not a question of Bengalis fighting Assamese. It is not a question of tribals versus non-tribals. It is a question of social tension which has been created, a great conflict which has been generated among the ethnic groups and linguistic groups. Everybody in the House will agree that in this agitation one segment of the exploited people started fighting against another segment of the same exploited people. There are historical reasons for it. The development tasks of the nation could not be completed during the last 30 years. These tasks have remained incomplete. The Government at the Centre did not adopt a proper strategy for providing adequate development and growth which alone could remove distortions, inequities and backwardness of the entire north-eastern region. I have got here with me a long list of such inequities and distortions. But it is not necessary for me now to repeat all these things here. It is now time for the Government to see what effective steps are needed to be taken to remove those inequities, distortions, backwardness and regional imbalance.

In conclusion, I would say that India is one and at the same time, India is many. There are ethnic groups, ethnic cultures, there are many languages and many regional cultures. India is the India of unity in diversity. Monoism and pluralism and all social systems are co-existing. Trends are

there to strengthen the forces of centralisation in the name of national integration. I feel that the question of national integration is the prime question today and the question of national integration can be completely and successfully solved if there is a deliberate and sustained effort in order to blend harmoniously. There is pluralism and monoism, there is diversity and unity—that alone will create a condition which can bring about a permanent solution to the situation that has developed today. I would only urge upon the Government and the hon. Members belonging to all sections of the House that this is not a matter where partisan spirit should take us over. It is a question of national interest, it is a question of national unity and integrity; and that should predominate over our deliberations. I would say that the movement which has taken shape today cannot be suppressed by merely repressive measures. It is a political question, a political problem born out of socio-economic conditions because of distortions, inequality and regional imbalances and a new approach is needed to solve this problem. I hope by accepting this comprehensive resolution, the Government will demonstrate that they are able to rise equal to the occasion and really develop a national consensus on this issue.

श्री पीयूष तिरकी (मलीपुरदार) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यहाँ शेड्युलड कास्टस और शेड्युलड ट्राइब्स की संख्या ज्यादा है, फिर भी उन को बोलने नहीं दिया जा रहा है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The time for discussion on this Resolution has been extended by another hour. Those hon. Members who have given their names will get their chance next time.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the resolution as presented to the House is not acceptable to our side because it is only an indirect censure motion against the Government. (Interruptions)

[Shri M. Ram Gopal Reddy]

Sir, in our own way we have been trying to solve the problem of that region. Everybody in India today has got a lot of confidence in Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and Shrimati Indira Gandhi is going to protect all those people who are not able to protect themselves. The people of North-Eastern region have got tremendous

confidence in Shrimati Indira Gandhi and she is definitely going to solve this problem.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. Member may continue next time.

18.00hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, July 19, 1980/Asadha 28, 1902 (Saka).