

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He is also bound. He has quoted Chief Election Commission and talk on the phone. You cannot discriminate between a Minister and a leader of the Opposition.

MR. SPEAKER: He is bound by his oath, bound by his Minister's position, that he should place whatever is done, on the floor of the House.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He has quoted the telephone conversation with the Chief Election Commissioner.

SHRI P.C. SETHI: Sir, I would like to again repeat that in the Home Ministry we have no such letter or copy of any such letter. But after the reference was made by Shri Vajpayee ji we referred the matter to the Law Ministry and the Legal Department says that they have no such letter.

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot make him confess anything more than that.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : चीफ इलैक्शन कमीशनर ने कहा कि मैंने सारे मामले में अटारनी जनरल की सलाह ली है। यहां उन्हें बुला सकते हैं और उन्हें पूछ सकते हैं कि सलाह ली गई या नहीं और क्या सलाह ली गई ?

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Bharatpur): Sir, when this news item appeared in the Press I also tried to contact the Election office in Gauhati and they also denied having received any such communication.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: The Home Ministry is responsible for the communications it receives. If it has not received I cannot make them commit to it but if they have received and if they want to suppress this thing that is something else but I do not believe the Minister will mislead the House.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North East): Sir, if Government has tapped the conversation between Mr. Vajpayee and the Chief Election Commissioner that can be placed on the Table of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: Who is to start the debate?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, before the debate starts I want to raise a procedural point. As far as this debate is concerned the Prime Minister of the country is very much involved. In this House she has been making certain statements about refusal of the Opposition parties to extend cooperation. . . (Interruptions) Last time you failed to say anything on the matter. Therefore, I would like you to make observation. Her presence in such an important debate is very important. If Pandit Nehru had been alive he would have made it a point to be present.

MR. SPEAKER: Disallowed. I cannot conjecture a thing.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir, I would request you as Speaker not to defend the Prime Minister. Vithalbhai Patel defended the House and not the Prime Minister. . . . (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Over-ruled. No interruption is allowed. Mr. Paswan to speak. (Interruptions)**

16.20 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE. INCIDENTS IN ASSAM

श्री राम विलास पासवान (हाजीपुर): अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज हम इस सत्र में दोबारा स्पेशल डिस्कशन, आसाम की समस्या पर बहस कर रहे हैं। मंत्री महोदय ने अभी दो बातें कही हैं। वाजपेयी साहब और हमारी पार्टी के नेता मधु दंडवते जी ने सफाई दी है। मैं चाहूंगा कि न सिर्फ गृह मंत्री बल्कि आवश्यकता पड़े तो आप यहां लॉ-मिनिस्टर को भी सदन में वक्तव्य देने के लिए कहें कि उनके पास कोई पत्र गया है या नहीं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : लॉ-मिनिस्टर आ गए हैं।

श्री राम विलास पासवान : मैं कोई व्यक्तिगत मामला नहीं बनाना चाहता। यह मामला कंट्रोवर्सियल हो गया है। इस सदन के दो नेताओं ने सरकार पर एलीगेशन लगाया है कि इलैक्शन कमीशनर ने पत्र ने लिखा है। और इसका मतलब है कि सरकार उस पत्र की या तो दबाना चाहती है, या अंधकार में रखना चाहती है। गृह मंत्री की तरफ से यह जवाब दिया गया है कि अभी तक उनकी नालेज में इस तरह का पत्र नहीं मिला है। एक पत्र मिला है जिसको उन्होंने पढ़ कर सुनाया है और जो माननीय वाजपेयी जी ने लिखा था। तो मैं चाहूंगा कि ला मिनिस्टर अभी हो तो अभी, नहीं तो बाद में सफाई दें कि इनको कोई पत्र मिला है कि नहीं?

यह सर्वोच्च संस्था है और इसको इस तरह गुमराह नहीं किया जा सकता है। 1971 में बांगला देश की यही हालत हुई थी जब शेख मुजीबुर्रहमान को अपार बहुमत मिला था और याहया खां और भुट्टो ने मिल कर बहुमत को दबाया था और उसका जो परिणाम हुआ वह हमारे सामने है। इसलिये दोनों मंत्री यहां बैठे हुई हैं होम मिनिस्टर और ला मिनिस्टर। यह सदन की बताएं कि इनको चीफ इलैक्शन ने पत्र भेजा था कि नहीं? चीफ इलैक्शन कमीशनर ने तीन दिन तक बेट किया था इनके इंस्ट्रक्शन्स का। 14 तारीख के बाद जब दूसरे चुनाव का दौर शुरू हुआ इस बीच में जब वहां से कुछ नहीं आया तो चीफ इलैक्शन कमीशनर ने अपने को निस्सहाया अवस्था में पाया और उसके बाद चुनाव हुए और वह हमारे सामने है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जो हमारे माथे पर कलेक का टीका लगा है, खून

का घब्बा लगा है उसको गृह मंत्री जी किसी विरोधी दल के माथे पर थोप करके आप अपने खून के घब्बे को साफ़ नहीं कर सकते हैं। आज शर्म से देश का मस्तक ... (व्यवधान)

अगर इसी तरह से हल्ला गुल्ला होता रहेगा तो हम भी कम नहीं है। यदि यही किया तो आपके गृह मंत्री भी नहीं बोल सकते हैं।

श्री जगपाल सिंह : (हरिद्वार) : अगर आप ऐसे करेंगे तो गृह मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री को भी नहीं बोलने दिया जायेगा जायेगा। करिये शोर।

श्री राम विलास पासवान : मैंने इतना ही कहा कि जो हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही हुई है उससे हमारा सर शर्म से भुक चुका है। किन्हीं लोगों को गर्व होता हो और शर्म न आती हो तो मैं नहीं जानता। लेकिन जो असभ में हिंसात्मक घटनाये घटी हैं उससे पूरे देश का मस्तक झुका है, विदेशों में हिन्दुस्तान की प्रतिष्ठा गिरी है और असम समस्या ऐसे मोड़ पर पहुंच चुका है जहां हमें गम्भीरता के साथ विचार करना चाहिये कि हमारा अगला कदम क्या होगा।

लोग मारे गये, बच्चे भी मारे गये हैं, बूढ़े भी भी मारे गये हैं, प्रत्येक तबके के लोग मारे गये हैं। मंत्री महोदय 3 तारीख का जवाब पढ़ा जिसमें उन्होंने कहा कि 2 लाख लोग बैधरवार हो गये। आज भी उन्होंने वक्तव्य दिया हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही के संबंध में। लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि यह हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही कब से शुरू हुई उनको याद होगा जब अकाली नेताओं के साथ बात-चर्चा का दौर चला था तो मैंने सेठी साहब से इनके चैम्बर में एक बात कही थी कि जब आपके साथ मैं

लोग बंदूक के साथ बातचीत करने के लिये आते हैं। हथियारों के साथ आते हैं, तो आप उनसे प्रेम से बातचीत करते हैं। और जब असम के आन्दोलकारी खले हाथ बातचीत करने के लिये आते हैं तो एयरपोर्ट पर उतरते ही आप उनको गिरफ्तार कराते हैं। इससे समस्या सुलझेगी या उलझंगी? पहले आन्दोलन बिल्कुल अहिंसक था। सरकार और प्रशासन की ओर से उकसाने की बारबार कोशिश की गई और की जाती रहती है, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी आंदोलन वहां शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से चलता था। जब भी कोई किसी पर हमला करता था तो आंदोलनकारी „बोलो महात्मा गांधी की जय” के कर बैठ जाता था। प्रशासन निरुत्तर हो जाता था। लेकिन हिंसक दौर कब चला? यह हिंसक दौर तब चला जब आपने चुनाव की घोषणा की।

आपने पिछली दफा भी कहा, प्रधान मंत्री जी के भी कहा। अर्थोजिशन की ओर से विरोधी कि दल के नेताओं की ओर से बारबार कहा जाता रहा, जिस वार्ता का जिक्र किया गया है, उसमें मैं भी था। आप कहते थे कि उसी सेशन में कांस्टीट्यूशन में अमेडमेंट ले आवें, हम लोग कहते थे कि 5, 6 तारीख को आन्दोलनकारी नेताओं के साथ आपकी बात-चीत चलने वाली है, अगर आज एनाउन्स कर देंगे तो यह माना जायेगा कि वार्ता भंग हो गई, इसलिए आप कोई सेशन बीच में बुलाकर की जाए लेकिन उसके बाद नहीं किया गया। ।

आप कहते हैं बरोधी दल में मतभेद है। यह हो सकता है। लेकिन आप हमको बतलाइये कि लोकदल, जनता पार्टी और भारतीय जनता पार्टी अगर ये तीनों दल आपका समर्थन लोक-सभा और राज्य-

सभा में करते तो आप कांस्टीट्यूशन? अमेडमेंट करने के लिए सक्षम थे या नहीं? आप सक्षम थे और तैयार भी थे, लेकिन पता नहीं कौन सी बात आपके दिमाग में आयी, किस इंटेलीजेंस ने आपको अक्ल दे दी, आपने एक निर्णय लेकर पूरे देश को (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैं आपसे एक निवेदन कर दूँ। हमने पिछली दफा भी इस पर 9 घंटे बहस की थी। यह सारे मुद्दे पहले आ चुके हैं जिनको आप दोहरा रहे हैं। हमारे पास दो घंटे का समय है जब तक यह हाउस और बढ़ायेगा नहीं। आप समय का अनुबन्ध अपने आप कर लीजिए, जिससे सब को बोलने का मौका मिल जाये।

प्रा० मधु बंडवते (राजापुर) : मिनिस्टर साहब की स्टेटमेंट में भी रैपीडीशन है।

श्री राम विलास पातवान : मिनिस्टर साहब ने भी 25 मिनट तक सदन में वक्तव्य दिया है। वह सारे का सारा वही वक्तव्य है जो यह पहले कह चुके हैं। महज इसलिए कि चूंकि अर्थोजिशन पार्टी की तरफ से डिबेट इनीशियट की जाती है, इसलिए मंत्री जी को बोलना है क्योंकि कल अखबार में पहले नाम आये तो यह आये कि सेठी जी ने क्या कहा है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय नहीं बात सुन लीजिये। इनको कहा गया था कि स्टेटमेंट दें। इनको मजबूर किया गया था कि स्टेटमेंट दें, इसलिये दिया गया है।

श्री राम विलास पातवान : ठीक है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : न मैं आपकी गलत बात सुनूंगा और न उनकी।

श्री राम बिलाल पासवान : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जब डिबेट शुरू है, हय इतना ही कहना चाहते हैं कि हम एक मिनट भी नहीं बोलेंगे, आप कहेंगे तो बैठ जाऊंगा लेकिन आप ही के दिमाग में जो जो प्रश्न हैं, वही मंत्री जी से क्लैरीफाई करवा लीजिए। मैं बैठ जाता हूँ, बोलूंगा नहीं, लेकिन जब प्रधान मंत्री और मंत्री जी जवाब नहीं दे रहे हैं तो बात वही पूछी जायेगी।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मेरी तरफ से बढ़ाते चलें, 12 बजे तक बैठिये, मुझे क्या करना है ?

श्री राम बिलाल पासवान : थे आपके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि क्या कोई ऐसा देश है इस संसार में जहां विदेशी की समस्या को हल करने के संबंध में कदम नहीं उठाया जाता हो ? है कोई ऐसा देश जहां विदेशी की सूची रखी जाती हो कि कौन विदेशी है ?

आहने चुनाव का इतना बड़ा निर्णय ले लिया। इलैक्शन कमिश्नर के संबंध में आपने कह दिया कि उसने कोई पत्र आपको नहीं लिखा है। इलैक्शन कमिश्नर ने पत्र नहीं लिखा है, मैं इस सदन में कमिश्नर पर आक्षेप नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन विद्-ड्यू रैस्पैक्ट यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इलैक्शन कमिश्नर का जो रोल होना चाहिये, इस पर सदन में डिस्कशन हो।

इतना बड़ा गंभीर मामला है, जहां हजारों की संख्या में लोगों के जान-माल का कल्लेआम हो गया, हजारों की संख्या में फ्रैक इलैक्शन के नाम पर, चुनाव के नाटक के नाम पर यह सारी चीजें हो गईं, उसके बाद भी इलैक्शन कमिश्नर ने आपके पाण रिपोर्ट नहीं भेजी। उस पर डिस्कशन होना चाहिये।

इलैक्शन कमिश्नर ने रिपोर्ट न भेजी है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आज एप्रोप्रिएट टाइम है कि इलैक्शन कमिश्नर कैसा हो, हिन्दुस्तान के जजेज कैसे हों, जुडिशियरी पर और इलैक्शन कमिश्नर के रोल पर इस सदन में निश्चित रूप से चर्चा होनी चाहिये। क्योंकि हम लोगों के सामने एक असाम का एग्जैम्पल है और एक श्री बहुरल इस्लाम का एग्जैम्पल है जो इस सदन को सोचने पर बाध्य कर रहा है कि सरकार का मोटिव क्या है ? सरकार पोलिटिकल मोटिवेटेड होकर कमिटेड जुडी-शियरी की तरफ और कमिटेड इलेक्शन्स की तरफ तो नहीं बढ़ रही है—इसके बारे में भी निश्चित तौर पर यहां विचार किया जाना चाहिये।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानाना चाहूंगा कि इस एलैक्शन में इतना ज्यादा खुन-खराबा हुआ, तान हजार से ज्यादा लोग मारे गए जिनमें बच्चे भी शामिल हैं, आपका सी आई डी क्या कर रही थी ? यह चुनाव 1980 में नहीं करवाया गया, 1981 और 1982 में नहीं करवाया गया, जब 1983 में करवाया। जैसे कोई सोया हुआ आदमी एक बार चिल्ला उठता है उसी प्रकार से इस सोई हुई सरकार को एक बार यह याद आ गया कि लोकतंत्र खतरे को है। जिस तरह से लोग साल भर सांप में मारते हैं और नागमपंचमी के दिन सांप को दूध पिलाते हैं, उसी प्रकार से यह सरकार भी साल भर तो सोयी हुई रह गई और अब याद आई गया कि लोकतंत्र खतरे में है। आपने चुनाव का इतना बड़ा निर्णय ले और अब वहां पर आपकी सरकार बन गई है लेकिन वह सरकार लाशों के ऊपर खड़ी है। सर से लेकर पांव तक खून से डूबी हुई वह सरकार है। यदि आपकी सी आई डी ने आपको रिपोर्ट

नहीं दी तो यह आपके गुप्तचर विभाग की कमजोरी है और अगर उसने रिपोर्ट दी परंतु आपने उस पर कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया तो यह भी आपकी विफलता है। सरकार ने अहिंसक आंदोलन को हिंसक बनाने का काम किया।

मैं मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि असम में जो मतभेद पैदा हुए हैं वह किसने पैदा किए? प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा कि अमुक-अमुक जाति के लोग हमें सपोर्ट कर रहे हैं और अमुक अमुक जाति के लोग सपोर्ट नहीं कर रहे हैं। गृह मंत्री ने कहा कि अमुक-अमुक लोग पक्ष में हैं और अमुक-अमुक लोग विपक्ष में है। ऐसी स्थिति में अगर वे पक्ष और विपक्ष में नहीं भी होंगे तब भी हो जायेंगे। वहां पर आपकी जो सरकार बनी है वह डिवाइड ऐंड रूल की नीति अपना रही है। यदि आपने उस सरकार को वरखास्त नहीं किया तो इस के नतीजे और भी बुरे सामने आयेंगे। आज गृह युद्ध की ओर वहां के लोग बढ़ रहे हैं। वहां पर लोगों का कत्लेआम हो रहा है। इसलिए डिवाइड ऐंड रूल की पालिसी को छोड़ना चाहिए और केन्द्रीय सरकार को आग में घी डालने का काम नहीं करना चाहिए। सारे लोग इसी देश के नागरिक हैं। उनको इस तरह से दो भागों में बांटने की कोशिश नहीं करनी चाहिए जिससे कि वे एक दूसरे की गरदन काटने पर उतारू हो जायें। फिर आप उनकी रक्षा भी न कर सकें। इसलिए यह सरकार की जवाब-देही है।

आपने कहा है कि चुनाव से पहले की चर्चा न हो, चुनाव से बाद की चर्चा होनी चाहिए। चुनाव के लिए पहली आवश्यकता यह होती है कि चुनाव फ्री ऐंड फेयर होना चाहिए। क्या एक भी आदमी

कह सकता है कि वहां पर फ्री ऐंड फेयर चुनाव हुए हैं? जो उम्मीदवार थे उन्होंने भी अपने वोट नहीं डाले। फिर वहां पर जो आपके राज्यपाल है उनका क्या रोल रहा है? राज्यपाल एक कांस्टीट्यूशनल हेड होता है लेकिन उनका वहां जो रोल रहा है उस पर प्रश्नवाचक चिन्ह लगा है। उम्मीदवारों के फार्म प्रशासकों द्वारा भरे गए और उम्मीदवारों के लिए आफिस तक जाने की जरूरत ही नहीं रह गई। और 1979 की मतदाता सूची पर चुनाव किए गए हैं। 1979 और 1980 में जिसको उम्र 20 साल हो गई होगी या 20 साल 11 महीने हो गई होगी, क्या उसको वोट देने का अधिकार नहीं था। उनकी डिमांड थी कि विदेशी को बाहर करो। आपने उसमें जोड़ दिया कि विदेशी का मतलब क्या-क्या होता है। यह आपके दिमाग की उपज है, आंदोलनकारियों की नहीं है। उसका सीधा सा मतलब था कि विदेशी को वापिस करो। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इलैक्शन की जो शर्तें हैं, उनको पूरा नहीं किया गया। दबाव डालकर चुनाव कराया गया है और उसका नतीजा हम लोगों के केसामने हैं।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, यदि आप हमें थोड़ा सा समय और दे दें, तो मेरे पास यह कांस्टीच्यूंसी की लिस्ट है कि कहां पर कितना वोटर है और कहां कितना वोट पोल हुआ है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि 18 से 20 कांस्टीच्यूंसी ऐसी हैं, जहां एक आदमी भी टर्न-अप नहीं हुआ है, वोट डालने ही नहीं गया है। इंजीनियरिंग इन्स्टीचूट में एक कांस्टी-च्यूंसी है, जहां एक वोट... (व्यवधान)... आपको पोलिंग स्टेशनस चाहिए, वह मैं आपको पढ़ कर सुनाता हूं। बीहपुरिया जहां

[श्री राम विलास पासवान

जहाँ पर 64000 वोटर हैं... (व्यवधान)... इतना अखबारों में निकला है, फिर भी इन की समझ में नहीं आता है। मैं आपके माध्यम से बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वीह-पुरिया में 64,000 वोटर हैं और 440 वोट पोल हुआ है जिसमें कांग्रेस (आई) के उम्मीदवार 425 वोट पर इलैक्ट हो गए।... (व्यवधान)... सी पी आई को।

II वोट मिले हैं इंडिपेंडेंट को एक और बेचारा दूसरा इंडिपेंडेंट अपना वोट भी नहीं डाल सका। इसी प्रकार गोहाटी ईस्ट में 73,850 वोटर हैं और 1239 वोट पोल हुए हैं। कमालपुरी में 68,759 वोटर हैं और वोट पोल हुए हैं 1094।

MR. SPEAKER: This is on record.

श्री राम विलास पासवान : यह कैसे इलैक्शन हुआ है। वह में बतला रहा हूँ।

MR. SPEAKER: This is on record.

श्री राम विलास पासवान : जब सारी चीज देश को मालूम है, तो डिसकशन क्यों हो रहा है।... (व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER: This is on record. Other Members have also to take part in this debate. Please conclude now.

श्री राम विलास पासवान : मैं आपको एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। धर्मपुर में 65,309 वोटर्स हैं जिनमें 267 वोट कास्ट हुए हैं। 267 पर ही श्री भूमिधर वर्मन साहब जीत गए हैं। इलैक्शन क्या मखौल हुआ है। अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप आप घंटी बजा रहे हैं, इसलिए मैं सिर्फ एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार की नीयत क्या है और सरकार देश को किस रास्ते पर ले जाना चाहती है। क्या सरकार चाहती है कि पीट-पीट कर जो लोग अहिंसात्मक तरीके से भी समस्या का

निदान चाहते हैं, उनको भी बन्दूक की नौक पर एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट बनाने का काम करें। आप देश को कहां ले जाना चाहते हैं, यह सवाल आज हमारे सामने विचारणीय है। आपने चुनाव करवाया है। उम्मीद थी कि गृह मंत्री जी जब स्टेटमेंट देंगे तो उस समय उनको वह दृश्य याद आएगा कि किस तरह से वहां बच्चों को मारा गया है। यदि उनको ख्याल करके स्टेटमेंट देते तो आज सरकार को अपनी गलती का आभास होना चाहिए था। आज इतने दिनों के बाद भी और विरोधी दल के लोग शुरू से कहते आ रहे हैं, उसके बावजूद भी सरकार का ध्यान नहीं गया कि सरकार की गलती क्या है, जिसका जवाब सरकार के पास नहीं है। मेरे पास रिपोर्ट है। हमारी पार्टी के अध्यक्ष श्री चन्द्रशेखर जी ने टेलीग्राम करके रोका था कि आप देश को इस खुन-खराबे के रास्ते पर मत ले जाइये। दो-दो बार रवीन्द्र वर्मा जी ने.... (व्यवधान)... जब से आपकी अध्यक्ष श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी हुई हैं... (व्यवधान)...

रविन्द्र वर्मा साहब दो-दो बार टेलीग्राम कर चुके, हमारी पार्टी के प्रेसीडेंट चन्द्रशेखर जी ने आप को लिखा, इस सब के बावजूद भी आपने अपने अहं में आ कर वहां चुनाव करा लिये। कभी सरकार कहती है कि अपोजीशन के साथ वार्ता करें। लेकिन इस वार्ता के पोछे सरकार की नीयत क्या है—हम जानते हैं। जब सरकार के गर्दन फंसने की बात हो तो सरकार अपोजीशन के साथ बातचीत का सिलसिला चलाती है, लेकिन गर्दन निकल जाने के बाद सरकार अपोजीशन को ही बदनाम करती है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (नई दिल्ली) : सरकार चाहती है कि अपोजीशन गर्दन फंसाये।

राम द्विलास पासवान : सेठी साहब, आप देश के गृह मंत्री हैं, आप के प्रति हमारे मन में बहुत आदर है। आप अपने इस रवैये को छोड़िये। यदि यही रवैया चलता रहा, तो फिर हम लोगों को कभी भी यदि आप आमंत्रण देंगे-द्विपक्षीय वार्ता या त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता का-तो बहुत सोच समझ कर चलना पड़ेगा कि उस में कितना पोलिटिक्स है और कितनी वह वार्ता राष्ट्रीय हित में होगी। जिस लिये मैं आप से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि अपोजीशन के साथ इस तरह से सरकार ब्लेक-मेल न करे। अपोजीशन का काम है कहां-कहां खामियां हैं, गलतियां हैं, उन को दिखलाना। निर्णय लेने के लिये आप स्वतंत्र हैं, आप निर्णय लीजिये, लेकिन हमारा जो फर्ज है, वह हम पूरा करते रहेंगे, आप को उन के प्रति आगाह करते रहेंगे, लेकिन अपोजीशन के साथ इस तरह का ब्लेक-मेल चल नहीं सकेगा।

अंत में, मैं सरकार के सामने कुछ मांगें रखना चाहता हूँ-हमारी पहली मांग है कि असम की सरकार जो निर्दोष लोगों के खून पर खड़ी है, लाशों पर खड़ी है, जिसका नख से तिर तक खून से सरोवर है, जिस खून में बच्चों, बूढ़ों और नौजवानों का खून शामिल है, उस सरकार को बरखास्त करो और वहां की असेम्बली को भंग करो। हमारी दूसरी मांग-वहां की असेम्बली को भंग कर के वहां पर प्रेसिडेंट रूल कायम किया जाय। तीसरी मांग-आप ने वहां के आंदोलनकारियों के साथ वार्ता खत्म कर दी है-कोई भी सूझबूझवाला आदमी आप की इस कार्यवाही को एप्री-शियेट नहीं करेगा। आप आंदोलनकारियों के साथ तुरंत वार्ता को चलायें। वे आप के देश के लड़के हैं, नागरिक हैं। विदेशियों को आप प्रश्रय देंगे और अपने घर के बच्चों को गोलियों से उड़ायेंगे इस से ज्यादा शर्म की बात दूसरी नहीं

हो सकती। इस लिये उन के साथ वार्ता को चलाइये। अंतिम मांग-आप एक कमीशन नियुक्त कीजिये। वह कमीशन इस बात की जांच करे कि अभी तक जो घटनायें हुई हैं उन के लिये सरकार कितनी जिम्मेदार है, उन के लिये अपोजीशन कितनी जिम्मेदार है, इलैक्शन कमीशनर कितने जिम्मेदार हैं, आप की सी०आई०डी० कितने जिम्मेदार है और आप के गर्वनर कितने जिम्मेदार है। हमारी ये चार मांगें हैं जिनको आप स्वीकार कीजिये।

मैं सरकार से आग्रह करना चाहता हूँ कि आप उन के पुनर्वास की व्यवस्था कीजिये। आप कहते हैं कि वहां रिलीफ के कार्य चल रहे हैं, लेकिन हमारी जानकारी यह है कि नहीं चल रहे हैं। कहीं-कहीं तो लोगों को एक दाना भी अनाज का नहीं मिलता है, दवा की व्यवस्था नहीं है, कपड़े की व्यवस्था नहीं है। लाखों की संख्या में लोग दूसरे प्रांतों की तरफ जा रहे हैं। आप इन सारी चीजों की व्यवस्था कीजिये तथा जो हमारी चार मांगें हैं उन को मानिये तथा देश को गर्त में जाने से बचाइये।

इन शब्दों के साथ, अध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार को नहीं, बल्कि आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ, आप ने दोबारा इस पर चर्चा करने का अवसर सदन को दिया।

डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेयी : (सीता-पुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने जो वक्तव्य सदन के सामने रखा है, उस को सुनने के बाद हमारी आंखें खुल जाती हैं। असम में जिस तरह हिंसा का ताण्डव नृत्य खेला गया है, उस के लिये कौन दोषी है? किस के ऊपर उसकी जिम्मेदारी को रखा जाये—आज इस सदन को यह फिक्स करना चाहिये, निर्णय लेना चाहिये। हम सब ने बड़े खुले दिल

[डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेयी]

से, जो यहाँ पर बैठे हुए हैं, संविधान की शपथ ले कर संविधान को अक्षुण्ण रखने की, उस की रक्षा करने की शपथ खाई है, ऐसी स्थिति में हमें बहुत सफाई से बात करनी चाहिये कि क्या असम में चुनाव करा कर हम ने संविधान की रक्षा की है या संविधान के खिलाफ काम किया है? मैं ऐसा मानती हूँ कि संविधान की रक्षा करने के लिये हमारी नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी और हमारी सरकार ने सही कदम उठाया । मैं असम के इलैक्शन में गई थी । . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

श्री फूल चन्द वर्मा (शाजापुर) : असम में जो मर रहे हैं, वे भी आपके बच्चों के समान हैं।

डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेयी : मैं इसलिए यहाँ पर बोलने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूँ क्या कि मैं एक माता का दिल रखती हूँ और इसीलिए बोलने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूँ कि मैं एक पत्नी का दिल रखती हूँ और मैं इसलिए खड़ी हुई हूँ कि मैं एक बहन का दिल रखती हूँ और मैंने अपनी आँखों से वह दृश्य देखा है, जो आसाम में हुआ है। जो कुछ वहाँ पर हुआ है, वह मैंने वहाँ घरों का जलते देखा है और गावों को तबाह होते देखा है । मैंने अपनी आँखों से देखा है । मैंने जवान लोगों की लाशों को देखा है । मासूम बच्चों की लाशों को देखा और स्त्रियों की लाशों को देखा है । . . (व्यवधान) . . . जो लोग कमजोर होते हैं । वे चिल्लाते हैं, मैं कमजोर नहीं हूँ और मेरी बात आप को सुननी पड़ेगी । आप लोगों में जिस तरह से देश को एक कगार पर ला कर खड़ा कर दिया है, वह सब लोग जानते हैं । मैं विरोधी पक्ष के भाइयों से एक बात साफ तौर पर कहना चाहती हूँ । मैं उस पीढ़ी की हूँ और

ऐसी ट्रेनिंग ले कर यहाँ इस सदन में आ बैठी हूँ कि हिम्मत से अपनी बात कह सकूँ । मैं अवसरवादिता की राजनीति पर नहीं बल्कि कुछ सिद्धांतों को लेकर इस सदन के अंदर आई हूँ । मैंने अपनी आँखों से छोटे-छोटे बच्चों की लाशों को देखा है । 8 वर्ष की लड़की, 5-6 साल के बच्चों और 8 महीने के बच्चों की लाशों को मैंने अपनी आँखों से देखा है । आखिर इन चीजों के लिए कौन जिम्मेवार है ।

कई माननीय सदस्य : आप जिम्मेवार हैं, आपकी सरकार जिम्मेवार है । . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेयी : चिल्लाने से आसाम की समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है । आप चाहे कितना भी चिल्ला लें, इस से आसाम की समस्या हल होने वाली नहीं है । आज मैं यह कह सकती हूँ और जब मैं यह कह रही हूँ, तो जिम्मेदारी के साथ कहती हूँ कि आज जो कुछ आसाम में हो रहा है और जिस से लोगों की जानें गई हैं, उस के लिए उधर के बैठने वाले लोग जिम्मेवार हैं । . . (व्यवधान) . . .

अभी मुझ से पहले विरोधी दल के माननीय सदस्य श्री पासवान कह रहे थे कि ये जो चुनाव वहाँ पर हुए हैं, उन के पहले आसू के लड़के या या गण संग्राम परिषद् के लड़के अहिंसक रूप से काम कर रहे थे लेकिन वे उन घटनाओं को भूल गये, जिन को गृह मंत्री जी सिल-सिलेवार डेटवाइज अपने वक्तव्य में बताया । चुनाव से पहले जो कुछ हुआ, उस में अनेक कर्मचारी मारे गये, अनेक अफसर मारे गये और कितने ही लोगों पर हमले हुए । वर्तमान समय में जो वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री श्री हितेश्वर सेकिया हैं, उन के ऊपर भी जो बम फँका गया था, वह चुनाव के पहले ही फँका गया था ।

यह चुनावों के बाद की बात नहीं है। मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि आप का यह कहना गलत है कि पहले यह आन्दोलन अहिंसकात्मक था। यह भी आप का कहना गलत है कि श्रीर दूसरे लोगों ने उसे हिंसत्मक बनाया। जब मैं वहाँ पर थी, तो मेरे हाथ में कुछ परचे आये और उन से यह बात स्पष्ट है और यह बात साफ़ हो कर सामने आई है कि विदेशी नागरिकों के नाम पर बात को कहां से कहां ले जाया जा रहा है। हम ने एक परचा देखा और उस में यह लिखा हुआ है कि आखरी बार जो वार्ता दिल्ली में हो रही थी, हम यह समझते थे कि हम उन लोगों के खिलाफ हैं जिन्होंने तेजपुर, में जबकि विदेशी वहाँ आए थे, उन का स्वागत हरे झंडे दिखा कर किया था या जिन्होंने पिछली बार बंगला देश का झंडा फ़्रा कर खुशियां मनाई थी। उन विदेशी नागरिकों को यहाँ से हटाया जाए। इसके मायने साफ़ है कि इन लोगों में कुछ ऐसे हैं जिनके दिमाग ऐसे है कि वे हरे रंग पर विश्वास नहीं करते। यह हमारी माइनोरिटीज के भाइयों पर आक्षेप है। हमने जो इस देश का कांस्टीच्युशन बनाया है उसमें हमने इस देश को सेक्युलर स्टेट माना है। हमारे देश में इतने करोड़ मुसलमान भाई रहते हैं। अगर इस तरह से उनको हटाने की बात कही जाए, उनके घरों को जलाने की बात कही जाए तो कैसे यह चीज बर्दास्त की जा सकती है।

(व्यवधान)

हमने जो देखा है वह हम बता रहे हैं। जो असम में हुआ है, उसे हम यहाँ रख रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप क्या कर रहे हैं। डॉट रिकार्ड।

डा० राजेन्द्र कुमार बाजपेयी : दोपुर में जो कुछ हुआ वह बड़ा शर्मनाक है। वहाँ ट्राइबल्स के घर जलाये गये। जो हमारे ट्राइबल्स भाइयों के गांवों के आसपास में पुल थे उनको उड़ाया जा रहा था, सड़कों के ऊपर पेड़ काट-काट कर डाले जा रहे थे। इससे उनमें गुस्सा था। वहाँ दो ट्राइबल लड़कियों के साथ बलात्कार की घटनायें भी सामने आयीं। इससे भी ट्राइबल गांव के लोगों के गांवों में बहुत रोष फैला। एक ट्राइबल गांव के लोगों ने हमला करने की बात की। इस तरह से ट्राइबल और नान-ट्राइबल लोगों के बीच यह स्थिति पैदा की गयी। यह एकट्रीमिस्ट्स लोगों ने की? कांग्रेस के लोगों ने कांग्रेस की सरकार ने कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने यह नहीं किया। इस स्थिति के लिए वे लोभ दोषी हैं जो चुनावों के बायकाट का नारा दे रहे थे। अगर उन्हें चुनावों का बायकाट करना था तो वे अपने घरों में बैठते। वे महात्मा गांधी का नाम लेते हैं और ऐसी स्थिति वहाँ पैदा करते हैं। आसू के प्रेजिडेंट ने तो यहाँ तक कहा है कि हम यह नहीं कहते कि हम चुनावों का खाली बायकाट करेंगे, हम तो कहते हैं कि हम इन इलेक्शनों को रोकेंगे और एट एनी कास्ट रोकेंगे। उन्होंने हर तरीका अपनाया। यह चुनावों का बायकाट करना नहीं कहा जा सकता।

मैं गौहाटी के सरकिट हाऊस में थी। वहाँ बी.जे.पी. के उस हाउस के माननीय सदस्य भी ठहरे थे। उनका मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहती। वे वहाँ बैठे हुए चुनावों का बायकाट करा रहे थे और मैं वहाँ चुनावों का संचालन कर रही थी। ये लोग हर तरह के कामों में वहाँ लगे हुए थे और तरह तरह से वहाँ कार्य कर रहे थे। आज वे लोग यहाँ बैठे हुए मरे हुए लोगों के लिए आसू बहाने की बात कर रहे हैं।

[डा० राजेन्द्र कमारी बाजपेयी]

मेरा विचार है कि इन सब चीजों के पीछे भारतीय जनता पार्टी है। (व्यवधान) इनकी मनोवृत्ति ऐसी है।

मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि ये लोग आज यहां पर बैठे हुए कह रहे हैं कि इतने लोगों की हत्याएं हो गयीं, इतने लोग मारे जा रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप बीच में क्यों बोल रहे हैं, मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा ?

(व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER Please sit down. This is not the way. sit down.

(Interruptions)

(व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आज आप कह रहे हैं कि टोकाटाकी कर रहे हैं। आपको याद होगा कि जब असम पर चर्चा हो रही थी और कांग्रेस का नाम लिया गया था, नाम लेते ही... (व्यवधान) हमें आज इसकी कल्पना बिलकुल नहीं है। (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : जुबानी-जुबानी एक दूसरी की कल्पना खोलिए।

डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज ये लोग कह रहे हैं कि चुनाव क्यों कराए गए। 14 तारीख के बाद इलैक्शन कमीशन ने कहा था कि चुनाव बंद कर दो। जब इतनी सिंसा हो रही थी तो क्यों नहीं आपने चुनाव बंद करवा दिए? मैं पूछना चाहती हूँ कि अगर देश के ऊपर हमला हो तो क्या हम अपनी फौज को यह कहेंगे कि वह बोर्डर की रक्षान करे, क्योंकि उनकी जान चली जाएगी। (व्यवधान) इसी तरह से अगर हमारे संविधान पर हमला होता है, प्रजातंत्र की हत्या होती है तो श्रीमती

गांधी, जिनके हाथ में इस देश का नेतृत्व है उनका कर्तव्य है कि वह चुनाव कराए। इनके द्वारा रचे गए चक्रव्यूह में अगर कुछ जानें चली गई तो इस डर से कानून के रक्षक घर में नहीं बैठ सकते। इसलिए कानून की रक्षा की गई।

अब इनका कहना यह है कि जो सरकार चुनी गई है इसको खत्म कर दिया जाए। आवाज उठाई जा रही है कि फिर से प्रेसीडेंट रूल कायम कर दिया जाए। एक तरफ तो ये चुनाव की बात करते हैं और जब जनता द्वारा चुनी हुई सरकार आ जाती है तो कहते हैं कि इसको खत्म कर दो। अभी महीनाभर भी नहीं बीता है और कहते हैं कि उसको खत्म कर दो। इस तरह की दो तरह की बातें ये लोग करते हैं। इस तरह की बातें हमारी पार्टी से नहीं होती। हम कांग्रेस के लोग इस चीज पर विश्वास करते हैं कि इस देश में प्रजातंत्र हो जिसकी बुनियाद हमने डाली है। हम प्रजातंत्र पर विश्वास करते हैं और इसकी रक्षा करेंगे चाहे कौसी भी चुनौती हमारे सामने क्यों न हो।

श्री फूलचन्द वर्मा : ... (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप गलत बात कर रहे हैं, आप अनरगल बात कर रहे हैं। जब आप बोलेंगे तो आपको भी छुट्टी होगी और आप उस वक्त अपनी बात कहिएगा। लेकिन बीच-बीच में इस तरह से उठ कर बोलना ठीक नहीं है।

श्री हरिकेश बहादुर : (गोरखपुर) ; ये ईमानदारी की बात कर रहे हैं कि इनको भी ईमानदारी की बात करनी चाहिए। (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अभी आप इनको कह रहे थे। अब वहीं बात आप के ऊपर भी लागू होती है।

(व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : तो क्या जरूरत है इस हाउस की ?

(व्यवधान)

MR. SPEAKER: This is too bad.
Let us go out, then.

(Interruptions)

डा राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेयी : ... इसमें जनता पार्टी का हाथ है यह बात मैं इसलिए कह रही हूँ कि कुछ महीने पहले चुनाव के पहले एक बार भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने सारे देश में असम दिवस मनाया था और किसी पार्टी ने नहीं मनाया। और चुनाव के दौरान क्या होता था। इनके दल के लोगों की मीटिंग होती थी, लेकिन जब हम लोगों को मीटिंग होने की बात होती थी तो कभी जनाता कर्फ्यू या कभी बंद, इस तरह की चीजों की जाती थीं। इसका मतलब क्या था। ये लोग ही उन चीजों को करवा रहे थे।

आज जब हम लोग चुन कर के आ गए हैं तो ये लोग इस तरह की बातें कर रहे हैं। क्या वहां का चीफ मिनिस्टर आसाम का नहीं है। क्या वहां पर मंत्री परिषद के लोग आसाम के नहीं हैं या जो चुनकर आए हैं क्या आसाम के लोगों ने उनको वोट नहीं दिया है। हम वहां के लोगों के वोट से चुन कर आए हैं। (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या हो रहा है।

डा राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेयी : हमने एक जाति के वोट नहीं लिए हैं। हमारी सरकार सब का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है।

परसेंटेज की बात की गई। मैं बताना चाहती हूँ कि हापलांग एरिया, कापलांग एरिया, कछार एरिया, पहाड़ी एरिया और बहुत से एरियाज में, उत्तरी एरियाज में बहुत जगहों पर 40 परसेंट वोटिंग हुई है, कहीं 35 परसेंट वोट पड़े हैं। हमारे टोटल वोट 35 प्रतिशत पड़े हैं। मैं खुद वहां पहले दिन हैलिकाप्टर से गई थी और देखा कि लंबी लाइन लगी हुई थी जहां पर कि लोग वोट डाल रहे थे। यहां पर आज लोग कह रहे हैं कि हमको वोट ही नहीं मिले। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि बेईमानी के वोट नहीं पड़े हैं। ... (व्यवधान) हमने दूसरे दिन भी देखा कि गांव के लोग वोट डाल रहे थे। आपको ट्राईबल एरिया में जाकर देखना चाहिए था। औरतें वोट डालने के लिए अपने कास्ट्युम में, रंग-बिरंगी पोशाक में आई थी, उनकी तस्वीर भी है। ये लोग कहते हैं कि हमको वोट नहीं मिले। कांस्टीट्यूशन का नाम लेकर प्रजातंत्र की दुहाई देने वाले हमारा मजाक उड़ा रहे हैं। मेरा इतना ही कहना है कि प्रजातंत्र को रक्ष करने के लिए हमने सेक्रीफिस किया है। मेरी अपील यह है कि खून-खराबी के और बैंगुनाह लोगों को भी मरने से रोका जाए।

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRA BORTY (Calcutta South): Mr. Speaker, Sir, with a very heavy heart I rise to speak on the present situation in Assam.

I do not like to join some of the Members in naming who is responsible at the moment. Rather I am interested in seeing that passions that have been aroused in Assam die down, and all sections of the people sit, talk amicably and settle the issues.

The intensity of the violence and the magnitude of it will overwhelm any Indian heart, any man who has love for human kind. More than 10,000 people, most of them children and women, have lost their

[Shri Satyasadhan Chakraborty]

lives unarmed, undefended, not knowing for what they were going to die, but they had to die because of the conspiracy of circumstances. Two lakhs of people have been rendered homeless. If a man is killed, whether he belongs to the minority group or majority group, that is unmaterial. He is an Indian; he is a human being; he is killed. That should be our concern. When I speak, I do not speak only for minority group, but I speak for all the people, who have lost their lives, have been rendered homeless and are living in an atmosphere of terror, insecurity and unknown future.

This House has already debated the Assam situation. What is the point now? How to bring succour to millions of people? How can they be rehabilitated? Even if there are friends who think that there are some foreigners—may be there are some foreigners; no political party in India has denied that there can be some foreigners—when there was some sort of an agreement to treat 1971 as cut off year, all the political parties agreed that the people coming after 1971 should be detected and deported—but in a civilised society, even a foreigner is entitled to humane treatment. Even the prisoners of war cannot be annihilated.

There are a very few, who have outrightly condemned the perpetrators of this violence. Hundreds of people have been killed and the refugee camps are there. The perpetrators of this violence are issuing statements that the refugees have killed themselves and they are in the refugee camps only for rations and that the refugees who are in West Bengal are the creation of the West Bengal Government. They have landed themselves to a fathomless depth of inhumanity. There may be differences but the condition of any civilised existence is to be governed by rule, by law. What is happening today in Assam? Do you think that the foreigners are being driven out? It is the linguistic and the religious groups that are fighting and are suffering. The Assamese who have lost their lives are not foreigners. In Nellie those who have lost their lives, they are not foreigners. It is simply a case of mass extermination, genocide and I want that this House should

unequivocally condemn it. It is not the question of any party, it is a question of all of us representing the whole of India. It is not only Assam that is burning. It is not only the future of hundreds or thousands of people that is at stake but it is the unity of India that is at stake. They can claim that if there are any foreigners they should not be there, but it is equally true that the people who are Indians have a right to live in India. No power can drag them out by any propaganda. If the Government is civilised, it is its primary duty, and the Constitution enjoins on it, to defend the rights of life. That is the primary fundamental right of any Indian citizen. That should be done. All other questions can be settled across the table. There may be differences. Some of my friends are telling about the Election Commission. I have before me the report in the latest issue of *India Today*. Here, the caption is "There was no Option". Mr. R. K. Trivedi says, "There was no option but to hold the elections under the existing provisions of the Constitution. The only alternatives could have been if an amendment had been passed through Article 356 to extend the President's Rule or an Emergency had been declared in Assam under Article 356. Even in case Emergency had been declared Parliament would have had to approve of it and the Election Commission would have had to certify that the continuance of President's rule was necessary. That is what he has told. Then about his opinion on existing laws he says "I think, the crux in Assam is that the agitators do not merely want an enumeration of the foreigners they want a redefinition of the term citizen". We have to deeply think over the matter. What is the crux of the problem? There is no political party in India which will support the foreigners to stay in India but there is a way also to detect them and take measures about them. The question is on what basis you are going to determine who is a foreigner and who is not a foreigner? That is the main question.

Now I come to violence.

MR. SPEAKER: Please do not do that at least in the House.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: No, Sir. I am a very peace-loving man. That you know.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North-East): He is a Marxist. He has a right to do it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: That is your propaganda. Try to get rid of your own propaganda troubles.

The question is whether it is a fact that violence started with the declaration of elections. Facts stare at your face, cold facts. It started right from 1980, even before that. It started in 1979 during Mangaldoi election. Is it not a fact that innocent indians were killed, Central Government officers were killed? Is it not a fact that bomb exploded? All the time they were taking the name of Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi and Gandhiji would have turned in his grave if he could see the actions of these agitators. It was never peaceful. Many people were killed and the agitators never condemned these killings. On the other hand, some of them took pride in it and said "look here, see the shape of things to come, if you do not agree to what we say; either agree or be ready to take violence from us; we will see that the whole of the Brahmaputra river becomes red with human blood." Do you think it was peaceful? Do you think in India it happened before, that a particular section of the agitationists ever declared a janata curfew?

I charge you, Mr. Sethi, and the Government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi that you spent a very costly year with criminal procrastination, when you could not take any decision. Why could you not do it? Why did you allow the movement to gather momentum? Why could you not stop it? We asked you to take both administrative and political steps. Repeatedly we have said in this House that this movement was backed by the Assam administration. Initially, it was not backed by the Assamese people, because many a time it flopped in Gauhati. But when the Assam administration actively took part in it, then it started picking up.

Who are the people who are taking part in this destruction? Also, have you seen the destruction and its magnitude? Have you seen the methods they have used? The SSB the counter insurgency trained people, they are in the movement; so also some ex-military men and some military men who are on leave in Assam. When I say that this movement is secessionist, I do not mean that all the Assamese people understand or fathom the depth of the whole scheme.

There is a newspaper report "Assam Liberation Army Chief Arrested". Most probably you are aware of the fact that their leader is one ex-DIG of Assam, Shri Kakoti. He was your ex-Director of Home Guards. He is now underground and he is now leading the movement. Is it not a fact, according to the same newspaper report, that 9 scientists were held at Jorhat? You look into it and tell me what they were doing. You look and tell me what are the arms they are using and from where they are getting these arms. Do you know how they are using the grenades? Is it a part of a peaceful movement or a part of the well-laid, well-organised, deep-rooted conspiracy with a long-term view? It is for the Government to say all these things. Where are they getting money from? ... (Interruptions) These are questions vary important questions, which you have to answer.

When it is a question of the security of our country, the integrity of our country, irrespective of our party affiliations, the country is higher, the unity of the country and the brotherhood of the people are higher than the temporary... (Interruptions) I am really sorry that this fratricidal war, a community warring against another community, is going on all these years. This is a dangerous thing. That is why we warned you that the time has come to take preventive and remedial steps. But then some people laughed at us. All the same, we warned you, just as we warned you against the extremist elements in Punjab.

Coming to elections, my party supported the elections. We still hold the view that there was no option but to hold the elec-

[Shri Satyasadhan Chakraborty]

tions in Assam. But we are decidedly against the persecution of the people of our country. We stand for democratic rights. Is it not a fact that we demanded of Mr. Sethi and his party that before they hold the elections they must create conditions for free and fair elections? Did you take the necessary steps? I think you did not. And I would blame also some other parties who did not participate in the elections. By not participating in the elections you allowed Mrs. Gandhi to appear as the saviour of the minorities.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: She left the field open for you.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like Mr. Sethi to answer this: In your election manifesto in Assam you did not say anything about violence and killing. Why? To appease the agitators, still dreaming that you will win them over and bring them to your side. You did a wrong thing. You should have condemned the violence through your manifesto. And also when Mrs. Gandhi says that the leaders of the movement there are children, I would ask: Are you proud of your children who are murderers, who want to destroy the country? There can be no compromise with those forces which want to destroy the unity of the country. There is no question of opportunism for temporary gain. You are the party, you are the leader responsible so long as you are in power to maintain peace and you have not played your role well. You wanted to win them over, to get them to your side. But unfortunately, at the last moment you could not.

Sir, I would say now also, let us all unite, let us fight the agitators politically and isolate the extremist elements. I believe, in Assam saner elements are there, but they cannot come to the surface because of the terror tactics adopted by the agitationists.

Before concluding, I would say that some of our friends here talk about Assam and all that, but here is a Memorandum submitted and one of the signatories is

Mr. Syed Shahabuddin, a Janata leader in the other House. What is the demand of Mr. Shahabuddin along with others? The demand is, "Continued deployment of Army, BSF and CRPF in affected areas till normalcy returns." This is the demand of a Janata leader. Sir, we also demand it. Today, the Assam Police is partisan. Just as we condemn the PAC in communal riots, the Assam police is taking part actively in the annihilation campaign. You cannot rely on Assam Police.

What is the other demand of the Janata leader? "Withdrawal of Assam Battalion from those areas." This is precisely what we are also demanding. The other demand is, "Ban on publication of inflammatory material in press or otherwise."

Sir, I am a pugnacious champion of freedom of the press. But I also believe that nothing should be done to inflame the passions of the people so that one section of the people is inflamed to kill another section of the people. So, no such publication should be there where one is incited to kill the other. That is the basic thing.

Sir, the other demand is: "Seizure of unlicensed arms". I also support it. I also support their demands when they say in their Memorandum:

"Long-term Measures:

1. Restructuring and reorganisation of Assam Police and Assam Battalion to reflect the population composition of Assam, as instructed by the Government of India, i.e., representation of Muslims in all units and at all levels upto at least 25 per cent.

2. Higher representation of minorities and other weaker sections in the civil administration at all levels."

The Administration, the Police, should reflect the demographic composition of the people. I would say, to all sections of the House—Sir, I do not claim any profundity, but I have been trying to study the movement—that this is the movement led by a minority of the upper caste Hindus. I would ask: How many Scheduled Castes are there in the police? How many Scheduled Castes are there in the

Assam Administration? The whole Administration, the Police administration, is monopolised by higher caste Hindus neglecting the tribals, neglecting the Scheduled Castes and neglecting other minorities. We have to go deep into it.

Thousands of refugees have taken shelter in Arunachal and in West Bengal. The economic burden will be very high. Until and unless the Central Government comes forward, it will remain a knotty problem. The Central Government has only assured that they will render financial assistance for one month. What will happen after one month? In 1980 disturbances, more than 17,000 people crossed over to West Bengal. They are still there in refugee camp in Bengal. The Central Government should assist Arunachal Government and West Bengal Government and also take immediate measures so that these refugees can go back to their homes. This may be done immediately.

(Interruptions)

To conclude, I would urge upon all political parties, as at the very outset the agitation leaders declared that national political parties were irrelevant, all sections of people should be brought round the negotiating table. These agitationists do not represent all Assamese people. All sections of people should be brought round the negotiating table and through peaceful way this matter should be settled. The genuine grievance of the Assamese should be looked into and an amicable and peaceful settlement should be brought about.

17.22 hrs.

[DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI—in the Chair].

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar): I have heard speeches by the Opposition leaders as well as from our party. The Assam situation has been discussed in this House time and again. Our Iron Home Minister who has recently been to Assam has given a very correct statement regarding the past, present situation and the circumstances under which election has been held

It is very unfortunate that about 1400 people have died and about 3,30,000 people have been made homeless—Assamese, Bengalis and tribal sections.

Government was formed. Things are coming to normalcy in a peaceful manner. But I am sorry to say that one of the national leaders Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee goes to Shillong. I am quoting from *The Assam Tribune*. This paper is considered as a bible by AASU and BJP. It says—

“The President of the Bharatiya Janata Party Sri Atal Bihari Vajpayee made a serious allegation against the relief operations being conducted by Assam Government for the riot affected people saying that the indigenous people who were equally affected were not getting as much attention as the ‘foreigners’ were getting.”

Does he mean to say that all the people—3,30,000—which consist of Bengalis, Hindus, Muslims, Tribals other than Assamese speaking, are all foreigners?

I would request him to clarify on the floor of this House not for me but for the B.J.P. of Cachar District. If he has not said he should contradict this statement in the Paper. I still believe that he has not said so.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: You are right.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: But if he has not said it, it is all right. But one very nice thing is that what he says in Gauhati was never agreed to be said in Delhi and in his house by him. I cannot understand the politics of this gentleman.

Madam, you will be surprised to know that a group of BJP MPs visited Assam. Do you know, what statement they made? We including Shri Rajesh Pilot and others were there. It never happened after our Independence, and our Party cannot dream of it. If he again comes

[Shri Santosh Mohan Dev]

to power—I do not think he will come—he will do it. One of their MPs Shri Jaswant Singh said in Assam Tribune that the Assamese man should be posted as the Governor of Assam. What a parochial idea it is! Nowhere in the country, have we seen that a Governor of a particular State hails from that particular State. But your M.P. has given the statement.

In your speech, you said, why the elections have been held. I am not bringing in any controversy. I want only your answer. Don't get excited. In 1979, the voters' list had been made. May I ask him in the same place and in the same platform when he delivered speeches with Shri Dinesh Goswami and others who have been selected and elected by the voters' list of 1979, why didn't he ask them to resign? In that case, you create a precedent that you do not accept that voters' list. There you want to speak with them on same platform. There you have accepted them. Again, you say, 1979 voters' list is not correct and it is full of foreigners. There are very many contradictions. I can only say that Assam will be saved if you stop going to Assam. Why? (*Interruptions*). There are reasons for it. If this gentleman goes to Assam, he only visits those houses where people have been killed by police firing while doing arson or looting and he never visits the relief camp.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I did visit the camps. What are you talking?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : No You never visited those camps which you consider to be foreigners. Why? I would like to tell this House the incident that happened in Nellie. It is not for the voting only. 2,000 votes were there and only 250 votes were polled. They boycotted the elections. Then, why were they killed? In Barburi, you would be shocked to hear that 420 people have been killed out of 900 people who lived there. They have never gone for voting. Why have they been killed. The reason being that the BJP along with their RSS cadre fend the agitationists for the last one year. They made assessment of what are the local disputes on land or even in particular matter regarding *Mandir* or *Masjid* and they instigate them. I say with all responsibility. That is what they have done in Assam.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: How many BJP members are in Assam?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: That is the trouble. You can never come to power in Assam. That is why you put the flame. This is your specific purpose. You do not want peace in Assam. Now, the election results have been given in the list. My dear friend Shri Paswan has left. He has given certain figures. But he gave only those figures that go to their advantage. Just like an advocate arguing his client's case before the Supreme Court. Here is the list. From this list, you can see the figures. The total voters in Assam are 72,84,812 and the total votes polled are 23,86,703. I have got the district-wise figures:

District	Total voters polled	Total voters	Percentage
Cachar	7,54,130	12,10,233	62.31
N.C. Hills	29,201	52,031	56.12
Karbi Anglong	91,113	2,23,827	40.70
Goalpara	5,81,919	9,95,147	58.47
Kamrup	3,31,258	14,25,029	23.24

It is Kamrup which is the hot-bed of this agitation.

Darrang — total votes polled 1,44,758; total voters 346019; percentage 41.83.
Nowgong — total votes polled 283327;

total voters 10,12,024; percentage 27.99.

The lowest voting was in two districts. Sibsagar — total votes polled 56956; total voters 1040574; percentage 5.47.

Lakhimpur — total votes polled 15528; total voters 4,44,167; percentage 3.49

Why this low voting? It is because in these two constituencies 12 MLAs' seats could not be contested. Excluding these two districts, in other 19 districts of Assam, do you mean to say that they are not citizens of India? Even though I speak Bengali, I am also an Assamese. I am born in Assam. So, you please leave us alone; don't try to instigate people and influence their feelings. The BJP has not taken part in the elections because they are not able to win elections. The CPM and CPI have their own history there. They have taken part in the elections. But we know the result.

The question is that the Assam Government has come into being; it has taken shape and it is trying to restore normalcy. Already, a cry has started that this Government must be de-throned and that they will not allow this Government to continue. If this sort of shouting and propaganda goes on, are they really going to help to bring about peace in Assam or are they instigating some people to create trouble. I would like to pose this question to the august House. We had also once gone out of power. But we have come again back to power. So, they should be reasonable and pragmatic in their stand. They should not be parochial in the sense in which they are trying to be parochial in Assam.

In this very statement, this is what Mr Vajpayee has said. It is very much regretted. The other day I had no paper with me. The Hon. Speaker expunged everything that I had said. But here in this paper, he has congratulated the Assam Government employees for non-coopera-

tion with the Government. What a helpful attitude of the national leader! Here it is. What a helpful attitude! It is well done!

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I am going to do it again and again.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: Because he wants to create trouble in Assam. This Government will stop him from going to Assam.

The Assam Government has been formed and the Chief Minister has given a programme of the Government for the rehabilitation of the affected people there. I would like to suggest certain things to the Home Minister. There are five members of Parliament from Assam. We have travelled in 22 camps in almost all the districts. Just three days before, we reached Gauhati. We were happy to see that the Government has started doing the work of rehabilitation. There are certain difficulties. It is true, there are certain defects. These are going to be rectified. But, unfortunately, this whole situation cannot be diffused overnight. To create a proper atmosphere there, it is very much necessary that the Central Government comes forward with more help and with CRP, PAC and other battalions, because the people will go back to their villages and they must get possession of their land and other household things without any difficulty. The main reason why their houses have been gutted is that it is not because they are foreigners but because the Government have given a declaration that the people will be issued citizenship on the basis of their ration card, land document, radio licence, etc., all these things have been burnt by the agitationists.

Now, when some of the national leaders say that the agitationists are not connected with this movement, I would like to just make one point. In Chalkoa, in Mangadai district, when these people attacked that village, the brother of Joy-nath Sharma, the AASU leader of Volunteers Corps, was riding an elephant along with others with 42 guns and they continued to attack on the village for six hours. As a counter-attack, when the

[Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev]

people tried to resist, this gentleman died there. What does it prove? The AASU leader himself had to go and attack these people, the so-called foreigners.

The worst of it is that, of late in Assam, to malign the CRP, the PAC and the BSF, the extremist people are wearing the dress of the CRP, the PAC and the BSF that also must be stopped. We are grateful to the CRP and PAC. This House will be pleased to know that when we visited a particular area in Darrang, the PAC battalion was going to be withdrawn and CHP was also going to be withdrawn: I have seen people surrounding the CRP and PAC and crying to cry and touching their feet "Please don't go away and save us" This is the faith that the sufferer has got in the CRP and PAC: But, at the same time, it will be wrong to malign all the Assam police: There are black-sheep here and there: But in certain areas we have heard also a word of praise for Assam police, specially in Boko area, when a crowd of 30,000 people attacked: I have heard other Members of Parliament were there: One Police Officer of CI rank with a police battalion of 35, has protected the village and he has equally dealt with the Assamese aggressors, Bengalese aggressors and the Muslim aggressors. These instances are there. So, it will be wrong to say that all the Assam police are bad. It will also be wrong to say that the all Assam Government employees are there in agitation. But if national parties and national leaders go and instigate them and say "You are doing the best thing in the world and you are doing the best agitation", naturally they will be again interested to take part in this sort of thing.

I also agree with Shri Satyasadhan Chakraborty that the future police battalions in Assam must reflect the population pattern. Otherwise, it is very difficult for the people to have faith in police battalions.

We are happy that Government of India has given Rs. 10 crores. But the main problem in Assam is economic development. When we in this House here

debate from different parties, they are vocal about it. But unfortunately when the actual things come, the Plan money and other things, we do not get as much as we expected. For the last three years, our economy has been completely shattered. We cannot expect to raise revenue as in other States. So, I request the Central Government and the Planning Minister who is here, that when our Budget comes and our Chief Minister is coming to discuss about the Plan they should be generous to the people of Assam. We must consider and deliver goods to the people. This Government cannot be overthrown. But this Government will be facing difficulties unless we can develop Assam and work.

With these words, I thank you for giving me a chance and I only hope and conclude with the expectation that good sense will prevail on the BJP and they will give up their misdeeds in Assam.

श्री जगपाल सिंह (हरिद्वार) :
सभापति जी, दुनिया के अंदर बहुत से ऐसे क्रूर शासक हुए, लुटेरे हुए हैं, तानाशाह भी हुए हैं जिनकी कीर्ति पताका आज भी इंसानियत पर कलंक की तरह फहरा रही है। वह समय में आ सकती है कि वे तानाशाह क्रूर थे, कुर्सियों और स्वार्थों के लिए उन्होंने लाशों की मीनारें खड़ी कर दीं लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने असम की कीर्ति पर ही नहीं, इंसानियत पर ही नहीं बल्कि पूरी जनतंत्रीय व्यवस्था पर आज खून लगाया है। इस को जनतंत्र का इतिहास कभी बख्शेगा नहीं माफ नहीं करेगा। संविधान की औपचारिकता को पूरा करने के नाम पर और जनतंत्र के नाम पर वहां दस हजार से ज्यादा लोगों का खून बहाया गया और उनकी लाशों पर सत्ता की दीवार खड़ी की गयी। इसको कभी भी जनतंत्र माफ नहीं करेगा। (व्यवधान)

सभापति जी, अभी आपने कहा कि विरोधी दलों ने इस चुनाव में हिस्सा

ले कर के हिंसा को भड़काया। यह बात बिल्कुल निराधार है। बल्कि उन पार्टियों ने हिंसा को बढ़ावा दिया है जिन्होंने कि इस चुनाव में हिस्सा लिया और अपने भाषणों से ऐसा किया। हमारे साथी श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी बैठे हैं। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि इसकी पूरी जिम्मेदारी अगर ऐसी किसी के ऊपर जाती है तो वह केवल प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की जाती है। प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने 10 तारीख से 12 तारीख तक 16 सभाओं में भाषण दिये। उन सभाओं में, उन बातों को तोड़ते हुए जो कि आन्दोलनकारियों ने सरकार के साथ की थी, उन वायदों को तोड़ते हुए जो कि सरकार ने आन्दोलनकारियों के साथ किये थे, जो सहानुभूति वहाँ घुसपैठियों के साथ जाहिर की, मैं समझता हूँ कि उससे हिंसा को बढ़ावा मिला। हिंसा को बढ़ावा मिलने का सबसे मुख्य कारण यही था। उन्होंने अपने सभी भाषणों में यह बात कही, जो कि अखबारों में छपी है, जिसे कि मैं पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। प्रधानमंत्री फूट-फूट कर आंसू बहाती रहीं। (व्यवधान)

मैं अखबार का नाम बता रहा हूँ। पान्चजन्य अखबार है। इसमें लिखा है कि प्रधानमंत्री ने 16 सभाओं में कहा और उन घुसपैठियों के सामने कहा कि वे कोई झूठा वायादा नहीं करेंगी कि घुसपैठिये असम से हटा दिये जायेंगे। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि आखिर वे लोग कहां जायेंगे। इसके बाद ही यह जनसंहार असम में शुरू हुआ।

आपके अब्दुल गनी खां चौधरी ने माइनोरिटीज से कहा—अगर नहीं कहा तो जो अखबारों में छपा है, उसका उन्हें कन्ट्राडिक्शन करना चाहिए था। उन

अखबारों के खिलाफ प्रेस कमीशन से शिकायत करनी चाहिए थी कि वह उस अखबार के खिलाफ एक्शन ले जिसने कि उनके भाषण को गलत छापा है। आपके सेठी साहब ने यह बात कही। आपके अब्दुल गनी खां चौधरी ने अल्पसंख्यकों को कहा कि सड़कों पर निकल कर के, मैदानों में...

SHRI P. C. SETHI: May I request the hon. Member to resume his seat for a moment?

Prime Minister herself had clarified while participating in the Assam debate about what she said.

As far as Mr. Ghani Khan Choudhary's statement is concerned, I have made the position clear about what he said.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: You have misled the House.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Never.

श्री जगपाल सिंह : उस मामले पर चौधरी साहब की तरफ से कोई सफाई नहीं आई और न ही अखबारों में इसका कांट्राडिक्शन आया। इसलिये हम इस बात पर विश्वास नहीं करते कि उन्होंने यह बात नहीं कही है।

(व्यवधान)

उन्होंने मायनारिटी का सहारा लेकर यह काम किया है। इस नरसंहार की जिम्मेदारी इन लोगों पर सबसे ज्यादा है।

इसलिए मैं यह बात कह रहा हूँ। लोक दल, जनता पार्टी, भारतीय जनता पार्टी, इन दलों को दिखाई पड़ रहा था कि चुनाव हुए तो नरसंहार होगा। क्योंकि यह कोई सौ-दो सौ गज या लाख दो लाख लोगों का आन्दोलन नहीं था।

[श्री जगपाल सिंह]

जहां तक संवैधानिक औपचारिकताओं का सवाल है तो सत्ता को बचाने के लिये तो संविधान में संशोधन हो सकते हैं, लेकिन 10 हजार लोगों की जान बचाने के लिये संशोधन नहीं हो सकते। 10 हजार लोग चुनाव की औपचारिकता में मारे गये। इस बात को जनतंत्र बरदास्त नहीं करेगा। यह हिन्दुस्तान के जनतंत्र के ऊपर कलंक लगाया गया है, चाहे जितनी सफाई दे दी जाए, यह हमेशा रहेगा।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कुर्सी को बचाने के लिये इमरजेंसी लगाई जा सकती है। कांस्टीट्यूशन में इमरजेंसी का प्रोविजन था और दो दिन के लिये इमरजेंसी लगाकर प्रेसीडेंशियल रूल को ब्रेक किया जा सकता था। श्रीमती गांधी की नीयत पर हमें हमेशा शक रहा है। कुर्सी बचाने के लिये तो इमरजेंसी लगाई जा सकती है, लेकिन 10 हजार लोगों की जान बचाने के लिये नहीं लगाई जा सकती। 352 का सहारा लेकर एक दिन के लिये इमरजेंसी लगा कर के प्रेसीडेंशियल रूल को ब्रेक किया जा सकता था, लेकिन आपने ऐसा नहीं किया। संविधान में 356 (5) क्लॉज बी के अन्दर यह प्राविजन भी है कि चुनाव आयोग गर्वनमेंट आफ इण्डिया को यह सिफारिश भेज सकता है कि फ्री एण्ड फेयर इलेक्शन नहीं हो सकता। इसका सहारा लेकर भी चुनाव टाले जा सकते थे। लेकिन इरादा चुनाव टालने का नहीं था। इंदिरा जी के दिमाग में यह था कि चुनाव में आसाम के लोग भाग नहीं लेंगे और घुसपैठियों के सहारे वोट डलवाकर उनकी सरकार बन जायेगी।

उनके मन में यह इरादा शुरू से ही था। जनतंत्र के नाम पर चुनाव करवाना

जनतंत्र का तकाजा था। संविधान के आर्टिकल-356, 5-बी का सहारा लेकर के चुनाव टाले जा सकते थे, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया। श्रीमती गांधी और उनकी सरकार को पता है कि आज आसाम के अन्दर क्या हो रहा है, यह इस देश के सब लोगों के सामने है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि चुनाव लीगल और कांस्टीट्यूशनल होने चाहिये। चुनाव प्रतिनिधित्व कानून सन् 1951 के अनुसार वहां की वोटर लिस्ट को रिवाइज करना चाहिये था। वहां 11 लाख ऐसे लोग हैं जो 1979 के बाद वोटर नहीं बन पाए। उनको वोट डालने का अधिकार नहीं दिया गया इसलिये ये चुनाव इल्लोगल हैं। सभी पोलिटिकल पार्टियों के साथ बैठकर रिविजन होना चाहिये था कि कौन सा पोलिंग बूथ होना चाहिये या कौन सा नया पोलिंग बूथ हो। लेकिन आपने ऐसा नहीं किया। आपने उन 11 लाख नौजवानों को जो 1979 के बाद बालिग हुए, वोट डालने का राइट नहीं दिया। यह स्थिति आपके चुनाव की है।

मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि आपकी सरकार अल्पमत की है। दुनिया में जनतंत्र में कहीं ऐसा नहीं हुआ लेकिन विधान सभा आपने बना ली, जिसमें कि 10 परसेंट भी वोट नहीं पड़े। गोहाटी विधान सभा क्षेत्र के बारे में मैं आपको बताना चाहूंगा।

कुल मत
मत पड़े

उजान बाजार गर्ल्स स्कूल-I	562	0
उजान बाजार गर्ल्स स्कूल-II	217	0
एम०सी०एम०इ० स्कूल	815	0

	कुल मते	पड़े
चेनीकुठी एल०पी० स्कूल	868	0
कामरूप एकेडमी	942	2
असम टैक्सटाइल इंस्टीट्यूट	782	2

यह स्थिति वहाँ के क्षेत्रों की है। जहाँ पर जीरो और दो वोट पड़े हों, वहाँ आप कैसे इस जनतन्त्र को चला सकते हैं लेकिन आपके केण्डिडेट्स जीत सकते हैं। जब तक जनतन्त्र में स्वस्थ परम्परायें नहीं पड़ेंगी, तब तक आपका जनतन्त्र जिन्दा नहीं रह सकता है। कान्सटीट्यूशन बनाने वालों ने "फ्री एण्ड फेयर" इलैक्शन पर ज्यादा जोर दिया था। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर इस देश के अन्दर यह खत्म हो गया तो पूरा जनतन्त्र, पूरा डेमोक्रेटिक सिस्टम कोलेप्स कर जायेगा चाहे इसमें अपोजिशन के लोग हों। हमारे सी०पी०एम के साथी भी यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि रिएक्शनरी पार्टी जिनको कहते हैं, उनके मन में संविधान के प्रति प्यार कहां से उमड़ आया। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी जी, मधु दण्डवते जी और चौ० चरण सिंह जी की पार्टी को रिएक्शनरी पार्टी कहते हैं।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि संविधान में जब सब चीजें हैं तो आप इसको अवाइड कर सकते थे। मैं आपका ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता इसलिये अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूँ। लेकिन मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिन पार्टियों के चुनाव का वायकाट किया है, वे हिंसा के जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं। लोक दल और भारतीय जनता पार्टी जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं। इन्होंने बड़े स्पष्ट रूप से इनके मंत्री श्री भीष्म नारायण जी के साथ बैठकर कहा था कि हम संविधान

में संशोधन करने के लिये तैयार हैं। श्रीमती गांधी बाहर भाषणों में कह रही हैं कि विरोधी पक्ष ने संविधान में संशोधन करने के लिये सहयोग नहीं दिया।

मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इंदिरा गांधी को विरोधी पार्टियों के प्रति इतना आदर कहां से हो गया कि उनसे पूछे बगैर कोई काम नहीं करती हैं? यह स्थिति है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि प्रधान मंत्री ने जो बाहर प्रचार किया वह गलत है और इसलिये हम तीनों पार्टियों ने कहां कि चुनाव के पक्ष में हम नहीं हैं, संविधान में संशोधन होना चाहिये। अकेली कांग्रेस पार्टी ही नहीं, सी पी आई और सी पी एम इस नरसंहार में शामिल हैं। अभी सी पी०एम के माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे थे कि संविधान की औपचारिकता को पूरा करने के लिये हम तैयार थे। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह हथियार कहां से आये?

इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि संविधान सभा को भंग किया जाना चाहिये वरना लोगों को मरने से कोई नहीं रोक सकता। एक लाख लोगों को भी अपनी जान देनी पड़ी तो वह दंगे और ऐसी हालत में आपकी सरकार वहाँ नहीं चल सकती। क्योंकि उनकी इच्छा के खिलाफ आपने चुनाव कराया है। लोक सभा में जो 5 सदस्य अभी चुन कर आये हैं, जब कि चुनाव 12 का होना था, तो 12 संसदीय क्षेत्रों में चुनाव सम्पन्न नहीं हो पाया, क्योंकि फेयर एण्ड फ्री इलैक्शन नहीं हो सका, फिर उनके नीचे जो विधान सभा के सदस्य जीते उनको हम कैसे मान लें कि वह संविधान की आत्मा को रख कर

[श्री जगपाल सिंह]

चुनाव जीत कर विधान सभा में आये हैं और उन्हें राईट है, वहां विधान सभा में बैठ कर कानून बनाने का ? इसलिये विधान सभा को भंग किया जाये और एक आयोग बने, जांच के लिये ताकि मालूम हो कि माननीय बाजपेयी जी, चौधरी चरण सिंह जिम्मेदार हैं, जो वहां हुआ, या श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी जिम्मेदार हैं। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि माननीय सेठी साहब अपने गुनाहों की माफी मांगते हुए प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ से आप विधान सभा को भंग करेंगे।

SHRI RAJESH PILOT (Bharatpur):
Madam Chairman, I rise to speak on the issue. As previous speaker has said it is certainly not an issue as to what was wrong and what was right. I with a very heavy heart share his views that whatever deaths have taken place in Assam is a matter of sorrow for everyone in the country.

Madam Chairman, I was working on behalf of my party and I thought it fit to explain the facts in my personal opinion as to what happened in Assam during this period. I will not go into the matter as to why elections were declared or should be declared or should not be declared. I will divide my views in two parts. First, what was the situation in Assam when elections were ordered and the role of the political parties and situation is administration. Second, during elections what was their role and what happened in Assam. These are my personal views as to what happened there and in case somebody says that I am wrong then I am ready to accept the challenge and I will prove as to what has been said and what has been done in Assam.

Madam, when elections were announced there were two opinions in Assam. Politically some people favoured elections and some people did not favour elections. Government took a decision and elections were announced. I was travelling to Gauhati and some of my senior colleague although belonging to different political parties were also going for the same desti-

nation and they had arranged a public meeting for themselves on the same day. One of the very senior persons who is sitting next to me said, "Are you going to Assam?" I said, "Yes, Sir." I asked him "Are you also going to Assam?" He said 'Yes'. I asked him in a friendly manner when did he go to Assam last. He told me, exactly after 13 to 14 years. I further asked him how many districts there were in Upper Assam. My idea of telling this is to prove here that people who were going to Assam were not acquainted with Assam—with its geographical and political condition. They had gone there with a bent of mind to create disturbance. Anyway we reached Assam. There is a good orator and although one may not like his ideology yet one would like to listen to him. This credit goes to him. There is nothing wrong on that. This impression forced me also to come out from the Circuit House and listened to his speech. He was lightly depressed. There was a meeting in Jaipur also; but he caught up with his mood, with his normal activities. I am not blaming any individual. But his speech did create an impact, on instigating the thing. People were told don't let India Gandhi have meeting in Assam. If anybody wants to deny it, he can deny it in the House; they said this, do not vote and do not let people vote. This is not to be a slogan: Boycott, don't vote. I do not think it is a responsible act on the part of any citizen to say that. We also participated in political meetings; we never criticised the way of their handling. We never asked go and do violence. We always talked to people. Here, 'boycott' as the slogan; ultimately it became an involvement. I also talked to some of the AASU leaders; they are young people; I managed to meet them in my own way. I requested our party workers that it should be held peacefully. But the atmosphere before election was tainted so much, the feeling was instigated so much. Boycott was the slogan. Ultimately it became an involvement. I also talked to some of the AASU leaders. They are young people. I told them, look, my feeling is that if you fought the election you could have a better way of projecting your mind to the people on the floor of

the Assembly and Parliament. I had a feeling, Sir, that even they were misguided. My own feeling is, after that wave of Janata, the Janata party had one MLA before the House was dissolved. BJP had one MLA. They had not many units. But during election you find Kamal-Ka Phool in each shop, each cycle; so they took it as an opportunity to establish their base. They made it an involvement that election should not be held at all costs. These were the speeches made and statements given by many of their leaders. The Administration was advised to non-cooperate. I have been there.

17.58 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Sir, if you go by one road you will find that the bridge is broken. If you come back by a different road, you find that another bridge is broken. I appreciate the Administration. They worked under exceptionally difficult conditions. It is worse than war conditions; in war, you have declaration of war. Here all roads are blocked a whole feeling of terror was created. A gentleman will not like to come out of his house, stones will fall on them, their car's glass panes would be broken. Terror was created. It is not totally AASU. I don't blame those gentlemen of AASU for it. It is the political parties; on the shoulders of AASU they did all these things. These elements, some on political flag, some on non-political flag, indulged in them. There was a day when AASU was not involved. The whole thing was handled by political parties, Mr. Dulian etc. What was the consensus? with one suit case; but those who wanted to boycott the election went there with three suit cases! They went to Marwari places. They went to Digbhoi, Dibrugarh, Dulian etc. What was the consensus? They are political people; we are also political people. And the Indian citizens also become political now. They go and talk to them. They cannot tell us as to what they have talked to them. These people, particularly these political parties, made it an issue of prestige, that election should not be held in Assam. They did that and they had done it in their own in-

terest. Speeches were the main part which instigated the minds of the people. The main theme of the speech was not to let the elections be held. The main theme of speech was to instigate communal feelings. Therefore, their speeches were one of the factors which created tension in Assam. They had distributed leaflets mentioning that 65 wars and 71 wars were fought against India. It was not at all correct for any person or any political party to mention such a dubious thing. After going through the speeches of these leaders, I am reminded of a story. In a village, when a man gets married normally the old man of that village goes to him and blesses him "Now, look gentleman, you have become responsible now." That is what has happened in Assam, that sometimes a bachelor really behaves irresponsible.

18.00 hrs.

As far as Assam is concerned as Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev has said, as per the figures available, there has been poor polling in some of the constituencies and there have been reasonably good pollings in some of the constituencies. As far as polling is concerned, there were free and fair elections. People who fought elections on different political party planks give their views that the elections were fair enough and they were free from any kind of coercion. As far as my impression is concerned, I would categorically state that the elections were free and fair. It is completely wrong to say that people who wanted to file their nomination papers were not allowed to do so. It was completely free for anybody who wanted to file his nomination paper owing alliance to any party. They could go to any District Magistrate and file their nomination papers. At least my party people filed their nomination with the District Magistrates. I do not know about their party. As far as my party is concerned, nominations were filed very properly and to the best of our knowledge, conduct of the elections was very fair and free.

Sir I would like to make the following suggestions to the Central Government. Now, the Government has been formed by

[Shri Rajesh Pilot]

Congress—I Party, my first suggestion is that the Central Government has to discharge its responsibilities that the relief work which is going on now it speed should be done regularly. I completely agree that this has been done on a very large scale manner and the Government is putting its best efforts towards this end and this must continue till each and every person who has been harassed and who has been affected is totally re-settled. Then monitoring of this relief work should be done. Now, election is over and the Budget Session is on, monitoring of the relief work should be done and it must be done on a war footing. I think the Government has sanctioned a substantial amount for relief work and the Government should see that the utilisation of this fund should be properly done.

Secondly, I would request the Government to take stringent action against the antisocial elements and also the political parties who indulge in antisocial activities. The Government should not wait and see till they have committed crimes. Such criminal activities should be nipped in the bud. The Government should take stern action and very quick in dealing with such problems.

Thirdly, Government should be more vigilant and should take all precautions to deal with such activists immediately. If the Government had kept itself well-informed of the activities of the undesirable and antisocial elements, the massacre of 700 or 800 people could not have taken place. The Government's intelligent agencies should be more vigilant and effective.

Fourthly, there should be rapid technological development in Assam. Assam is industrially backward and its economic development is very poor. Government should pay special attention to Assam and allocate extra funds for its development. If the people of Assam are economically well off, it is bound to have its effect on the thinking of the people of Assam. I would therefore point out that economic development of Assam should be given the utmost priority. If the people are economically secure, then most of the problems will automatically be solved.

Then, we must have some employment-oriented schemes for the youth of Assam. People are extremely poor in that part of the country and unemployment is rampant in the State of Assam. I would request the Home Minister to take up this question seriously and evolve some schemes for the employment of youth.

Further, we must establish a peace force in Assam. Some peace battalions could be formed for different regions of Assam. That would help a lot. The peace force should consist of ex-servicemen who have served for 20—30 years. Their services could be utilised to create an atmosphere of peace there.

Now, a word of appreciation for the para-military forces and the Government staff, who have done a good job to maintain the law and order situation under extraordinary and exceptional circumstances. The CRP moved with tremendous speed from one place to another. They landed at one place at 12 noon and they were asked to pack up and proceed to another place just after two hours and they did it in no time. They did a very appreciable job. The Government must take care of their welfare.

In the end, I would request that we must sacrifice our political interests for the sake of the national interest and the people at large.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, शिखर की ऊंचाई पर सात दिन उड़ने के बाद हम लोग आज फिर वास्तविकता की धरती पर आ गये हैं। पिछले सात दिन तक तो यह कोशिश हुई कि असम के बारे में सच्चाई लोगों तक न पहुंचे। टेलीविजन को कह दिया गया कि असम से अगर कोई डिस्टर्बिंग खबर आती है, तो उसे टेलीविजन पर दिखाने की जरूरत नहीं है। जिन समाचार पत्रों ने (व्यवधान)

श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी (निजामाबाद) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब शिखर सम्मेलन हो रहा था। उसी दिन इण्डियन

एक्सप्रेस में था कि आसाम में भुखमरी हो रही है और दूसरी तरफ बाहर से मेहमान आ रहे हैं। यह तो हमारी कन्ट्री का हाल है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं टेलीविजन की बात कर रहा हूँ, इण्डियन एक्सप्रेस की नहीं।...

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is only speaking about television. Government will reply; please do not interrupt.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं पत्रों पर भी आ रहा हूँ, इण्डिया टू डे, सन्डे, रविवार—जिन्होंने असम के हत्याकांड के चित्र छापे हैं। उस अंक की प्रतियां कहीं विदेशियों के हाथ में न पहुँच जायें, इसलिये जहाँ विदेशी मेहमान फाइव-स्टार होटल में ठहरे थे, वहाँ जाकर सब प्रतियां खरीद ली गईं।

श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी : फिर अब क्यों बोल रहे हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कस्टम में रोक लिये गये, दो विदेशी पत्र—टाइम और न्यूज़-वीक। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यदि वहाँ के फोटो नहीं छपेंगे, तो क्या दुनिया मान लेगी कि वहाँ कोई हत्याकांड नहीं हुआ है। दुनिया अगर मान भी लेगी और आप अपने को खाम-ख्याली में डुबा भी लेंगे, तो भी आसाम के लोगों को आपको जवाब देना होगा। तथ्यों का सामना करना पड़ेगा। तथ्य दबाये नहीं जा सकते। स्थिति को झुठलाया नहीं जा सकता। खून तो बोलेंगा और अगर वह निरपराध का खून है और उस खून के लिये यह

सरकार जिम्मेदार है, तो खून का आवाज बन्द नहीं होगी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चुनाव के परिणामों से क्या नतीजे निकले हैं? हमने सलाह दी थी कि चुनाव मत कराइये। संविधान में संशोधन करने के मामले में हम सहयोग करने को तैयार हैं। मगर मैं आज उस बहस में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। चुनाव के जो परिणाम आये हैं, बायकाट के बाद, खून-खराबे के बाद, शासन-तन्त्र के खुले दुरुपयोग के पश्चात्, चुनाव को मखौल बनाने के बाद भी जो चुनाव परिणाम आये हैं, यह साबित करते हैं कि असम का आन्दोलन केवल घाटी तक सीमित नहीं है, केवल बड़े लोगों तक सीमित है, आन्दोलन की जड़ें बहुत गहरी फैली हैं।

मैं कुछ आंकड़े सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। 17 चुनाव क्षेत्रों में चुनाव नहीं हुए। क्यों नहीं हुये—मैं इस पर बाद में आऊंगा; लेकिन असेम्बली को 17 सीटें खाली पड़ी हैं। जिन सीटों पर चुनाव हुए, उन पर मतदान का विवरण क्या है? 40 सीटों पर 15 परसेंट से कम मतदान हुआ Less than 15 per cent on 40 seats. चाय-बागान चुनाव क्षेत्र, जिनके बारे में कहा जाता है कि चाय-बागान के मजदूर इस आन्दोलन के साथ नहीं हैं, उनमें वोटिंग की परसेंटेज है—16 परसेंट। जो शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की कांस्टीचूएसीज हैं, उनमें कुल वोटिंग का परसेंटेज है—30 परसेंट, जिनके बारे में यह प्रचार किया जा रहा है कि सब ट्राइब्स आन्दोलन के खिलाफ हैं, क्योंकि आन्दोलनकारी ट्राइब्स को उखाड़ना चाहते हैं। केवल 40 सीटें असेम्बली की ऐसी हैं, जिनमें सामान्य मतदान हुआ।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

126 सीटों की विधान सभा में 17 में चुनाव नहीं हुआ। क्यों नहीं हुआ। यह मामला अदालत में गया था कि 17 सीटों में चुनाव क्यों नहीं हो रहा है। इलैक्शन कमिश्नर को उसमें पार्टी बनाया गया था। श्री गणेशन जवाब देने के लिये गये थे, उनका एफिडेविट मेरे पास है—

"The poll in the remaining Assembly and Parliamentary constituencies has been adjourned because of the abnormal situation prevailing in the constituencies concerned."

उस समय यदि 17 में चुनाव टाला जा सकता था, क्योंकि सिचुएशन एबनार्मल थी, तो फिर चुनाव कमीशन द्वारा लिखे गये पत्र के अनुसार अन्य स्थानों में भी टाला जा सकता था। मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहूंगा—जरा अपनी अलमारी ठीक से देख लें। अगर डीजल-आयल वाली फाइल सरकार के पास से गायब हो सकती है तो इलैक्शन कमीशन द्वारा लिखा गया पत्र भी गायब हो सकता है।

14 तारीख को वहां पोलिंग हो गया, 62-63 सीटों में उसी दिन पता लग गया था कि क्या होने वाला है। दंगे शुरू हो गये थे। ता० 12 को दंगा शुरू हुआ—तेजपुर में। उसी समय नवगांव में दंगा शुरू हुआ। ता० 14 के पोलिंग के लिये आप कहते हैं—इसलिये नहीं रोका जा सकता था, क्योंकि संविधान का तकाजा था और हमें उसे पूरा करना था। लेकिन ता 14 के पोलिंग के बाद कांस्टीट्यूशनल आब्लीगेशन को पूर्ण कर दिया गया था। चीफ इलैक्शन कमिश्नर इस मत के थे कि चुनाव आगे बढ़ा देने चाहिये, चुनाव क्यों नहीं टाले गये, यह किसकी

जिद थी? अगर 17 चुनाव क्षेत्रों में चुनाव टाले जा सकते थे, चूंकि परिस्थिति सामान्य नहीं थी, जो ज्यादा क्षेत्रों में भी टाले जा सकते थे। लेकिन आप जिद पर अड़े हुए थे।

यह बात दिमाग में से निकाल दीजिये—कि केवल ब्रह्मपुत्र घाटी में कान्यकुब्ज प्रदेश से गये हुए ब्राह्मण इस आन्दोलन के साथ हैं। यह भ्रम मत फैलाइये। बड़ी तादाद में ट्राइब्स ने इलैक्शन का बायकाट किया है, बड़ी तादाद में असम में पहले से रहने वाले मुसलमानों ने आन्दोलन का साथ दिया है, वॉ वोट देने नहीं गये। बड़ी संख्या में बंगालियों ने साथ दिया, वे अपना वोट देने नहीं गये। यह कहना गलत है कि जो डर गये वे वोट देने नहीं गये, जो नहीं डरे, वे वोट देने गये। असम में जो पहले से बसे हुए हैं—चाहे हिन्दू हों, मुसलमान हों, बंगाली हों, या वहाँ के चाय बगान में काम करने वाले मजदूर हों मात्तव डी हो सब यह अनुभव कर रहे थे कि असम के साथ ज्यादाती हो रही है। सीमा के पार से लोगों का बेरोकटोक आना, रोका जाना चाहिये

श्री एम० राम गोपाल रेड्डी : क्या अभी भी आ रहे हैं ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अभी भी आ रहे हैं।

बार-बार हमें ताना दिया गया है कि चुनाव तो 1977 में भी हुए थे और उस समय जो सरकार बनी थी, उस समय तो कोई आपत्ति नहीं की गई थी। फिर क्या कहा गया कि 1978 में भी चुनाव हुए थे और राज्य में मंत्री मंडल बना था। उसके बाद कहा जाता है कि 1977-78 की मतदाता सूची पर आपको एतराज नहीं है, लेकिन 1979 की मतदाता सूची पर एतराज है—क्यों ?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो ऐसी बातें कहते हैं, शायद उन्हें पूरे तथ्य मालूम नहीं हैं। 1977-78 की मतदाता सूची और 1979 की मतदाता सूची में फर्क है। करीब 8 लाख मतदाता बढ़ाये गये। मेरे पास आंकड़े हैं और अगर आप समय दें, तो मैं सारे आंकड़े रख सकता हूँ। उदाहरण के लिये नवगांव में 32.29 पर सेंट वोटर बढ़ गये

Voters, as compared to the voters' List of 1977 and 1978.

यह कैसे हुआ? मैं इस समय जवाब नहीं मांग रहा हूँ। आंकड़े इस बात को बताते हैं और कुछ आंकड़े मेरे मित्र श्री संतोष मोहन देव ने भी पढ़ कर सुनाये हैं। कछार जिले को छोड़ दें, तो 32 पर सेंट पोलिंग हुआ है। कछार की सीटों पर जो मतदान हुआ है, उसको छोड़ दें, तो इतना कम पोलिंग हुआ है।

हर सीट पर वोटर बढ़ाए गये। मुझे बताया गया कि डुबरी का जो विधान सभा का क्षेत्र है, उसमें 1978 की तुलना में 12 हजार वोटर बढ़े हैं। ये वोटर कैसे बढ़े, वोटर बढ़ाने की प्रक्रिया क्या थी? क्या लिस्टों की स्कूटनी की गई, क्या आबजक्शन्स इनवाइट किये गये? 6-7 लाख वोटों का बढ़ना कोई साधारण बात नहीं है। जिनको उम्र 21 साल हो गई और जो कायदे से वोट देने के अधिकारी हैं, क्या उनके ये नाम हैं? ये किनके नाम हैं, कौन जांच करेगा इसकी? जिन पार्टियों ने चुनाव में भाग लिया है, मैं उनसे भी यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह तथ्य उनके ध्यान में था कि 1979 के इलैक्टोरल रोल की लिस्ट, वह लिस्ट नहीं है जिसके आधार पर सन् 1978 और सन् 1977 में पोलिंग हुआ था।

तीसरी बात में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमने असम को फौज के हवाले कर दिया है। क्या वहां मार्शल ला है? वहां मार्शल ला नहीं है, तो वहां फौज किस तरह से अपने कर्तव्य का पालन कर रहा है। जिस कानून के अन्तर्गत फौज भेजी गई है, उसमें फौज शक में तलाशी ले सकती है और बिना वारन्ट गिरफ्तार कर सकती है। जोरहाट की रिसर्व लबोरेटरी के डायरेक्टर डा० बरुआ और 10 वैज्ञानिक पकड़े गये। उनके खिलाफ क्या आरोप है? "Waging war against the State."

वे राज के खिलाफ लड़ाई का ऐलान कर रहे थे। भारतीय जनता पार्टी की नेशनल एग्जीक्यूटिव के मेम्बर श्री रमेश कुमार को केवल इसलिए गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया क्योंकि वे थाने में यह शिकायत करने के लिए गये थे कि आसपास के गावों में पुलिस इंतजाम नहीं है। उनको 302 में बंद कर दिया गया और उनको पिटाई की गई। एक रिटायर्ड एडीशनल जज को पकड़ लिया गया। इस तरह से वहां अंधाधुंध गिरफ्तारियां हो रही हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, गृह मंत्री जी इसको नोट करें कि फौज के बारे में गौहाटी हाई कोर्ट में जो मामला गया था, तो उसने फौज के बारे में कहा है कि अगर वर्तमान कानून के अंतर्गत फौज काम में लाई जाएगी, तो वह गोली नहीं चलाएगी। क्या यह सच है कि फौज के गोली चलाने पर अदालत ने रोक लगा दी है? सरकार ने उस रोक को अभी तक हटवाने की कोशिश क्यों नहीं की। अगर शरारती लोगों के बीच में फौज फंस गई और अगर फौज पर हमला हो गया, और फौज को गोली चलाने से जो रोक हुआ है, इसका

[श्रीमती वाजपेयी द्वारा वाजपेयी]

नतीजा क्या होगा। क्या फ़ौज के बिना असम में शांति स्थापित नहीं हो सकती? क्या वहाँ पर बाइंडर सेक्यूरिटी फ़ोर्स और सी०आर०पी० इस के लिए काफ़ी नहीं है। असम में हम सामान्य स्थिति लाना चाहते हैं या स्थिति को बिगाड़ना चाहते हैं। अगर अंधापुंघ गिरफ़्तारियां होंगी, तो स्थिति बिगड़ेगी।

असम पुलिस और सी० आर० पी० के खिलाफ़ निश्चित आरोप है, निश्चित शिकायतें हैं। मैं सारी फ़ोर्स को दोष नहीं दे रहा हूँ। जो शिकायतें हैं, वे बड़ी गंभीर हैं। क्या उन की कोई जांच-पड़ताल करने वाला है? एक सिपाही का गलत आचरण भी सारे गांव में आग लगा सकता है। अगर बलात्कार के आरोप लगेंगे और जांच नहीं होगी तो स्थिति सामान्य बनाने में मदद नहीं मिलेगी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, असम में एक सरकार है जो केवल नाम की सरकार है। उसे राज करने का अधिकार नहीं है। उसे जनता का विश्वास प्राप्त नहीं है। मंत्री सड़क पर नहीं निकल सकते हैं, वे लोगों से मुलाकात नहीं कर सकते हैं।

श्रीमती वाजपेयी पुलिस के पहरे में घूमती थीं, मैं वैसे ही घूमता था। उन्हें घुमाने के लिए हेलीकोप्टर मिला हुआ था। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हेलीकोप्टरों के बारे में बहुत शिकायत हो रही है। कौन कौन हेलीकोप्टर में उड़ाने वाले थे, कितने हेलिकोप्टर उड़ रहे थे? हेलीकोप्टरों के बारे में यह आरोप लगाया गया कि उनसे हथियार डाले गये, पेट्रोल डाला गया। यह आरोप लग रहे हैं, इसकी जांच होनी चाहिए। सरकार ने खंडन कर दिया लेकिन केवल खंडन करने से काम नहीं

चलेगा। चुनावों के दौरान वहाँ कितने हेलीकोप्टर थे, उन्हें प्रयोग करने का अधिकार किस को दिया गया था? 16 तारीख के बाद जब 17 तारीख को वहाँ आग लगी तो किसी ने कहा कि हमने हेलीकोप्टर देखा था। वह किस का हेलीकोप्टर था? (व्यवधान) आजकल वहाँ जहाँ पोलिंग नहीं हुआ है लाएसेंड आर्म्स रखवाय जा रहे हैं। मंगलदेई में हथियार रखवाय जा रहे हैं। जहाँ पोलिंग हुआ है वहाँ हथियार नहीं रखवाय जाएंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो रिलीफ केम्पस है, उनकी हालत का मैं वर्णन नहीं कर सकता। मैं मानता हूँ कि यह मानवीय सवाल है। यह हिन्दु, मुसलमान, बंगाली असमिया का सवाल नहीं है। अगर कोई विदेशी है तो उसके साथ भी न्याय करना होगा। मगर क्या यह सरकार न्याय कर रही है? मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

अभी तक शरणार्थी शिविरों में पूरी तरह से भोजन की व्यवस्था नहीं है। एपीडेमिक फैलने का खतरा है। अप्रैल में बरसात शुरू हो जाती है। कई जगह रिफ्यूजी खुले मैदान में पड़े हैं। मैं स्वयं नेल्ली गया, मैंने वहाँ उनसे बातचीत की। हम चाहते हैं कि उनको जल्दी घर भेज दिया जाए, लेकिन अगर सिक्यूरिटी नहीं होगी तो कैसे वे घर जाएंगे, किसके भरोसे घर जाएंगे। 25-26 नए थाने खोले जा रहे हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि इतना पर्याप्त नहीं है। आर्मी आप अनिश्चित काल के लिए नहीं रख सकते फिर सेंस अफ सिक्योरिटी कैसे पैदा हो?

गृह मंत्री जी वहां कल और परसो थे। वहां पर दो दिन की उपस्थिति का लाभ उठाकर वे वहां के नागरिकों को मिलने के लिए बला सकते थे। आप घावों पर मरहम रखने का काम कर सकते थे। खाली हैलीकाप्टर से जाना और शरणार्थियों और अफसरों से बात करके गौहाटी से वापिस चले आना सरकार के लिए तो ठीक हो सकता है, लेकिन प्रकाशचन्द्र सेठी को यह शोभा नहीं देता।

मैंने कल गौहाटी में सुझाव दिया था कि सहायता के लिए सिटीजन्स कमेटी बननी चाहिए, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया। गवर्नर जनता का विश्वास खो चुके हैं। मुख्य मंत्री से कोई बात करने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। मगर लोगों को मदद पट्टचानी पड़ेगी। कल उसकी शुरुआत हो सकती थी अगर सेठी जी सब नागरिकों को बुलाते और कहते कि जो हो चुका सो हो चुका आओ अब नए अध्यक्ष की शुरुआत करें। लोगों को राहत दें, बसाएं और फिर आसाम के सारे सवाल हल करें मगर यह बात कहां है? लोगों से अपने को जोड़ने का संकल्प कहां है। बंदूक के बल पर राज करने का फैसला है।

एक गलती की गई जो चुनाव कराया गया, दूसरी गलती उस सरकार को बनाए रखने की है और तीसरी गलती उस सारे दोष को बेचारे वाजपेयी के माथे मढ़ना है। अगर इससे आपको संतोष मिलता है तो मैं सारा दोष लेने के लिए तैयार हूँ मगर मुझे इतना गौरव मत दीजिए जिसके मैं लायक नहीं हूँ। हमारी वहां शक्ति न के बराबर है। मगर हम बार-बार आसाम जा रहे हैं। किसी राजनीतिक लाभ के लिए नहीं, राजनीतिक लाभ होगा भी नहीं। हम

आसाम जा रहे हैं इसलिए कि हम आसाम वालों को बताना चाहते हैं कि इस लड़ाई में तुम अकेले नहीं हो तुम केवल आसाम के लिए नहीं लड़ रहे हो, सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए लड़ रहे हो और हम तुम्हारे साथ हैं। यह बात आगे काम आएगी आसाम को शेष हिन्दुस्तान के साथ रखने में। जिस तरह का भाषण श्रीमती वाजपेयी ने दिया है वह एकता रखने में काम नहीं आएगा। जिस पर्वे का उन्होंने हवाला दिया है क्या उन्होंने उसकी जांच की?

डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी वाजपेयी : वह पर्चा मेरे पास है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : वह पर्चा हिंदी में है, मैंने नहीं देखा है। चुनावों के दिनों में प्रेस वालों को देकर छपवाने की कोशिश की गई थी वह "आसु" का पर्चा नहीं है।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Sir Please stop this civil was between the Bajpais!

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Civil was between the two Bajpais!

डा० राजेन्द्र कुमारी वाजपेयी : मैंने काटकर आसू बहाना मैंने नहीं सीखा है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आपने तो अभी बहुत सी बातें नहीं सीखा हैं। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के दरबार में आप बहुत सी बातें सीख जाएंगी।

दिल्ली में बैठक सत्ता की राजनीति खेलना एक बात है और आसाम में जाकर समस्याओं को हल करना दूसरी बात है। मैं दोष नहीं देना चाहता, लेकिन अगर यही रवैया हा तो आसाम में स्थिति सामान्य नहीं होगी। जब स्थिति बिगड़े तो आप उसका दोष भले ही हमें दे देना लेकिन इतिहास आपको दोषी साबित करेगा।

विधि, न्याय और कम्पनी कार्य मंत्री (श्री जगन्नाथ कौशिक) : बार-बार विरोधी सदस्यों ने उस लैटर का जिक्र किया है और मुझे बार-बार वाजपेयी जी ने वह लैटर सदन के सामने पेश करने के लिए कहा है जो इलैक्शन कमिश्नर ने लिखा कि पहला राउंड इलैक्शन होने के बाद अब इलैक्शन न कराए जाएं।

होम मिनिस्टर ने स्टेटमेंट दे दिया है। मैं उस स्टेटमेंट को दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ कि इस किस्म का कोई लैटर हमको नहीं लिखा गया और मुझे अफसोस है कि कैटेगोरिकल स्टेटमेंट होम मिनिस्टर द्वारा देने के बाद भी वाजपेयी जी फिर कोशिश कर रहे हैं सदन को मिसलीड करने की और बार-बार कह रहे हैं कि अपनी आलमारियां देखिए, लैटर जरूर आया होगा।

मुझे अफसोस है कि यह रवैया वाजपेयी जी और रामविलास जी जैसे सीनियर मॅम्बर्स का है जो बिल्कुल शोभा नहीं देता। हाउस को मिसलीड करने की कोशिश मत करिए।

सेठी जी ने भी बार-बार कहा है, मैं फिर दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि इस किस्म की कोई चिट्ठी इलैक्शन कमीशन ने हमको नहीं लिखी है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : क्या इलैक्शन के बारे में कोई पिपॉर्ट आई है? (व्यवधान)

श्री जैनु बश : (गाजीपुर) : आदरणीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, अभी मैं आदरणीय वाजपेयी जी का भाषण बड़े गर से सुन रहा था। उनके भाषण में कहीं भी आसाम के नरसंहार का जिक्र नहीं किया गया और आसाम में जो नरसंहार हुआ है उसकी निंदा भी नहीं की गई।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, इसमें दो राय नहीं है कि आसाम में भयंकर नरसंहार हुआ है। दस हजार से अधिक लोग वहाँ पर मारे गए हैं और हजारों लोग अपने घर छोड़कर रिफ्यूजी कैंपों में चले गए हैं। ऐसा क्यों हुआ? इसके पीछे जाने की आवश्यकता होगी। इस के लिए कौन जिम्मेदार हैं कि लोगों ने वह स्थिति पैदा की है जिससे इस देश में इतना भयंकर नरसंहार आसाम में हुआ है।

मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि आसाम में जो स्थिति बिगड़ी है वह अचानक नहीं बिगड़ी है। आसाम में इस प्रकार का वातावरण पिछले कई वर्षों से बराबर पैदा किया जाता रहा है। आसाम में विदेशियों को निकालने के लिए जो आन्दोलन हुआ और उनकी जो भी मंशा रही हो लेकिन बाद में वह आन्दोलन बराबर साम्प्रदायिकता की तरफ बढ़ता गया। धीरे-धीरे उस आन्दोलन पर उन लोगों की छाप पड़ती गई। यह आन्दोलन उनके हाथ में आता गया क्योंकि वे इस आन्दोलन को साम्प्रदायिक रूप दे रहे थे और साम्प्रदायिकता के आधार पर इस आन्दोलन को चलाना चाहते थे। इसमें कोई झूठ बात नहीं है अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि भारतीय जनता पार्टी और आर एस एस० के लोग पूक-पूक कर ऊपर से कहते थे कि विदेशियों को यहाँ से निकालने के लिए आन्दोलन करो लेकिन अन्दर जाकर बंगाली और गैर-आसामीज के साथ कानाफूसी करते थे और दूसरे हिन्दुओं में जो वहाँ उपस्थिति थी कि आन्दोलन की मंशा यह है कि मुसलमानों को हटाया जाए और आसाम में उनकी बढ़ती हुई आवादी को कम किया जाए। वे बराबर आन्दोलनकारियों और खासकर जो बंगाली या गैर-आसामीज थे उनमें इस प्रकार का प्रोपागंडा करते थे। "आस" हो या "गण-संग्राम परिषद", धीरे-धीरे

आन्दोलन की बागडोर परोक्ष रूप से भारतीय जनता पार्टी और आर०एस०एस० के हाथ में आ गई।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Hon. Members, we had started the discussion at 4.17. Now it is 6.30. The time allotted was two hours. We have already exceeded two hours. We have to decide as to how long we are going to sit. For your information, my experience is that if you go on extending the time, by the time the Minister starts replying, I do not find many people in the House. The ruling party is prepared to withdraw some of their names. We would give chance to all the Members of the Opposition. I would request the hon. Members of the Opposition not to take more than five minutes. You are all able speakers. You can put all your points in five minutes.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): I would suggest that the Minister may begin his reply at 7.30 provided other members of the ruling party do not speak.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: If you go through the statement of the Home Minister, you will find that it is like a reply.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Do the hon. Members agree to the suggestion given by Shri Indrajit Gupta?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is agreed.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: May I make one statement? You can end the debate just now but will that solve the problem? This House is seized of a very serious matter. Never before in the History of the nation have we faced the situation that we are facing now. With all humility I would request you that I am willing to be debarred from speaking but the point is: will this House enhance its prestige by rushing through the business? I would submit that let everybody's point of view come. The ruling

party's point of view has come. Five minutes is not the time when you can even formulate your viewpoint. Therefore, if you find that someone is speaking irrelevant or indulging in repetition, you can stop it at that but otherwise do not fix time limit like this. We cannot agree to anything like 7.30 or 8 or 8.30.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right, we have got to fix the time. The Minister will reply at 7.30 and Members are requested to restrict their time to five minutes. They can go two or three minutes beyond that. Now Mr. Jainul Basher will continue.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: To prepare the background itself, you may require five minutes. Say like that.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH): Ten minutes were suggested by Atalji himself. He said 10 minutes plus two minutes.

श्री जैनुल बशर : उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि असम में भारतीय जनता पार्टी और आर०एस०एस० एक तजुर्बा कर रहे हैं। वह तजुर्बा यह है कि असम में जो माइनरिटीज हैं, मुसलमान हैं या दूसरी माइनरिटीज हैं उनके खिलाफ एक भावना पैदा कर के असम पर कब्जा कर लिया जाये। अगर यह तजुर्बा कामयाब होता है तो वह वह पूरे देश में हिन्दु राष्ट्र बनाने के लिये उस तजुर्बे से फायदा उठाने की बात सोच रहे हैं। मैं आरोप लगाता हूँ भारतीय जनता पार्टी और आर०एस०एस० पर कि वह देश को हिन्दू राष्ट्र बनाने के लिये असम में एक घिनाना नाटक कर रहे हैं, असम में एक तजुर्बा कर रहे हैं। और हम सब लोगों को जो सैक्यूलरिज्म में विश्वास करते हैं, देश की एकता में विश्वास करते हैं उनको कटिबद्ध होना चाहिये इस बात

[श्री जैनूल बशर]

के लिये कि असम में जो उनका तजुर्बा है वह कामयाब न हो।

इसके साथ ही उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं सरकार से भी एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारी सरकार तो भारतीय जनता पार्टी और आर० एस० एस० के खिलाफ बहुत सारी बातें करती है, लेकिन जब उनके खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही करने का प्रश्न आता है तो वह सुस्ती क्यों बरतती है ?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Sir, are we discussing Assam or BJP?

श्री जैनूल बशर : वह क्यों इसमें ढिलाई बरतते हैं ? मेरठ में, बड़ौदा में या दूसरी जगह, जमशेदपुर में, जहाँ के दंगों के बारे में कमीशन ने रिपोर्ट भी दी है भारतीय जनता पार्टी और आर०एस० एस० का हाथ होने की, वहाँ पर उनके खिलाफ आपने कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की। लेकिन असम में जहाँ इतना घिनौना षडयंत्र किया जा रहा है वहाँ भी सरकार इन पार्टियों के खिलाफ, इन लोगों के खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही क्यों नहीं कर रही है ? मैं गृह मंत्री से जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब असम में चुनाव कराने का फैसला किया तो असम में क्या होगा इसका कोई खाका, या कोई षडयंत्र की बात आपको इटेलीजेंस रिपोर्ट से मिली थी कि नहीं ? इलैक्शन कराया, ठीक किया, एक संबैधानिक जिम्मेदारी थी जिसे पूरा करना था, एक जनतांत्रिक तकाजे को पूरा करना था। इलैक्शन कराने में कोई हर्ज नहीं था, ठीक किया। लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ गृह मंत्री से कि जब आपने इलैक्शन का फैसला किया तो यह क्यों नहीं देखा कि जो लोग वोट डालने वाले हैं आप उनकी सुरक्षा की क्या व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं।

मेरी सूचना के अनुसार, जहाँ तक मुझे जानकारी मिली है, असम में मुसलमानों के बड़े-बड़े गांवों पर हमला किया गया है, उनकी जानें गई हैं और उनकी सम्पत्ति लूटी गई है। क्या उन बड़े-बड़े गांव में सुरक्षा व्यवस्था नहीं की जा सकती थी, वहाँ के लोगों को सुरक्षा नहीं दी जा सकती थी ? यह जो इटेलीजेंस नैट-वर्क हमारी सरकार का काम करता है, या तो कहीं फेल हो गया है उसने ठीक से सूचना नहीं दी और अगर सूचना दी होती तो भारतीय जनता पार्टी और आर०एस०एस० का जो षडयंत्र है यह छिपा नहीं है। हमारे इस हाउस में माननीय विरोधी दल के लोग भी उस पर पर्दा डालना चाहते हैं और हम अफसोस है कि हमारे सरकारी पक्ष के लोग भी साफ बात नहीं करते, उस पर पर्दा डालने की बात करते हैं। यह बात ठीक नहीं है।

असम में जो कुछ भी हुआ है, सीधे-सीधे ट्राइपटैडिट आधार पर हुआ है। विदेशियों की बात कहना, पूरे देश के लोगों को गुमराह करने की बात है, वहाँ साम्प्रदायिक आधार पर नर-संहार का आन्दोलन चलाया गया है। मैं इस मामले में अधिक नहीं कहना चाहता, लेकिन चाहे वाजपेयी जी हों, चाहे मैं स्वयं हूँ, चाहे दडवते जी हों और चाहे कोई भी हो, जो इस देश के बुनियादी करैक्टर के साथ खिलवाड़ करना चाहता है, सरकार को उसको बख्शना नहीं चाहिये।

मुझे अफसोस इस बात का है कि आर०एस०एस० की भूमिका को जानने-पहचानने वाले हमारे जनता पार्टी के दोस्त, लोकदल के लोग हमारे बहुगुणा जी वगैरह इस सारे राज को जानते-पहचानते हुए भी असम के इलैक्शन के

खिलाफ बात करते हैं। असम में जो कुछ हो रहा है, सरकार कर रही है, उसके खिलाफ बात कर रहे हैं। मैं उनसे उमीद करता था कि इस साजिश को खत्म करने के लिये वह सरकार को कोई ठोस सुझाव देंगे कि कैसे इस देश में सैकुलरिज्म और जनतंत्र मजबूत होगा। उनकी आवाज, वाजपेयी जी की आवाज के साथ मिलकर शोभा नहीं देती, उदाहरण अच्छा नहीं बनता। मैं उनसे भी कहूंगा कि वह इस मामले में फिर से सोचें और असम की वास्तविक स्थिति का अवलोकन करें।

मैंने समाचार-पत्रों में देखा है, टाइम्स आफ इंडिया और इंडियन एक्सप्रेस में निकला है कि जो रिफ्यूजी कैम्प हैं उनके लोगों को दो शिकायतें हैं। एक तो यह कि सी०आर०पी० और बी०एस०एफ० वापिस ले ली जाती है या सेना को हटा लिया जाता है तो उनको सुरक्षा नहीं मिलेगी और वह मौत के मुह में ढकेल दिये जायेंगे। इसलिये सबसे पहली बात यह है कि उनको पूर्ण सुरक्षा देने के लिये बी०एस०एफ०, सी०आर०पी०एफ० या सेना को वहां भेजा जाये। जब तक उनके दिल में असुरक्षा की भावना समाप्त नहीं होती, जब तक वह अपने घर नहीं लौटते हैं, उनको पुलिस या सेना का प्रोटेक्शन देना चाहिये।

जो अखबारों में लिखा है, रिफ्यूजी कैम्प में लोगों को पूरे पेट भोजन नहीं मिल रहा है। वह बीमार हैं, उनके लिये दवाओं का प्रबंध नहीं हो रहा है। मुझे यह जानकर प्रसन्नता हुई कि भारत सरकार और हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने 10 करोड़ रुपये उनके लिये सैंक्शन किये हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह रुपया ठीक से इस्तेमाल किया जायेगा लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि और अधिक पैसे की आवश्यकता हो तो अधिक से अधिक रुपया उन लोगों

को भेजा जाये ताकि पूरी तरह से उनका पेट भर सके और उनकी बीमारी का इलाज हो सके और दवा का प्रबन्ध हो।

इस बात का वातावरण पैदा करना चाहिये कि जो रिफ्यूजी कैम्प हैं, चाहे बंगाल में हों, अरुणाचल प्रदेश में हों या असम में हों वहां के लोग अपने घरों को, गांव को सुरक्षित तरीके से जा सकें।

इसके अलावा अपीजमेंट की पालिसी भारत सरकार को बंद करनी चाहिये। ट्राइपार्टीट सम्मेलन और टू-पार्टी सम्मेलन या इस तरह की कान्फ्रेंस से कोई हल नहीं होगा। अगर बी०जे०पी०, भारतीय जनता पार्टी को आप बुलायेंगे, भारतीय जनता पार्टी असम में साजिश कर रही है, इस देश को हिंदू-राष्ट्र बनाने का तजुर्बा कर रही है, तो इस बात को सरकार को अपने ध्यान में रखना चाहिये जब तक यह बात ध्यान में नहीं रखी जायेगी, असम समस्या का हल नहीं हो सकता है।

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak more in sorrow than in anger, more in distress than in...

AN HON. MEMBER: Despair.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: Despair, yes, at the fact that we have a Government that hardly thinks of the basis problem, sleeps over matters and then finds excuses, fiddles like Nero while Rome burns. Therefore, to some extent, yes, there is a state of despair and I am more than sure that the situation will be taken due note of.

My greatest sorrow today is that when we are discussing a matter like Assam,—earlier I had occasion in this House to find the same situation when Punjab was being discussed—the Leader of the House, may I humbly submit, Sir, owed it to the nation and to this House to remain present in

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this august House. If a matter of this proportion and if a matter of this size and style is being discussed, the concern of the House is apparent for the other side is equally vocal about the need for the Army to remain there for a longer time only because things are out of control. It is obvious that the civil authority has failed to discharge its obligations; the polity is fractured. Let us find out who has done it. I quite agree that we punish those who are guilty of it. But we cannot wish away a hard fact, that Assam is on a very very difficult and fissiparous type of path. It is slipping and sliding down and there is no end in sight of that situation. Should we not have the privilege of having the Prime Minister in this House even on such an occasion as this? Which other occasion as this? Which other Occasion is there on which she should be here then?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Only for condolence resolution.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: The second thing I want to say is about that story of Assam which has involved it in this type of trouble, I have been one who has consistently fought against the RSS philosophy and shall continue to do it because I feel that they are propagating a dangerous theory of 'Hindu Rashtra'. However, to make them a hero or a villain of the piece is not a correct thing. Is it not a fact—and my hon. friends from Assam will bear me out, I have had the privilege of being in the great organisation called the Indian National Congress—that till 1967 no question was raised by any party other than Congress in Assam during the course of Pradesh Congress Committee meetings about the question of foreigners? Is it not a fact, leave aside other things, that at one point of time there were two groups, one led by late Mr. Chaliha, the then Chief Minister, and the other led by late Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Mr. D. K. Baroah and late Mr. Mohinul Haq Choudhury, who represented the opposite views on the question regarding the influx of people from the other side and the resolution of that dispute was made by late lamented Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru by asking Shri

Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed to come over to Delhi as if he was the infiltrator being repatriated from that area? The problem was not solved. So, if it pleases the ruling party let us be busy accusing each other and let Assam burn. Let me warn Assam is our lasting link for the whole north-east of India. Therefore, I am afraid we have had to be very conscious of what we are stating here in this House. I want to say only one thing. Let us be objective and work towards findings a solution to the problem rather than make a whipping hand by this tragedy. Is it not a fact that after having gone into an agreement with late Mujibur Rehman,—and there were earlier two pacts, Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact and Nehru-Noon Pact, and then came Indira-Mujib Pact—clearly laying down that people who had come before the crack-down shall not be repatriated. The Prime Minister should have had the courage to clearly state earlier that no one shall be repatriated and to that extent make it clear that the issue is not negotiable? Having opened the negotiations first as Home Ministers level and subsequently through the Governor, L. P. Singh, and after having his talks with the boys of the Gana Sangram Parishad and AASU, and having made certain commitments in that particular discussion, the Government of India, says 'L. P. Singh, you have crossed the limits laid for you. Then enters Mr. Dorendra Singh. Mr. Dorendra Singh is the ex-Chief Minister of Manipur. He enters into negotiations with students, body AASU and Gansangram Parishad. He is also disowned by Government of India. Think for a while! Remember it is a two-way traffic. I must tell my friend from Ghazipur that BJP was nowhere at that point being brought into picture. I agree that it was not necessary to bring that party into picture or for that purpose any party into picture if the Government felt confident about resolving the dispute by itself. I think the Government should have clearly stated what is negotiable and what is not negotiable. They should have clearly stated what is negotiable. Having opened the doors, may the flood-gates of discussion, they are now finding themselves in deep water and they want to catch hold of any straw to cross the turbulent waters but such tactics will not take them far.

Then Mr. Derendra Singh's agreement was also over-thrown. Till 1977 where is BJP raising this question in Assam or outside? Can anyone exactly give me the date? I would like the hon. Home Minister to please tell me which is the date on which BJP passed a Resolution with regard to foreigners in Assam? However, I must also submit very plainly that BJP also must come out with open appeal to AASU and Gansangram Parishad telling them that let us not take the country beyond the point at which it already stands to-day. The tragedy is far too deep to comprehend. It should be settled one way or the other. There should be no extreme position in this. We have to find a solution and the solution can only be found in terms of the Indian Constitution, Assamese Immigration Act and Citizenship Act of the Government of India passed by this august House and relevant international agreements. But the point is that though the situation is boiling and burning yet there is consensus from Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee to hon. Member from Ghazipur on major issues of immediate concern. That people are in the camps; take them back. Send them back to their homes in safety; it is national consensus. In the debate itself why not find areas of agreement. Give them full protection is a national agreement. But can you give protection to every house and home? Is Mr. Sethi, the hon. Home Minister capable of sending one armyman along with every family? Therefore, do not tell those people-you are 32 per cent or 40 per cent, you are violent or you are non-violent. Better deal with them in a manner so that the polity will get reunited; so that this fractured policy will end in home-coming of brothers and sisters. I for one am, and our party is very clear on this question. There are certain discriminating factors between us and many other parties. Our representative, the leader of the party in Parliament, Shri Neelalohithadasan has presented a full case of our party before Giani Zail Singh, the then Home Minister, when he called a tripartite Committee. We said, "put all these agreements Give us a white book on what happened on Nehru-Liaquat Pact, Nehru-Noon Pact, various

phases of sending out infiltrators, throwing out infiltrators. All over the practice was done and then in 1971 Indira-Mujib Pact and then an unfortunate 1975 letter from Home Minister written by illustrious predecessor hon. Uma Shankar Dixit during emergency. He wrote a blanket letter. Hon. Member from Ghazipur and others are calling the name of Shri Vajpayee, his party, but which was the party in power in 1975? The hon. Prime Minister was there and that is why I wanted her to be here. In 1975 the hon. Home Minister Shri Dixit during the emergency period wrote a letter to the then Chief Minister Shri Sarat Sinha in Assam stating the view of the Government of India. I am speaking to the extent possible from memory. But I am willing to be put at test and let the hon. Home Minister say that I am not right. I quote: "Government of India is deeply concerned with the question of infiltrators in Assam. The Government of Assam may take expeditious action to throw them out of to send them out or something like that. They did not define the infiltrators that they had in mind and then during that emergency period..."

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Gulbarga): 1975 is after 1971 and the people...

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: Yes, agreed.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Who came after 1971... (Interruptions).

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: I am not saying 'no'. However in the wake of the blind direction, unfortunately people were thrown out who had come in 1965 also. Unfortunately, people were thrown out in the process. May be the Ministry there, the Government there was not as good or as efficient as hon. Stephen who has since become the spokesman of the Party relinquishing his Ministerial responsibility. Certainly, they might have been poor performers. But what happens when these people were sent out? The wounds were opened in the Process, culminating in the present turmoil. That is my charge against the Government. You opened the flood-gate of this mischief. In 1975 again

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the situation was that the State Government of Assam threw out people who had come in 1960, 1965, 1966, 1967 and so on and so forth. Then, Sir, the trouble is when one charge others one should look at oneself. In this very august House why did the ex-Home Minister, very eminent Home Minister we had in India—one of the eminent Home Ministers who will always be remembered, I mean Giani Zail Singh make a statement on the floor of the House that there would be no elections in Assam till the 1979 electoral rolls were revised? Was he in league with BJP? The hon. Member from Ghazipur would like to throw light on that. If that is so, it is a tragedy for the other side, for the Treasury Benches.

Let the Prime Minister deny that I as the Secretary-General had written a letter saying, "Don't deal with Assam the way you are dealing". I told her, "Don't negotiate on questions which are not negotiable". I think 1971 cut-off date should have been made clear. The date is not negotiable. You encouraged them. When I say, you, I am sorry, I mean, the Government encouraged them, and brought all types of extraneous considerations. They were in the saddle in 1980. They do not know which is the day and time when things darned upon them. There is no time left for them now. There was President's rule in 1980, 81 and 82 and you were in power for 10 years in the past. Where were you hankering? Where were you keeping the matter? Why were you keeping the pot boiling? Who is responsible for this situation? No one except this Government—the Government that does not work. And the Government if it works works in the same old, colonial way. I will not name the country but one of the neighbours was famous as there was a saying that in that country fire brigade will reach the fire victim two years after the fire had been extinguished.

The hon. Prime Minister is very very concerned with the fate of minorities. But she goes to Moradabad three years after the incident. Now, to find what?

She has gone, she is a brave person—that is my charge against her. What happened to her brave will? She jumped into Madras way-back in 1966 or 1965. But what happened to her? Why did she not go round Assam except till such time when the elections came? Then also, she said, I did not go to certain areas because there would be provocations and more blood-shed. Is she an agent provocateur for all these things? Is she treated as such? Is she not looked upon as the leader of the whole nation? The Prime Minister is the leader of the nation and must act as such. A Courageous person would have gone to the people in Assam and mobilised public opinion. My charge is that this Government has failed to establish rapport with the people of Assam. And, therefore, I charge them for dereliction of their duty.

The point is; what; is the justification for the non-revision of 1979 voters' list? If you could hold elections at a point of the bayonet, could you not do something about it? Who put the doubt in the minds of people and who made that doubt valid? Your non-revision of electoral list made it look to the young students that perhaps since they have raised the demand of foreigners, the new names are not being entered into the roll and therefore they become more hardened in their position. I must appeal to my friends of the Left also, let them not see CIA everywhere. Yes, you do see where it exists. But don't try to find out something everywhere. Assam situation is our baby. How much money have you spent there? I have had a talk with AASU boys. They told me a simple thing and I was flabbergasted. I could not reply. They asked me, "Mr. Bhuguna, since Independence, how many bridges have been built over the Ganges"? I could not count; it is numberless. Now, I find the number is more than 18. They said, for getting a Brahmaputra bridge, Assam has to go to the Centre for so many times over a State Bunch more than once before they have one poor Gauhati bridge which connects India with Gauhati town.

They asked me, "We produce tea here, Why do you take tea to Calcutta port and auction it? Why don't you auction it

at Gauhati?" The question is very simple yet relevant.

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There cannot be colonial relationship between two States or one with the rest of the country. They produce tea there. Why not auction it at Gauhati? Why take it to Calcutta and auction it there?

There are many many things to speak about. If I had the time, I could do it. If my approach had been accepted by the Prime Minister, things would not have come to such a pass.

What about their economic development? The silk worm is non-existent in Assam; it has died out. What have we done in the last 35 years to help their home industry, the silk industry. Gandhiji had said, "I have fallen in love with every weaver of Assam." Their economy is absolutely shattered. Unemployment is at its peak. The Government does not do anything about it. While Mr. Sanjay Gandhi was alive—it was by his persuasion—what maximum they did was to set up a State Minister's Committee for the North-East region. The whole of the North-East region requires a Committee directly under the Prime Minister. I warn the Government through, you, Sir, and I want to go on record to say that the North East region is on fire and we have very little time. Let us act before it is too late.

In Manipur, the Army holds it for you; in Nagaland, the Army holds it for you; in Mizoram, the Army holds it for you. And in Assam you want the Army to be there. You have already abdicated the civilian responsibility. It does no credit for any Government which calls itself a democratic or civilised Government. Therefore, in sum and substance, I would like the Prime Minister to take some positive initiatives. Desperate disease requires desperate remedy. Certainly, we have opposed the election on the ground, that non-inclusion of people in the voters' list makes it absolutely impossible to hold the election. Everybody was not given the same protection. It is a hard fact of life. Every party was not given an equal

opportunity. So what is the fun in contesting and there by create tension only.

Then, some hon. Members hesitated in reminding this Government that when the Garhwal election came, there was a general jail wardens strike in U.P. and the election was stayed on the ground that jail wardens were on strike. The whole lot of Government servants are against you; the whole lot of people are against you; the scientists are against you; the elite are against you; the educated are against you; the tribals are against you. Who are with you except those who have been elected there? Such is the situation. If it is a happy situation, you be happy with it. I appeal to Government to understand the reality. The reality of the situation requires a very bold statesmanship; it requires a combination of the strength of a Sardar Patel, the imagination of a Pandit Nehru and the dash of a Subhash Chandra Bose to repair the situation. The situation is still within control. But I am afraid, if things are allowed to slide away, if things are taken in a light-hearted manner only to put the blame somewhere, it will degenerate into a dangerous situation.

I am afraid the elections will have to be held there again; the negotiations will have to be well-organised. If there is even one death, we will hold this Government responsible for it. We will charge this Government and demand its resignation. If it is a death due to disease; if it is a death due to non-availability of food in the camps; if it is a death due to non-availability of medicines and, if the refugees are thrust on West Bengal, if they are thrust on Arunachal Pradesh, and if this Government cannot manage, I will ask this Government, either govern or get out.

SHRI TARUN GOGOI (Jorhat):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I speak with a heavy heart. What has happened in Assam recently is unparalleled in the history of India. The people of Assam have been undergoing great pain, all types of stresses and strains. A large-scale violence has taken place as a result of

[Shri Tarun Gogoi]

which hundreds of people were killed, including women and children. Thousands of people have been uprooted. There has been large-scale arson in which village after village have been gutted throwing lakhs of people homeless. All this deserves nothing but the strongest condemnation.

What is heartening to note is that though the situation is not yet normal, it is slowly and gradually improving.

19.05 hrs.

[SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI in the Chair].

The law and order situation is much better than what it was a few days back. The newly elected Government also, with the cooperation of the Central Government has been taking effective steps and has been able to contain violent activities to a great extent and, as a result, there is a decline in the number of violent incidents for the last few days. It is not only my view. It has been expressed by even Assam Tribune. Newspaper's editor also admits that the Government of Assam has been able to contain violence and that the number of violent incidents is on the decline. Many Members and I also visited different places where violent incidents took place and also the places where the refugees have taken shelter. It is really very tragic to see the sufferings and the mental agonies of those lakhs of refugees who have lost everything, their own kith and kin, their properties, their homes and all. What is more tragic is to see a small group of boys between the ages of 5 and 10 who lost everything. They are very unfortunate. They not only lost their parents, they lost their own sisters and brothers and all relatives and today there is nobody to take care of them. In such a situation, what is the primary duty of all of us? The primary duty of all of us, irrespective of party or group considerations, is to provide immediate relief to the people who are the victims, to see that they do not suffer to see that they do not starve, to see that they get proper

food, and to see that they get proper medical facilities also. The Government and the other social organisations have started relief measures in the right earnest. The victims include Assamese, Bengalees, Muslims and all classes. It is really a surprise that all sections of people have been affected. There have been group clashes here and there. They may be local clashes and these have been exploited by certain people and by certain groups. The atmosphere in Assam is completely vitiated and is surcharged with great emotion generated by bitterness in different sections of people. There are clashes between Bengalees, Muslims, tribals and Assamese.

Some people are accusing us that the clashes and arson in Assam took place just because of holding the elections. I do not agree with this view.

There are many instances where the people have not voted and even they were assaulted. These clashes took place mainly because of the atmosphere of violence and bitterness which has been generated and created by different sections of people belonging to different communalist groups and chauvinistic forces. These are responsible for what is happening in Assam.

My next question is whether we should prefer President's rule or we should go in for election. The people who are accusing us of holding elections are the same people who plead restraint on our part. The constitutional provisions empowered the Government to extend the President's rule for three years. The same Janata Government who amended the constitutional provision in Article 356 have put all sorts of restrictions and thereby the Government was not in a position to extend president's rule and the same people are accusing us also.

They have also referred to the low percentage of voting. Out of the ten districts in Assam, excepting in three districts, in seven districts you will find that the voting has been appreciably high.

Some say that hill areas people are not Assamese. They are the original Assamese. My brother is sitting here. They are the original Assamese. Some people think that tribals are not the original Assamese. You can go to tribal areas and you will find that a high percentage of population are Assamese.

I do not like to take much time. I visited the constituencies where high percentage of voting took place. The voting went up to 59-60 per cent. In some places, the voting has been average.

Some say that the election has not been fair. Had it not been fair and had there been a rig, then the highest percentage of polling would have been shown in all the constituencies without exception. Then in certain constituencies the polling was 15 per cent and in some others there was 16 per cent, like that. The Government was fair, the election machinery was fair and that is the reason why there is this difference in percentage of polling. If you feel that the people are not for elections, then why should there be so much of intimidation and why the national leaders have to go to Assam many times and make many speeches? I blame them also—the leaders who went to my areas. They asked the people of Assam to stall the election at any cost. I do not mind if people do not vote for us. Every people have a right to vote and not to vote and every man has a right to go and appeal. I did not find any of these leaders who went there to ask the people to boycott the poll by asking the people to remain peaceful and non-violent. They asked the people to stall the election by any means—whether violent or in any other manner and even by intimidation also.

Then, Sir, in Assam, of course, there is a genuine case. I do not think there can be any denying the fact because otherwise the movement cannot be sustained. I do admit that there are apprehensions among the Assamese people that they will be overwhelmed. That is there. At the same time, we must also see to the interests of the other people who have been there for many years. So there is a feeling of insecurity among both the sec-

tions—among the Assamese also that their rights will be lost and they will be overwhelmed. At the same time there is a feeling in the other people who feel that they have been there for so many years and now they have to leave this place. That feeling of insecurity I have found in all sections of the people. That has to be removed because we have live as one State, we have to live as a composite State and we have to live as a part of the Indian Union. That is possible only if all of us devote our time and energy in curbing the present emotion and cooling down the anger and creating an atmosphere of goodwill where confidence and trust can be restored among different sections of the people.

Then somebody was blaming the Assam Police, the CRP and the Assam administration also. There are black sheep in Assam administration. There are black sheep in Assam Police also. But I found many Assam Police personnel and many Assam officers who are neutral and who are discharging their duties faithfully and they are found to be very dutiful.

At the same time we must go in for a massive economic development. There is frustration among the people of Assam, especially among the young men of Assam. For many years there has not been much economic development. I have found in my own constituency there are so many colleges. They turn out graduates in hundreds. What will they do—except to look to the Government for jobs? Economic development and much industrial development has not taken place there. We must have a massive economic development because we have to win them over. We have to win over the sections who have gone wrong. There are many people who have gone wrong. So many rumours have been going on. So we have to win them over. We have to win them over also by taking certain concrete steps—by massive economic development and other measures. We have to convince them that 'we are sincere to your cause', so that the whole problem can be solved. And I have no doubt that the Government is very sincere. The State Government is sincere; the Central Government is sincere. The Govern-

[Shri Tarun Gogoi]

ment is sincere. The Government is trying their level best to find out an amicable settlement and I request all Parties to extend their helping and so that we can negotiate and arrive at an amicable settlement.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): I can assure my friend. Mr. Bahuguna that I will not mention CIA even once. That much profundity I am also capable of....

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: That is good. I have trust in you.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Now, Sir, in the few minutes' time which has been given to me, I want to make a few points. I have on earlier occasions also emphasised—I fully agree with Mr. Bahuguna and other speakers also—on the question of economic development of not only Assam but also the whole of the North Eastern Hill region. But, I must say one thing. Please do not misunderstand me.

During the last two years, there were occasions when these AASU boys had come here for the formal talks when they had also met some of us in groups. They also met me two or three times. Every time I have told them: 'why are you not giving more prominence to the question of economic backwardness of Assam and the neglect that is there by the central Government? Your demand is for economic development. If you raise this demand and make it as one of your slogans, at least, I can speak for my party that we will support you fully on this point.' But, they never showed any interest. I am sorry to say this.

(Interruptions)

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA *rose.*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I never interrupted you Mr. Bahuguna. Since you have made so much of this point—I am one with you there—I think, you should, a Leftist as I am, realise that the question of economic development is a basic question.

I asked them: "Why don't you raise it; why don't you make something out of this? We will support you." They were only interested in driving the foreigners out. They have no other demand. It is also a moot question to which I never have been able to find a reply. Perhaps somebody may educate me on why these unemployed Assamese young boys are not coming out in considerable numbers looking for jobs in other States—I cannot understand this. What is the picture of India today? Young men from Bengal, from Kerala, from Andhra and from Mr. Bahuguna's own State, from Bihar—the people who have got no jobs—are found roaming about all over the country, and trying to get jobs somehow or other, here or there. You will never find Assamese people. I do not know why? I have not been able to get a satisfactory answer to this question.

Anyway, that is not the point at the moment. Now, Sir, I want to know why this thesis has been sought to be made since the last debate that the elections in this situation must inevitably lead to violence. I do not share this view. I want to ask: now the elections have been finished or completed over three weeks ago. Why every day these incidents are taking place. Where is the election now? Why every day people are being killed? Why they have been evicted and why they have been driven out from their homes? Why arsons are taking place? Who is doing it? Against whom is it being done? It is very easy to go on saying that everything is because of election. Election was over a long time ago. You say that now these things are being done in order to pressurise and bring about a situation whereby this ministry which has been formed cannot function; it is paralysed and is forced to go. Say it. Go one step further than that. Say that the President's Rule should come back. On this I have not been able to agree with others. I say why don't you spell it out? I am sorry to say why is the President's rule to come back? You should not become a very ardent advocate of President's Rule.

We preferred elections even with all these difficulties. Maybe we made a mistake; maybe, history will decide it. What is the alternative for President's Rule? Are you prepared to assist Mrs. Gandhi to foist another President's Rule in Assam? This is again an undemocratic thing. Now you want that to come again. Is that your candid opinion that this Ministry will not be able to function? Constitutionally and legally it is valid. Why are the people not able to vote? In the Assembly elections, lakhs of people were not able to cast their votes in Bihar and U.P. Is it not a fact that in the rural areas of Bihar, lakhs of people landless Harijans, and so on have never seen the polling booths—were never permitted to cast their votes? Because of that do we say that Bihar Assembly becomes invalid and illegal? (Interruptions) You mean to say that Bihar is a model of democracy? If booth capturing is also permitted, will it become valid? Anyway, Sir, my time should not be taken away. I am not challenging the validity of the elections. The U.S. President was also elected last time on 30 to 40 per cent of votes. The rest of the American citizens never bothered to vote, for whatever reasons there may be. Therefore, nobody calls it un-constitutional. But the fact of the matter is—and I am prepared to admit this—that the whole circumstances in which elections took place ultimately will make it practically impossible for this Government to function. There factors contributed to it. First, there was the anti-poll campaign which was a violent campaign threatening people with dire consequences if they go out to vote. Some jokes are made here as to how many votes were polled by Left parties. Our comrade Gogoi had on in three consecutive elections but do you know how many votes did he poll this time? He polled only 250 votes. Do you think suddenly he become unpopular? I know what had happened in Sibsagar. Wherever people went out for voting they were surrounded by three hundred to four hundred people with guns and....

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE:
What was the CRP doing?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: CRP can-

not be present everywhere. The second thing was communal rioting which we have not bargained for. All these communities who had long-standing grievances and grudges against each other—some connected with encouachment on land and some connecte with other question—found this to be a good opportunity to pay off old scores and they have been doing it.

Thirdly, I must say that there has been rigging. I have no time, otherwise I can give you so many examples. There were polling booths in which the candidate himself went to cast vote but he did not find the ballot box there or the polling staff did not reach that booth, yet subsequently from the same booth the result was announced in favour of the Congress party. I don't say it was done on a huge scale.

Sir, I know of one person but I cannot name him. He is a Government servant. He was sent for polling duty from here. He was in some booth. When he came back he told me that in that booth there was not a single policeman on duty. There were two young boys with lathis in their hands and words 'Home Guard' written on their shoulders. He asked them, 'when were they recruited?' They told him that they had been recruited only ten days ago. Now, outside the booth at some distance there was a group of sixty to seventy AASU boks sitting and nobody came to vote. At one stage they even entered the booth and caught hold of him by the neck and told him if he allowed anybody to vote, dire consequences will follow. In spite of that where polling stations were going empty some rigging has been done. Anyway, rigging is something which we are accustomed to. But the net result is that. What are we going to do now? I agree with Mr. Bahuguna on this and the first thing I said last time was that on solution of anything can be found until peace is restored. So, the first thing is that everybody must put their heads together to restore peace and normalcy and confidence in the people. I do not know whether it is too tall an order but let us make an effort, otherwise there is no use of passing that resolution. Let us make a serious effort. Everybody concerned, whe-

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

ther Mr. Vajpayee, Government or myself or anybody else, let us make a serious effort to restore peace. That day I had posed a question and I had just left it at that. The question on the anvil of history is whether Assam can continue as a composite State or not. We want it to continue. We do not want to demonstrate to the country that it is not possible for people of different religions and ethnic groups to live together in one State. Once you concede that it is not possible for them to live together the general reaction will not stop at Assam. It will spread very fast. If conditions are not created for Bengali refugees who are pouring into North Bengal to go back in peaceful condition, there are enough trouble makers in West Bengal also to start something there. They are saying that if Bengalis are driven out and not allowed to remain in Assam, there are plenty of non-Bengalis working peacefully in West Bengal, why should we allow them to remain here. (*Interruptions*) You cannot isolate these things.

That will have a chain reaction.

Mr. Bahuguna was perhaps asking how many times we have truncated the old State of Assam. It is a fact. But those people who have gone into separate States whether it is Meghalaya or Arunachal or whatever it is are tribal people, who certainly were not willing to remain in the same State, in one State, with all these people. But, is this process to be continued further? Then we can say that take these seven districts of the valley and give it to the Assamese and cut off the other parts, let them have their own State in the Brahmaputra valley. But then it will be a confession of an abject failure before the country. What will happen in Punjab I don't know; what will happen in other States I don't know. We are facing a grave threat to the whole national unity and national integrity of this country. This must be understood; and to that extent. I agree with Mr. Bahuguna that Government should show much more political sagacity and statesmanship; and not rely on bureaucracy and army and guns.

Therefore, Sir, all I have to say is that conditions should be created in which

that dialogue which was broken off can be resumed. Let us make an attempt, though I am not very optimistic. I was for 2-1/2 years in that meeting. It is all very well to say that solution must be found within the boundaries of the Constitution and the Acts and all that. That is exactly what was agreed to in the Conference unanimously. That is the preamble, the only thing which was agreed to. And then when one by one we started coming to specific points, then representatives of AASU and so on were not willing to abide by any provisions of the Acts. What do you do then? I agree with you that Government has gone on giving them a long rope, trying to appease them. I said it that day. It was clear about a year ago that they will not agree to anything. Not only that. You elevate them to the status of being the sole spokesman, the monopoly spokesman, of everybody who lives in Assam; nobody else. Why should you allow them that status? Next time if conditions are created for talks again, are you going to talk only with these people? Certainly talk with them; I have no objection; you must talk to them; but what about the representatives of other groups, other sections, other minorities? What about the Plains Tribal Council which had set up 2 Lok Sabha Members and 20 Assembly Members and were not allowed to participate in the election and then that led to the first massive clash there? Have they no right? They represent 2 million tribal people. You never called them to the negotiating table. Why? Because AASU and company were asserting that if you call them, then, immediately they are going to walk out of the room. Then immediately the Government succumbed. I know what Mr. Sethi will say, that we did talk to them separately. I know. But those talks were carried on in a completely secretive and clandestine way in private. Nobody was allowed to know outside that other people are also being consulted; lest these people get annoyed. This is not the way to deal with them. You want to reserve the unit of Assam which means all those who are living in Assam. Now, you are talking about immigrants, Muslims, everybody is described as a foreigner,—people who have come 30 years ago or 40 years ago. People had said that if solution of

the problem between 1961 to 1971 is not found to our satisfaction, then, we will re-open the whole question of 1951 to 1961. Does that give the people the right to go about slaughtering and massacring anybody? Suppose you think now that a Bengali immigrant, a Muslim, who come to Assam some 40 years ago, should be considered a foreigner. Well, decide; let us have a definition. Let us have a procedure. That must be done. But suppose you think he is a foreigner, does it justify you to go and kill him? What is this I cannot understand. You see this horrible picture of these rows and rows of children; they have been disenfranchised for good before they could reach adulthood, manhood. You will be spared the trouble of deporting them or setting their names off from the voters' list; you have managed to slaughter them wholesale. Is this the way we are going to behave? Should there not be condemnation of these things? What about the parties which refused to condemn these things openly? If anybody is reluctant to condemn this kind of inhuman and bestial thing, then that party is only to blame for being suspect. So, Sir, I do not want to take up more time. Mr. Vajpayee said that in 1979, it was found that the voters' list was revised. Compared with 1977-78, it was inflated and many more names came; and how did they come? But whose Government was there in 1979? Our report is that Mr. Golap Barborā had ordered the famous notorious ex. D.I.G.—a that time he was D.I.G. of Police—to find out foreigners from that voters' list and that gentleman, in record time, found out 40,000 people as foreigners in one Constituency. Then names were all cut out and many representatives of minority groups used to come to us saying that this 1979 list is a list in which we find that all our names have been deleted ruthlessly. You find out which names have been added. Some names must have been added and some types of names have been cut out. It is a fact because the administration is wholesale involved in this matter. What is to be done?

Now, Mr. Sethi when you speak, please tell us what you are intending to do now. I don't want to repeat all that, that security must be given, security must be

continued for some more time, at least the affected people are rehabilitated, the question of relief measures must be taken on a war footing and all that. Sir, I have got a telegram and I will read out the contents.

"NELLI VICTIMS—Mainly from minority community inhumanly treated and discriminated against at Gauhati Medical college. Medicine, food and nursing not provided since admission. Nurses and visitors from minority community are intimidated by Junior Doctors. Solicit your immediate intervention to save precious lives. PRESIDENT, ASSAM MUSLIM SAMAJ, PHOOKAN ROAD, GAUHATI."

I give it to the Minister and let him investigate.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. C. SETHI): This telegram was received by us. Thereafter, we spoke to the Chief Secretary and the Chief Minister. They have called the Superintendent of Medical College and he assured them that this would not happen and he would see that medical relief is provided to the patients.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: In fact, if such things can happen inside Gauhati Medical College, you can imagine what is happening outside the College?. All these things will have to be looked into and properly done.

SHRI JAMILUR RAHMAN (Kishanganj): I drew the attention of the Government to this particular matter under Rule 377. I would like to know what steps have been taken because there are definite charges against the doctors of the Medical College. They did not provide medicine to the Muslim patients in the Medical College.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How can you force him now to take action-

SHRI JAMILUR RAHMAN: I cannot force him. But I support the arguments made by him. This is a fact.

19.31 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Apart from this, we know that it will take a little more time for things to settle down and peace

is restored. What is the Government thinking on the broad lines at least of a solution for the future which we should all attempt to bring about? You must tell us something about this. It is not a question of law and order and relief measures. But what will happen tomorrow? The whole country is bothered about it. It is not only the question of Assam at all. You kindly tell us.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: You will have further discussion.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We will have another debate. Don't worry. We will have two or three more debates. Every 15 days you want to have a debate. All right, come on. Let us gradually advance towards that. Mr. Sethi, please take the House into confidence and tell us on what lines the Government is thinking about the future and how to create conditions for resuming discourse and not deciding things by force of arms and violence by killing people and burning each other's houses.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Hon'ble Members had earlier suggested that after Mr. Indrajit Gupta's speech is over, the Home Minister will reply to the debate. Therefore, I call upon the hon. Minister, Mr. P. C. Sethi, to reply.

(Interruptions)

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA (Barh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we have not been given the opportunity to speak. Our party has not been given the opportunity. It is impossible. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: On both sides many hon. Members who have given their names have not spoken. I know that. But I have already announced that at 7.30 P.M. the hon. Minister would reply to the debate.

SHRI PIUS TURKEY (Alipurduar): What about me? I want to speak; the people of my constituency have been made to suffer a lot... *(Interruptions)*. How can you deny a group to Participate? You cannot do that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is for me to permit or not to permit, you cannot insist. ...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: There

are two or three parties left; I would request you to kindly accommodate them. I hope, the Minister would have no objection. ... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It is not fair of you to suggest that. What I had said was that Members should be given ten minutes each and when you said that there are still six more Members left, I calculated that it would roughly take one hour, because six Members were still there. But now that two or three more Members are left, kindly allow them to speak; they represent certain patries.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will allow them to speak, if they do not take more than five minutes each. Do you agree?

SHRI BUTA SINGH: As suggested by Prof. Madhu Dandavate, if the party to which Shri Dharam Bir Sinha belongs has not spoken, we have no objection if you permit him to speak. Members from this side may please withdraw. Let him speak for 5-6 minutes.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): I also want to speak for a few minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will allow from the opposition Shri Dharam Bir Sinha and Shri Chandrajit Yadav to speak.

SHRI PIUS TURKEY: What about me? ... *(Interruptions)*.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We have already decided, you cannot insist like that. You must obey the chair.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): Sir, he belongs to a party which has not participated in this debate. Kindly allow him. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR: How can you deprive a political party to participate on such a debate?

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): Kindly allow at least one Member who represents the tea garden area and whose constituency is affected. Kindly allow Shri Pius Turkey.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right; I will consider that. Now, Shri Dharam Bir Sinha.

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA (Barh): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you for

giving me this opportunity to participate in this debate.

At the outset, I would like to mention that I have mixed feelings about this discussion itself. Not only the discussions today, but of all the discussions that have taken place in this House on Assam. I speak with great sorrow and anguish in my heart. When compassion is needed in Assam today, when this House should have extended its compassion to the people of Assam, we have failed to do so and we have unfortunately fallen into the trap of party polemics and have proceeded on party lines.

I do not wish to go into the manner in which the elections have been held in Assam. It is well known that my party decided to contest the elections; it took a willing and conscious decision to do that. But, today I do not wish to go into the manner of the conduct of elections. Nor do I want to go into the nature and quality of negotiations that preceded the elections. All that I want to say is that today what is needed in Assam is compassion. Let us forget the din of shouting here from this side or from the other side. Mr. Home Minister, the burden on our hearts is heavy. Let us once try to make Parliament a mediating institution, not an arena of controversy or of partisanship. I would request the Hon. Members from this side and from the side opposite and to you Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, that we must provide for and enable passions to ebb. The passions must be soothed and stability must be restored. Shri Indrajit Gupta has rightly said that the first thing that is required in Assam is the restoration of peace. Secondly, what we need is some semblence of administration. Today the Hon. Home Minister intervened when Shri Indrajit Gupta was reading the telegram and he was good enough to assure the House that he had spoken to the Chief Secretary and the Chief Secretary has spoken to the Superintendent of the hospital and the Superintendent of the hospital has assured him that these things will not recur. But, Sir, no reference made to the Chief Secretary or to the hospital superintendent is going to work as no one's writ runs in Assam. And this you

can do only by winning back the confidence of the people, of everyone who lives in Assam.

Sir, I do not want to comment on the issue of foreigners today. I do not want, today, to go even into the problem of migration—migration of over 5 years, of 60 years or of one hundred years on the one hand and of twenty years or migration taking place even after 1971. But, Sir, there is a fact and I can remind it to Shri Bahuguna that in 1960s, it was the then Congress Government which had sent back more than three lakhs of people from Assam to the then East Pakistan. But today I don't want to go into details of all these things. I have only one matter to mention about and that both the cultural and the political identity of Assam will have to be maintained and one cannot be without the other.

Mr. Home Minister, there are times when men control events and there are times when events control men. Please for God's sake, do not let events control this Parliament or this nation.

श्री एन० ई० होरो : (खुंटी) : डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, असम का मामला बहुत गंभीर है। आज जिन कारणों से असम जल रहा है यह कोई नई बात नहीं हुई है, यह बहुत सालों से ऐसा है। मैं सारी बातों की चर्चा न रकते हुए दो-चार बुनियादी बातों की चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ।

असम में असमिया लोगों की नेशनल-आइडेंटिटी का सवाल है। लेकिन आज तक जितनी भी बड़ी-बड़ी पार्टियां हैं, चाहे उस पक्ष की पार्टी हो या इस पक्ष की पार्टियां हों उन से मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ—असम के टी-गार्डन्ज में जो 45 लाख लोग हैं, जो शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स हैं और बिहार, मध्यप्रदेश तथा उड़ीसा से गये हैं आज उन को आदिवासी नहीं गिना जाता है, क्या किसी भी पार्टी ने इस सवाल को उठाया है? जब भी इस सदन में शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स

[श्री एन० ई० होरो]

कास्टीट्यूशन आर्डर रखा गया है, हमेशा इस बारे में चर्चा होती रही है कि ये 45 लाख लोग चाहते हैं कि असम राज्य में उन का भी शुमार शेडयूल्ड ट्राइब्ज या शडयूल्ड कास्ट्स में होना चाहिए। यहां इतनी बड़ी-बड़ी राष्ट्रीय पार्टियां हैं, क्या किसी ने इस सवाल को उठाया ? आप यहां पर बड़ी-बड़ी बातें करते हैं, देश को एक-साथ रखना चाहते हैं लेकिन आप लोगों ने इस चीज को क्यों नहीं उठाया। यह क्या नई चीज है। कांग्रेस वाले इन को गाली देते हैं और इधर वाले उन को गाली देते हैं मगर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो राष्ट्रीय पार्टियां हैं, 34 सालों में जो बुनियादी प्रश्न हमारे देश के हैं, हमारे क्षेत्र के हैं उन बातों की चर्चा नहीं की और उन को वे अनावश्यक समझते रहे और यह कहते रहे कि यह राष्ट्रीय प्राब्लम नहीं है। क्षेत्रीय प्राब्लम भी राष्ट्रीय प्राब्लम है। न सी०पी०एम० ने बहुगुणा जी की पार्टी ने और न बी०जे०पी० ने और दूसरी पार्टियों ने इस बारे में कुछ सोचा है कि चाय बागानों में जो 45 लाख आदमी शेडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स के हैं और जो दूर देहातों में रहते हैं उन को शेडयूल्ड लिस्ट में रखा जाए। इन के बारे में इन की क्या राय है, यह किसी ने नहीं बताया है।

श्री हेमवतीनन्दन बहुगुणा : होना चाहिए।

श्री एन० ई० होरो : आप ने कब इस के बारे में कहा है। असम की बात यहां पर की जा रही है। सी०पी०एम० वालों को इस चीज को प्रोजेक्ट करना चाहिए लेकिन देश में इस बात को प्रोजेक्ट नहीं किया गया है और फिर सारे देश को एकता के सूत्र में बांधने की बात की जाती है

मगर यह जो क्षेत्रीय प्राब्लम है, इस को उजागर नहीं करते।

मैं एक बात यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में सिर्फ असम का ही प्रश्न नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान के और क्षेत्रों का भी प्रश्न है। जब सरकार किसी पार्टी की बन जाती है तो इस चीज को नजरान्दाज कर किया जाता है। कांग्रेस (आई) की सरकार ने इसको नजरान्दाज किया है और जब इस तरह का प्रश्न उठाया जाता है, तो उसको अलग-अलग का प्रश्न कह कर टाल दिया जाता है और कहा जाता है कि इससे देश टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो जाएगा। आज छत्तीसगढ़ में यह सवाल है छोटे नागपुर में यह बात है और गुजरात में भी यह बता है। वहां के लोग अपनी आइडेंटिटी को कायम रखना चाहते हैं लेकिन राष्ट्रीय दलों के लोग इन प्रश्नों को नहीं उठाते।

जहां तक असम की बात है, जो लोग मर गये, वे तो मर गये लेकिन अब सवाल वहां पर शान्ति स्थापित करने का है। जो रीजनल समस्याएं हैं, उनको रीजनल प्रश्न कह कर टाल दिया जाता है और ये लोग जो अपनी आइडेंटिटी की बात करते हैं, उसको माना नहीं जाता है और इसके लिए इधर की पार्टियां दोषी नहीं हैं बल्कि दोषी वे हैं, जो सरकार को चलाते हैं। मैं आप के माध्यम से सरकार को और राष्ट्रीय पार्टियों को कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह न केवल असम का प्रश्न है, बल्कि पूरे नार्थ ईस्ट इंडिया और हिन्दुस्तान के और भी दूसरे क्षेत्रों का प्रश्न है उनकी जो बुनियादी समस्याएं हैं, नेशनल पार्टीज के लोगों को उनके बारे में बात करनी चाहिए। मैं इन्दिरा जी की बात को पसन्द करता हूँ जब वे यह कहती हैं कि वायलेंस के माध्यम से किसी प्रश्न का समाधान नहीं हो सकता है और उसके

लिए बातचीत होनी चाहिए। मेरा कहना यह है कि जब क्षेत्रीय सवाल उठते हैं और कई बार मैं छोटानगपुर क्षेत्र के प्रश्नों को उठाता रहा हूँ और कई बार मैंने चिट्ठियाँ भी लिखी हैं कि इन पर चर्चा होनी चाहिए लेकिन चर्चा नहीं करते हैं। आखिर मनुष्य मनुष्य है, उसका धीरज टूट भी सकता है और फिर वायलेंस भी हो सकती है। मेरा कहना यह है कि ऐसी परिस्थिति नहीं आने देना चाहिए।

अन्त में मैं आप के माध्यम से सरकार से और राष्ट्रीय पार्टियों से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो इस तरह के बुनियादी प्रश्न उठते हैं, उन पर चर्चा होना चाहिए, बातचीत होनी चाहिए और समय पर उनका समाधान होना चाहिए, नहीं तो वे एक विक्रम रूप ले सकते हैं, जिससे देश को खतरा पैदा हो सकता है।

श्री गीयूष तिरकी (अलीपुरद्वार) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे दुःख है कि असम में बहुत से निर्दोष लोगों का बलिदान हुआ है लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि मान लिया जाए कि आंग्ल और गण सग्राम परिषद् वालों की मार्गें जायज थीं, तो हमारे जो नेता नेशनल लीडर कह जाते हैं, मि° वाजपेयी से लेकर दूसरे और कई भी, तो वे भी वहाँ जान कर विदेशी हो गये। उनको वहाँ जाने के लिए किसने पासपोर्ट दिया। यदि हम लोग उनकी बात मान लें, तो उसके अनुसार जितने नेता वहाँ गये थे वे सारे के सारे विदेशी थे। यह दिल्ली में सारे प्रान्तों के लोग बैठे हैं और दिल्ली वाले अब यह कहते हैं कि हम दिल्ली-वाले दिल्ली से हट गये और दूसरे बहुत से लोग यहाँ पर अब आ गये। इस तरह से जितने भी लोग बाहर से आये हैं, वे सब यहाँ पर विदेशी हुए और उनको निका-

लने के लिए वे भी आन्दोलन कर सकते हैं। आसाम का कल्चर रखना चाहिए, यह मैं मानता हूँ लेकिन दूसरी कल्चर को भी समान अधिकार मिलना चाहिए। आदिवासियों की कल्चर पर कब ध्यान दिया गया ?

आजकल जितने बंगाली बंगाल में आ रहे हैं, उतने और कहीं नहीं जा रहे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान इतना बड़ा देश है, वे और जगह क्यों नहीं जाते हैं, केवल बंगाल में जाते हैं। अगर कल को आदिवासियों को जाना पड़ा तो वे कहां पर जाएंगे ? उनका भी प्रान्त उनको बताना चाहिए। बिहार इतना बड़ा प्रदेश है, लेकिन बिहार में वहाँ के आदिवासियों को बिहारी नहीं समझा जाता। उनकी कल्चर के साथ उनका मेल नहीं है।

सरकार ने असम में इलेक्शन के लिए बहुत ही धीरज दिखाया है जो कि उसका बहुत ही सराहनीय काम है। सरकार तीन वर्ष तक बैठकर उनके साथ मीटिंग करती रही लेकिन फिर भी कोई समस्या का समाधान नहीं हुआ। सरकार ने बहुत ही धैर्य का परिचय दिया। हो सकता है कि सरकार ने एक दो गलतियाँ की हों।

आप लोग कहते हैं कि नेशनल इन्टिग्रेशन बहुत जरूरी है। लेकिन यहाँ पर तो सभी विदेशी हैं, एक सिर्फ आदिवासी ही देशी हैं। पहले आर्य विदेश से आये, फिर मुसलमान आये। इन आदिवासियों से पूछिये कि नेशनल इन्टिग्रेशन कैसे हो।

असम में आदिवासी गये। वहाँ जितने भी डबलपमेंट के कार्य हुए उन सब में आदिवासियों का हाथ है। जो भी वहाँ गये हैं वे सभी असमी हैं। हम लोग भी अपने को असमी बोलते हैं। असमी भी तो थाइलैंड से आये है तो वे भी विदेशी हैं। इसलिए मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि यह जो देशी और विदेशी का निर्णय है, इसका फैसला केन्द्रीय सरकार को करना चाहिए और वही करती है। किसी व्यक्ति, किसी ग्रुप को इसका फैसला करने का अधि-

कार नहीं है कि कौन विदेशी है और कौन देशी है। इन तीन वर्षों के आन्दोलन के बाद भी असू और गण संग्राम परिषद् के लोग यह नहीं बता सके कि इस ब्लाक में, इस इस जिले में इतने इतने विदेशी हैं। खाली उनका कहना यही है कि विदेशियों को हटाओ। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि असम में असमी किसको कहा जाएगा? वहाँ कौन देशी और कौन विदेशी है? असम में यह सब करने का अधिकार उनको किसने दिया? यह भी जानने की बात है।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर असमी यह समझते थे कि असम में उनकी मेजोरिटी है तो उन्हें चुनाव में भाग लेना चाहिए था और चुनाव लड़कर मेजोरिटी में आना चाहिए था और अपनी सरकार बनाना चाहिए था। सरकार बनाने के बाद यह निर्णय करना चाहिए था कि कौन विदेशी है, कौन देशी है।

आज असम में लोग मारे जा रहे हैं, उनकी हत्याएं हो रही हैं। जो पार्टी इसका समर्थन करती है। वह पार्टी नेशनल पार्टी नहीं कहला सकती। ऐसी पार्टी मनुष्य जाति के खिलाफ, गरीबों के खिलाफ काम करती है। विदेशों से जो लोग आकर बसे हैं उनके लिए सरकार को देखना है न कि किसी ग्रुप या पार्टी को।

यहां पर बहुत सारी बातें कहीं गयीं, मैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ लोग केम्पों में रह रहे हैं। मेरी कांस्टीच्यून्सी में ही 15 हजार लोग केम्पों में रह रहे हैं। खाली वेस्ट बंगाल में लोग रह रहे हैं, उनको क्यों नहीं कहा पता कि वे दिल्ली जाएं क्योंकि दिल्ली सेन्टर की राजधानी है, यहां सेन्टर की हकूमत है। वे यहां आयें तब जाकर सरकार उनका समाधान ढूँढ़ेगी और उनसे कहेगी कि सारा हिन्दुस्तान एक है। वे लोग दिल्ली में आएँ और सेन्टर उनके बारे में अपना निर्णय दे। नेशनल इन्ट्रिगेशन कैसे होगा, यह बात होम मिनिस्टर को बतलानी

चाहिए। सबको सभी जगह रहने देना चाहिए कोई भी लोग हों, चाहे ट्राइबल हों, चाहे और कोई धर्म के लोग हों सबको एक साथ रहना है। अगर सबको अलग अलग रहना है तो जिनको अपनी कल्चर की रक्षा के लिए प्रोविंस नहीं मिला है, उन्हें भी प्रोविंस दिया जाए।

घन्यबाद।

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I think the situation in Assam is a matter of serious national concern and we all know.... (Interruptions)

एक माननीय सदस्य : हिन्दी में बोलिए, आप तो बहुत अच्छी हिन्दी बोल लेते हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Why not in Assamese?

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: Thousands of innocent people have lost their lives and more than two lakh people are refugees in their homeland, in their own State. I do not remember any event like this, after partition where such a large number of people have been rendered refugees in their own homeland. There is no normalcy even today in Assam. In spite of the fact that the election has taken place, there is no normalcy there. These are certain facts which we must take into consideration when we are discussing this matter.

Today the bane of the discussion in this House is not whether the election was free and fair. Whether it was a free and fair election or not is not the question. The most important concern of this House today should be that in one important part of our own country the situation is not normal. I will not call it a civil war, but it is very very near to civil war where thousands of people are being killed, women and children, and innocent people of one section by another section of the people. This is the situation and today a climate of hatred, a climate of lack of faith has been created in that part of the country and that should be the main concern of this House.

Sir, I think that the last meeting before we went for this election in Assam was

called by the Prime Minister. She called the Opposition leaders. That was the last meeting on the Assam issue and I remember that in that meeting Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri Ravindra Varma were very emphatically opposed to holding the election. They did say that the situation was not normal. But I put one question to Shri Vajpayeeji in that meeting, when he was pleading that we may amend the Constitution and postpone the election by one more year. I asked, "What is the guarantee? Is there any assurance that within one year there will be a normal situation and the election will be held? What is the guarantee?" Because, for the last three years since the last Parliament election was held. Some people were not allowing the Government to hold the election, which is a most important Fundamental Right of the citizens of this country. The Government may be charged, for many other things. But nobody should charge the Government on this, that any other more democratic method could be found. The Government did not only negotiate with the agitators, but at the suggestion of the Opposition leaders the Government involved all the Opposition Parties, at every stage. For the last two and a half years, the entire Opposition Parties were involved, the negotiations were going on, the Government showed some leniency and the Government cannot be charged of anything, because the Government was trying to find a solution by negotiations. The Government did not want to use force at any stage knowing it very well that election is the most important Fundamental Right of the citizens of this country.

Now, this is a most important question. If any group of people in any part of the country, they say "Do it, otherwise, we will not allow the democratic process to take place in the country", what else can be done? Are we helping the democratic forces in this country? I was pained that nobody from the Opposition, I mean those who gave a call for boycotting the election, they did not make any appeal today in this House, they did not condemn unequivocally the path of violence. Is it not our duty when thousands of people are being killed in that part of the country?

The Opposition leaders have failed in their primary duty. They must have said today that 'we condemn the path of violence, this is not the path that our country has adopted, this is not the path which will strengthen democracy in this country.'

20 hrs.

Sir, we talk in the name of democracy and then we encourage violence. And, it was not a boycott of the election. It was a planned violent prevention of the election. It was not a question of election to be boycotted. I can understand the Fundamental Right of any persons, or of any Party, who can say that they do not want to participate in the election, or that they boycott the election. That is a Fundamental Right. But is it also a fundamental right or anybody to prevent those who want to exercise their franchise, by violence, attack people and taking the people at their mercy? In this way, are we going to strengthen democracy in this country? Is it not a fact that in that part of the country the entire minorities, the entire people who are supposed to be non-Assamese but belonging to this country, are being attacked? In the name of non-Assamese, they attack Bengalis and people from other parts of the country. They attack minorities who have also come from the same country. In this way, what will happen to this country? In Calcutta, from where Mr. Indrajit Gupta comes, and in Bombay people from different parts of the country go and seek their livelihood. This is the country where people are going from one part to the other. I think, this kind of a thing should have been condemned:

In my opinion, the Government has fulfilled its constitutional obligation. It may be a wrong assumption. But I also supported that the elections should be held. Now, we find today that the elections were not held in a normal situation. I have all my doubts whether the present elected Government in Assam will be able to take effective steps to run the administration. Now that the constitutional obligation has been fulfilled, the Prime Minister, who had had last meeting, should take the initiative again. She should call the leaders of

[Shri Chandrajit Yadav]

the Opposition. And the first thing that should be done is, how to create a situation of normalcy, how to prevent further violence, how to prevent further attacks by one community on another community and how to take care of the refugees. The question was raised that even if one person is killed, the Government is responsible. Now you have seen the telegram received by Shri Indrajit Gupta. If doctors and nurses are refusing to look after those people who are injured, who have been attacked, because they happen to belong to other religions this is the most inhuman crime which anybody has committed. Such persons do not deserve our sympathy. I appeal to the Government to give serious thought to this basic situation. It is not only the question of Assam or Punjab but in the whole country, there is a situation of resentment, dis-satisfaction growing that 20 per cent of the people, who have created vested interests either in the administration or in the national capital, are enjoying the fruits of all the benefits whereas 80 per cent of the people, who belong to the weaker sections of the society like minorities, Harijans, Adivasis, tribals, backward classes, are being denied of all those benefits. Therefore, certain basic changes in the character of our administration is necessary. I hope that the Government will give serious thought to this matter. On the whole, after 35 years we feel that we need to give a serious second look at the functioning of our Constitution; we need to give a serious look for re-orientation of our services; we need to give a serious look for the re-orientation of our political processes and we need to give a serious look so that our national integration is strengthened and that the fruits of all the benefits reach the poor people.

With these words, I hope that the Government will take necessary action.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. C. SETHI): As many as fifteen hon. Members from both sides have participated in the debate. As Prof. Dandavate has pointed out, I would not go into greater details because most of the details

were contained in my first statement. However, some points have to be clarified. The first and the foremost point that I would like to clarify is that some hon. Members have said that more than 10,000 people have been killed. I emphatically deny this figure. I have said in the statement that about 1,500 people have died. According to the State Government, actually 1,344 persons have died but on the basis of the other agencies' reports, the figure comes to round about 1,500. It is true that about 2,000 people are missing and the Government is making all efforts to trace them but is it also likely that some of them might have been missing because they are killed.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Cemeteries should be checked.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: As far as the violence is concerned it was made out here that violence started after the elections were announced. I have given in my statement, which was further corroborated by other hon. Members also—by Shri Indrajit Gupta and Prof. Chakraborty—that since 1979 itself when this movement started, violence was there and I have quoted figures date-wise as well as year-wise where violence and violent activities have taken place. Therefore, it is not as if the elections itself trickled off the violence, violence was very much in the atmosphere. Of course, the elections did give it an impetus but greater impetus was given to it by unfortunately those persons and parties who not only supported the boycott of the elections but also supported the demand that they would not allow the elections to be held, as far as the elections are concerned, I would not go into the details because I have given all the details as to why elections were necessary. It was said here that if the Constitution was not amended, why Emergency could not be declared for some time? With regard to Emergency the position is that after the 44th Amendment of 1978 which was made in the Constitution internal emergency can be imposed only when there is an armed rebellion and the conditions in Assam were not such where the armed rebellion could have been declared. Therefore, the question of imposing Emergency did not arise at all.

Sir as far as the position of the Government is concerned, we have always taken the stand that foreigners issue is there in Assam: Nobody can deny this fact that foreigners issue is not there. But we cannot say that anybody who is in the voters' list since 1951 or 1961 or from any other date should be deleted and deported. After all, foreigners have to be detected under a procedure of law. The Constitution is there, the Parliament is there. Parliament has enacted a law and therefore, the foreigners issue has to be settled. Shri Indrajit Gupta has asked me to clarify as to what is our stand. Our first stand is that we should all unitedly work there and restore peace, help in rehabilitation and as soon as this is done, we are committed to the solution of the problem of foreign nationals and we will take up this issue in right earnest and proceed on these lines. Whether the talks start or whether the talks do not start, we are committed to this and if there are any fruitful conclusions, Government will have to take its own decision.

As far as the speeches of the Prime Minister and Shri Ghani Khan Chaudhuri are concerned, I have made it very clear that the Prime Minister herself intervened in the last debate which took place and she categorically denied the charges which were made about some references in her speech. Similarly, Shri Ghani Khan Chaudhuri has also denied it. It has been stated here that he himself has not denied it. But I am happy to inform the House that during the course of the railway budget, Shri Advani raised this question, and he is going to reply himself to those charges in the other House tomorrow.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Is it because he has delivered the speech in the railway colony that he is going to reply to it in the railway budget?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I will make it very clear that Shri L. K. Advani raised this question on the railway budget. Therefore, he is going to reply to it.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: How do you know what he is going to reply?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: It was stated by Prof. Chakraborti that relief has been organised there only for one month. I would like to clarify the position. The Government of Assam have taken up the relief work and they have announced that, for the time being, for three months the relief work will continue. But we have told the Assam Government that they cannot stop the relief work as long as the refugees are there in the camps.

The conditions of the camps have also to be improved. The medical facilities which are being provided there have to be further improved, because in some camps I have visited there were a few cases of malaria and dysentery. Fortunately, no epidemic has spread yet. But, as has been rightly pointed out by a few hon. Members, including Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, now the rains are coming, the conditions will deteriorate and there is a danger of the epidemic spreading there. Therefore, our first effort is to give relief to them. At the same time, we are providing relief and police pickets in the areas where they want to return. For example, Shri Vajpayee said that he visited Nellie. I also went to Nellie. Those who want to return to Nellie for their benefit a police picket has been opened up.

Everyone has been given bamboos and sheets. They are constructing their houses within the total sum of Rs. 5,000 which has been provided to them; also, there is a sum of Rs. 5,000 for each deceased in the family. If the total number of deceased in a family is 3 or 4, they will get it to that extent. Then, they will be given Rs. 750 per bullock for ploughing. Therefore, it will come to Rs. 1,500 for bullocks and ploughs. Other facilities are being given freely and, in certain areas, even tractorisation is taking place. Therefore, all possible measures to be taken are being taken, as far as relief works are concerned.

Then, as I pointed out earlier, more than 1,550 wooden and other bridges have been destroyed. Therefore, it takes time to repair all of them. There are

[Shri P. C. Sethi]

also so many culverts. I do not know whether it would be possible to repair such a large number of bridges before the monsoon sets in in Assam. At the same time, we have urged upon the Assam Government and we have asked the Border Road Development Authority and other authorities to take up the construction of the bridges. In every district about 70 or 80 bridges have already been repaired so that the supply could continue even during the rainy season.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: A suggestion was made for the opening of camps in Bongaigaon.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I had been to Bongaigaon also. There check-posts have been opened at the railway station which are not permitting people to go from there to West Bengal. At the same time, the Assam Government has sent their representatives to the camps in West Bengal and persuaded these people to come back. But, for the time being they are so terror stricken that some of them are not prepared to come back. However, the Central Government has taken the responsibility that whatever expenditure is incurred by West Bengal in this case, the Central Government will reimburse. Fortunately, as far as Arunachal Pradesh is concerned, most of the people who have crossed over to Arunachal Pradesh have come back.

Sir, it was also suggested by Mr. Rajesh Pilot that monitoring of relief work has to be done. Now, the Assam Government has appointed a Special Officer for the relief work and in every district also they have appointed a Special Officer for the relief work and it is being monitored from there and complete coordination is being carried out.

Then, Sir, a charge was made by Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee that many people have been added to the 1979 list. One of my hon. friends has already said that in 1979 it was his party in the Government.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: That is no reply.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I am coming to the reply. But I want to clarify the background. (Interruptions). Therefore, this list was revised at that time and I have the figures. It is not as if all names were added. About 6,54,950 names were deleted in the 1979 list, and about 12 lakh names were added. Therefore, whatever figure you have given about adding of 5 to 6 lakhs people might be correct. But as was pointed out, this was deliberately done to cut out certain particular names from the list.

Sir, Mr. Vajpayee has also referred to and asked. Under what law the Army has been deployed now? In this connection I would like to point out that Assam (Disturbed Areas) Act, 1955, and the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958, are being used to deploy this Army and Army authorities there. There was a writ in the Assam High Court and the Assam High Court had stayed Section 4A of this, for which a reference was made to the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court has directed the Delhi High Court to go into this matter. But at the same time, I would like to clarify that Army is there to assist the civil authorities. It is not a martial law and these areas which have been declared 'disturbed' have not been handed over to Army in that manner. They have to function in close coordination with the civil authorities and therefore, under Sections 130, 131 and 132—I have got the Criminal Procedure Code with me for Shri Vajpayee's reference—the army authorities can act in aid of the civil power, they have got the right to search, they have also got the right to stop the riots and of course, fire in self-defence. Therefore, this position is also very clear.

Sir, as far as the protection of minorities and others is concerned, in this connection, I would like to point out that this impression is again very wrong that in Assam minority community people alone have been killed. As I have made it very clear, right from the beginning the Bodo tribes people were attacked. Then, in retaliation in some places Bodo tribes people were re-attacked. I visited camps and I found that in certain cases

Assamese were effected. They were killed. I visited Bongaigaon Camp. There are about 25,000 people. Most of them are Bengali Hindus and Biharis. In certain camps there are Nepalese. Therefore, all sorts of ethnic and language people are involved and everybody has suffered. A sort of insanity has spread. Of course, mob violence has stopped but sporadic attacks are taking place. Ultimately this thing has to be dealt with at a political level. It is, therefore, necessary that all of us should work in that direction.

Shri Bahuguna has pointed out that 1971 date should have been declared as the cut-off date. But as far as the discussions with the Assam agitation leaders are concerned, the difference of opinion was that originally they were sticking to 1951; the Government's stand was right from the beginning, as per the meeting of the Prime Minister with the Opposition leaders in 1980, that 1971 has been agreed to as the cut-off date and we cannot accept any other date. Ultimately they said that they were prepared to leave 1951 and come to 1961. Provided there is an over-all settlement. So, there was an improvement on their side. As far as our side is concerned, we always stick to 1971.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: You openly said 1965. You offered 1965.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: Mr. Home Minister, you offered 1965.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I did not offer.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: In the last meeting you said that you were prepared to go to 1965.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Mr. Gupta, I had made this point very clear. I said that 1965, 1966 suggestion has come to us. But it was not our suggestion.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: That is not the question. The question is: is Government willing to negotiate this? I said that having opened the flood gates, now they are facing the deluge.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: When we were discussing, we could not have taken the position that we were not prepared to discuss this.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: What about economic development and other things?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: We had suggested and that we had even guaranteed that we would try to provide in some manner the cultural and other points which they were asking for.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: We understand the type of agitation and that is the reason why I was saying that the Prime Minister should have been here.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I am saying that the Government's position or stand is—1971 cut-off date. We have never moved from that. Beyond this I have nothing more to add.

श्री हेमवती नन्दन बहुगुणा : आगे क्या करेंगे ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कुछ नहीं करेंगे ।

श्री प्रकाश चन्द्र सेठी : आगे के लिए मैंने आपसे अर्ज किया था वाजपेयी साहब आप सब हम को मदद कीजिए ।

श्री हेमवती नन्दन बहुगुणा : किस डायरेक्शन में ?

You spell out in which area you require the assistance of the Opposition. There are people who agree with you on many questions. What is the area and what is the strategy of the Government for dealing with this matter?

SHRI P. C. SETHI: We require your assistance firstly in condemning the violence outright.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: That has been done. We did it. (Interruptions) That has been done.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Secondly, we require....

श्रीराम विलास पासवान : आप लोगों ने खुल्लम-खुल्ला टोटल कंडेमनेशन के संबंध में कहा है। मेरा आपसे दो चीजों के लिए आग्रह है। एक-कमीशन के संबंध में आप इधर के लोगों को दोष देते हैं और इधर के लोग आप को दोष देते हैं। जांच कमीशन के संबंध में आप घोषणा कीजिए। दूसरे-शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और माइनोरिटीज का बहुत हल्ला करते हैं, बहुत माला जपते हैं। उनके स्पेशनल रिक्रूटमेंट के लिए आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं इस बारे में भी आप बतलाइए?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You are giving protection to minority Government also.

SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA: That is another thing which you are doing.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: All the minorities that you are protecting are also minority Government.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please allow the Minister to reply.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: As far as the question of enquiry is concerned, we have received a message from the Assam Government that they are going to appoint a high level administrative enquiry into the matter.

श्री राम विलास पासवान : सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजको बनाइये। इस एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव एन्क्वायरी से क्या होगा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He has said what action has been taken by them.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: I am reporting what the State Government has done.

SHRI A. K. ROY: We would like to know whether you will like to constitute a tribunal for the quick disposal of the case so that the persons responsible can be brought to book.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: The State Government has taken the action to appoint an administrative inquiry and it is for the State Government to take a decision. (Interruptions).

As I was saying, first of all, we require the cooperation of all the hon. Members and of the Parties in restoring peace there and forming an all-Party committee or citizens committee, if necessary, in helping the relief work.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Who is to constitute the citizens committee—the Chief Minister or you? You should have taken an initiative yesterday. The people have not accepted that Government. You should realise it (Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I doubt whether they can get to the Secretariat at all. (Interruptions)

SHRI P. C. SETHI: We have already discussed this question with the Cabinet there. We are going to evolve the citizens committee in so far as restoring peace is concerned. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: 'Parallel lines' do not meet. Come closer on national issues.

श्री पीयूष तिरकी : ज़रा इस बात को भी क्लियर कर दें कि जो बिहार और दूसरे प्रान्तों से ट्राइबल्स गये हैं...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Minister is not yielding. Please sit down.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: It has also been discussed and decided that in the rural areas we can form a Defence Council comprising of all sections of the population of that particular area. A police picket will be provided there not for some time but for quite sufficient time till it

is necessary and the people would be given training for self-defence. Therefore, this is also being done.

Whatever is humanly possible under the circumstances for the State Government to do, they will try to do, but right from the very beginning... (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No running commentary, please.

SHRI P. C. SETHI: Whatever decision is taken about the elections, now that the elections have taken place and the Gov-

ernment has been formed there, we should not forecast a doom but we should give them ample time to work in order to restore peace and normalcy.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, the House stands adjourned to re-assemble at 11.00 a.m. tomorrow.

20.28 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, March 15, 1983/Phalguna 24, 1904 (Saka).