

**SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULEKAR :** (Ratnagiri) : Mogul Lines is operating ships between Bombay and Goa to cater to the needs of passengers travelling on that line. This line is known as Konkan service as the ships operating on this line used to call more than fifteen ports in Konkan area. These days only four ports from Konkan are called by these ships. Though this service is known to be Konkan line, in fact, it is only a Bombay-Goa service. Konkan has no Railways, no air service and the passengers have to rely mainly on sea and road transport. Moreover, the ships operated by Mogul Lines have gone old and out-lived their lives. It is, therefore, necessary to consider the feasibility of introducing high speed small ships on this line so that all ports on Konkan coast line can be covered by these ships.

I request the Minister of Shipping and Transport to take necessary steps in this connection.

*Need for expeditious completion of LPG bottling plant at Paharpur, Calcutta.*

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE** (Jadavpur) : It is learnt with great concern that the Liquid Petroleum Gas (LPG)—kindly see the importance of the matter, Sir—Bottling Plant of the Indian Oil Corporation (IOC) at Paharpur, Calcutta, may soon be abandoned, although nearly half of the construction work on the project has been completed. If the Bottling Plant does not come up, the Haldia Refinery will continue to burn away a large amount of LPG, i.e. Liquefied Petroleum Gas, valued at about Rs. 10 crores a year. For lack of bottling facilities, at IOC's three refineries at Barauni, Gauhati and Haldia, fuel gas valued at an estimated Rs. 25 crores is burnt every year. The proposed bottling plant is intended to instal facilities to refill 9,000 LPG containers per day for Indane consumers. It was stated by the Marketing Division of the IOC that the Paharpur Bottling Plant would enable the Corporation to cater to the needs of about 3.2

lakhs consumers against 1.7 lakh Indane consumers at present in the Calcutta region. Further, the bottling plant is expected to assist in the establishment of ancillary units manufacturing chemicals, pharmaceuticals and paints. Such units would use sludge-wax, a by-product of the plant as raw material. If this bottling plant is abandoned, it will mean additional misery for about 1.5 lakh house-holds in Calcutta and its surrounding areas who are expecting Indane connections in the coming year. I request the Government to see that expeditions steps are taken to complete the construction work and to start the plant, which will go a long way in helping the people.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** The House stands adjourned to meet again at 14.15 Hours.

13-15 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch till Fifteen Minutes past Fourteen Clock*

*The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock*

(Mr. Deputy Speaker in the Chair)

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE : CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF PROCLAMATION IN RESPECT OF STATE OF ASSAM, ASSAM BUDGET, 1982-83 GENERAL DISCUSSION, DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, (ASSAM), 1982-83,**

AND

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE : NOTIFICATION UNDER ESSENTIAL SERVICES MAINTENANCE (ASSAM) ACT—CONTD.**

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** We will now take up further discussion on the Budget for the State of Assam for 1982-83. Here I would like to bring to the notice of the Hon. members that the time allotted for this discussion was 4 hours. Out of this, we

have already taken one hour and 28 minutes. Therefore, we are left with two hours and 32 minutes for completing the discussion.

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA** (Bombay North) : Sir, four points on the order paper are being discussed together in this debate. We must have an opportunity to express our points of view on all these. So, each one of us should be given sufficient time.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER** : We are giving sufficient time to the hon. Members. Mr. Samar Mukherjee was given 80 minutes. So, you will have no grievance. Even if it is late, we will sit this evening a little more time and pass it. Now, Mr. Jethmalani to speak.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI** (Bombay North West) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, oppose this Statutory Resolution as well as the Demand for Grants. Sir, it is worthwhile recalling today, that in early 1980, when this problem in an acute form broke upon this nation . . . .

**AN HON. MEMBER** : In 1979.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI** : It was in early 1980 or late December 1979 which ever pleases you. Sir, at that time, the spokesman on behalf of the Government solemnly declared to the country that the so-called agitationists in Assam were making 8 demands and the Government of this country was so reasonable that it had already accepted 5 out of those 8 demands. Sir, the 5 demands which were said to have been conceded by the Government as far back as the beginning of 1980 are :

- (1) that foreign nationals must be detected and deported from the country ;
- (2) that names of foreign nationals must be removed from the electoral rolls before holding any election in Assam ;

- (3) that inclusion of foreign nationals' names in the electoral rolls in future must be made impossible with the help of an adequate and strong election machinery ;

- (4) that the border of India with the neighbouring countries must be fully protected, effectively to check infiltration ; and

- (5) that Indian voters residing in Assam should be issued Identity Cards with photographs affixed.

My grievance, and when I mention the grievance I am suppressing my indignation and the indignation of the nation, is that the negotiations have been deliberately protracted and the time which has been obtained by this fraudulent protraction of negotiations has been utilised for the purpose of not implementing even the 5 demands which had been conceded. I want the Government to tell us that when you accepted the first demand that foreign nationals must be detected and deported from the country, what have you been doing for the last two years ? For the last two years on the pretext that the negotiations are on and the problem is not fully settled, not one significant step has been taken in the direction of detection and deportation of foreign nationals.

I recall a somewhat comic statement which was made in May 1981 by the then Home Minister, who has since been promoted to the highest position in the country. He said sometime on the 6th May, 1981 somewhere in Rajasthan that Government have already detected 310,000 foreign nationals and they are in correspondence with foreign Governments and they are going to be soon taken over, and this agitation is meaningless because the Assam problem is resolved. Within a week thereafter on the 13th May, 1981, in another town in Rajasthan he made a further statement that 310,000 foreign nationals who had been detected had already been deported and the agitation had lost all its meaning and the problem was fully solved . . . .

(Interruptions)

I thought that my friends opposite know at least the salient facts of their bad case, but if they do not know even that, I am prepared to supply them to facts, and if they want references of newspapers, that will also be supplied to them, but these facts have been mentioned by me on two occasions on the floor of the House and these have not been denied. My friends should take the trouble of enlightening themselves with the previous debates of this House upon the same problem.

The second demand which was conceded was that the names of foreign nationals must be removed from the electoral rolls before holding any elections in Assam. This required that at least names of those whom you considered foreign nationals would go from the voters list, and the elections would be held. But once again the ruling party has no intention of restoring democracy in Assam. The ruling party has no intention of holding any elections in Assam. Because the electoral rolls are not complete, this has been used as a pretext for not holding any elections in Assam.

So long as it suited them, so long as they could manipulate and manoeuvre some puppet Government and put it into power, they kept the legislature going. So long as it was possible to secure defections from the other side into their own ranks, the legislature was good enough, and it was kept going, though it was almost in a state of semi-consciousness, or coma, but nevertheless they kept it alive. Last time, it was dissolved when they found that even some of the defectors had got sick and ashamed of their own acts of defection. The legislature was, therefore, dissolved. If a legislature is dissolved, it means that democracy in one State of India has been wiped out and Members of Parliament from Assam are not available in this House; and the voice of people, the authentic voice of people of Assam, cannot really be heard, and if there are some who claim to be the genuine representatives of the people of Assam, they are living in a world of illusion. They are not; let them test their popularity; let them

go back to the electorates and secure a mandate. They will then realise what is wrong with them.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV (Silchar) : I will resign today; you come and fight elections against me. I throw you a challenge.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : We will accept your challenge any time. You resign and my party will set up a candidate against you... (*Interruptions*).

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER : His party will put up a candidate...

AN HON. MEMBER... and defeat you... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : Both are important Members. We do not want them to resign, and lose them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Yes, both of them should be in the House.

श्री राम जेठमलानी पहले हमारे विद्यार्थियों से लड़ो, फिर हम से लड़ो ।

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : Sir, I cannot be stampeded in this kind of a hooby trap.

SHRI G. NARSIMHA REDDY (Adilabad) : You have not taken permission from Shri Vajpayee. That is the whole trouble.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : From whom?

SHRI G. NARSIMHA REDDY : From Shri Vajpayee.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : That is what the party discipline requires.

Now, Sir, the third demand (which they say, was conceded, because even this Government could not be so shameless as not to accept it,) was that the borders of the country will be fully protected and the in-

filtration will completely be checked. Sir, will the Minister be able to tell us that infiltration has now ceased to be an order of the day? Will, he tell us that it is now a matter of the past? Today voluminous evidence exist that infiltration is still going on on every single border of Assam and infiltrators are coming with the knowledge of the Government; and the Government machinery is inadequate, its will paralysed.

Sir, the motivation of the Government is not to hold elections, because they know what the results of the elections are going to be, despite the bold challenges which are being flung around. They know exactly what the people of Assam think about them.

If they had have a reasonable prospect of winning the elections, they would have held the elections by now. The very fact that they are fighting shy of elections shows that they are not quite sure about their prospects and that they are not going to hold any elections and face an ignominious defeat.

Sir, the elementary duty of every civilised Government is to protect its borders. It is a matter of shame that the duty to seal the border and prevent infiltration should have been conceded as a demand from the so-called agitationists. It is a shame that some citizens of India have to remind you that you have to protect the borders of the country against infiltration.

Sir, this is a matter of record. When those so-called tripartite or four-partite meetings were going on, at one stage, the Home Ministry said, "It is agreed that now we are going to undertake steps to prevent infiltration into the borders." Government has neglected its most elementary duty. Sir, we became a welfare state in the course of political evolution. But before the States became welfare states, at least the states used to perform one traditional function. That traditional function was known to be the protection of the country's borders. Even the uncivilised Governments of 2,000

years ago performed these elementary functions. This Government has failed to perform this function. And in spite of the fact that you have conceded this demand in 1980 and in spite of the fact that you have again conceded this during the tripartite meetings, I find infiltration goes on much to the dismay and chagrin of the people of Assam. And Sir, why? The objective of the Government is two-fold: The first one is to prevent elections being held and ultimately even when it compelled to hold elections, the nefarious objective of the Government is that by that time change the demographic character of this State so that the original Assamese population must be completely submerged, must be turned into a minority and the grateful majority of infiltrators, the law-breakers, those who have defied the law and the Constitution of the country, would become your electorate. And on their strength you wish to come back as representatives of the people of Assam. And, Sir, that is going to be...

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : I object to the statement of Shri Jethmalani. He will have to prove this. I am on a point of order. He cannot level charges saying Government of India's intention is allowing infiltrators to come to this country and convert the majority into...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Jethmalani : Are you yielding to him?

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : No, Sir, he will have to prove this charge.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : Sir, when does he want me to prove the charge and where? If he wants it to be proved here, I will prove here. If he wants me to prove it elsewhere, I will prove it elsewhere.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Jethmalani, you can continue.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You must not forget that the Minister will reply. He will reply to it.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI :** Sir, the next still serious and still more nefarious objective which the Government and the ruling party wishes to achieve is to present the Assam issue in its distorted form. My contention has always been that you have deliberately given wrong shape and colour to the Assamese problem. And in this new distorted and false shape you want to keep the issue alive for all time because it brings you local, electoral advantage in the rest of the country. The problem of Assam has always been a problem of law on the one side and the lawlessness on the other, the Constitution on the one side and the Constitution breakers on the other; the will to enforce the law on the one side and the shameless acquiescence in law breaking and the refusal to enforce the law of this country on the other. It is the law of this country which says, it is the Foreigners Act which says, it is the Citizens Act which says that every person who is in law a foreigner must go and the Government is bound to use its machinery of police, of courts and all other power available to it to see that foreigners who are foreigners in law must leave this country.

I am convinced that the problem of Assam, understood in its real shape, could have been solved long ago, but the Government wishes to call it a Hindu-Muslim problem; it wants to call it a problem between the majority and the minority community in this country; and worse than that, it wants to call it a problem between Assamese speaking population of India and the Bengali speaking population of India. *(Interruptions)* Read your own documents.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** If anybody from this side speaks, he can reply to him. That is the parliamentary procedure. It is not proper. You must take my permission.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** You follow the discussion. You reply to him when you are asked to speak.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI :** More than once, the attention of this House has been diverted from the task in hand to my appearing for some smugglers. Now I want to tell my friends that **\*\*Son is the counsel for Mr. Bakhia and\*\*** represents 75 per cent of the smugglers of this country; **\*\*** represents the remaining 25 per cent; and so far as my smuggler clients are concerned, they have all joined the Congress I.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** The names of Hon. Members of this House should not have been mentioned and mixed up with the smuggler cases and all that. That is their profession. We are not concerned with that. Therefore, I would go through the record.

*(Interruptions)*

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER :** Please sit down. That is what I said.

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY :** Let it be on record.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** You leave it to me.

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY :** He has revealed the truth.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** That is all right

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI :** Let him discover the facts. Out of regard for professional brothers, I have never mentioned this matter in the House because it is the duty of **\*\*to represent anyone who comes to him. But if you want facts than you better know them. Today the smugglers are being defended by two of these colleagues, about 99 per cent.**

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** Again you are repeating it.

*(Interruptions)*

**\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.**

DR. KRUPASINDHA BHOI : You represent 150 per cent.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If anybody has said that he is also appearing for such people, it will also not go on record.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : Hon. members in this House know very well that my energies these days are concentrated on prosecuting Congress men. I have no time to defend smugglers these days. (Interruptions) The Home Minister has initiated what has come to be known in the country as tripartite negotiations. The opposition was invited; the opposition selected five representatives to go and sit with the Home Ministry officials and these gentlemen from Assam who represent the so-called agitation in Assam and in spite of extreme dilatoriness and in spite of the fact that the Government was putting spoke after spoke, creating obstacle after obstacle, it is a matter of some satisfaction that some progress was recorded during these meetings, but the Government does not like any progress. Because the progress is being achieved not because of the Government, but in spite of the Government. And, therefore, now they have decided to bypass this Committee and I am told that only the other day, that this Committee has been expanded from five, to twenty. The famous Robert Lynd had said that the best committee is a committee of two when one is absent. Five is bad enough. To five you add the officials of the Home Ministry. To this you add the gentlemen from Assam. That is intractable and big enough. But, now the object of the Government is to make it still more difficult so that no solution should ever be found. So some 20 gentlemen are now being invited. I want to ask why is the old opposition group of representatives being bypassed and what is the reason which has actuated the Ministry into embarking upon this new venture? Why is it that those who have come after 1971 are not being identified and deported? At least Mrs. Gandhi has been talking about that mysterious cut off line. And, we know what that cut off line is. But at least there

is some cut off line in the mind of Mrs. Gandhi. Why is then this cut off line not being respected and those who admittedly have entered the State after 1971, why are they not being identified and deported? Why are you not preparing proper rolls and proceeding to hold the elections? Therefore, my demand on behalf of my Party is a three-fold demand. First of all, I want that the Government should now set a time limit within which it will say that we shall arrive at either a consensus decision; or if you cannot arrive at a consensus decision, then be prepared as a Government to force whatever decision you want. You cannot eat the cake and have it too! So, make up your mind as a Government that this is the decision which accords best with law and equity and with justice and national expediency and interests, and arrive at a solution and show us that you are a government, but within a time limit. Second is that you must forthwith start the promised procedures of amending of voters' lists, deportation and the sealing of borders. And the third : you must fix the time limit within which the people of Assam shall be restored to the exercise of their full democratic rights.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Chandra Shekhar Singh.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH (Banka) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is not with much enthusiasm but with a feeling of anguish, that I am participating in this debate in support of the motion placed by the Home Minister. Even as we discuss the Assam situation here, the State continues to suffer and bleed. The State has gone through three years of continuous turmoil in which lakhs of students have lost valuable years of their education, economic progress has come to a stand-still, normal life is completely at times disrupted and there is an environment of conflict and confrontation in the State. Tensions continue to mount and it appears that every time the State is on the brink of a precipice.

I am not as courageous as Mr. Ram Jethmalani is to venture my opinion on the

merits of the case. He wants to build up a case and in the process has seriously distorted the correct perspective in which a right solution can be found. But I would like to certainly comment that the situation has reached the stage when a solution has to be found to the satisfaction of the people of Assam in general. We must take note of the fact that while negotiations have been going on, the Government has shown remarkable patience in dealing with the situation. They have also made some significant progress in their talks. The opposition parties have been taken into confidence. Although I would not like to comment on the role of the BJP, certainly all other sections of the House including, perhaps, the BJP, are sincere in their effort to find a solution to this ticklish and sensitive issue.

**SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV :** They are not.

**SHRI CHANDRA SEKHAR SINGH :** I agree that when Assam is undergoing this phase, the BJP during the last two, three years, have been trying to collect some elout where there exists none for them. That is why, sometimes, they try to introduce a communal angle to the situation, alleging just the opposite that the Government is trying to delay matters and introduce extraneous considerations in this problem. But the situation is also getting complicated because of vactions, at times by agitation leaders, who are not able to reconcile the different points of view and have, at times, gone back upon the assurances and the conclusions which have been reached in course of their discussions. We must fully appreciate that the Assamese people, rightly or wrongly,—there may be certain misunderstandings—have been emotionally provoked and at some level or other, every Assamese feels very much involved in the present situation. They apprehend that their cultural and linguistic identity would be submerged into that of their close neighbour, as has happened in another State which is close to them. Sometimes, they feel that they may lose even the position of political command in their own State. These appre-

ensions have been expressed times without number. They have certain basis in them and some misunderstandings. The atmosphere of suspicion and distrust has enveloped the issues in such a manner that the vision sometimes gets blurred and it is not able to distinguish between the right and the wrong solutions.

I would also like to comment that in this House at times, these words have been freely expressed that they are anti-nationals or secessionists. There may be some secessionist elements or anti-national elements in them. But, by and large, I personally feel, the movement still retains its basic popular character. The Assamese people have always been in the national mainstream. Assam has thrown up many eminent leaders in our national freedom movement and even in the post-independence period. I think, it would require a very hard persuasion to take the entire Assamese people or a large majority of them, along the secessionist lines. During the negotiations the area of dispute has been narrowed down. They have reached agreement on so many very valid points. This House and the Prime Minister have again and again assured the people of Assam that their cultural, linguistic and social identity will be fully maintained, safeguarded and strengthened. They have reached agreement, as rightly mentioned in some other connection, no checking infiltration and securing the border against further infiltration. Agreement has also been reached on withdrawing from the State Governments their powers of granting citizenship rights to outsiders. So many ticklish issues have been resolved and the area of dispute has been narrowed down to deciding the fate of nearly 1-1/2 million people who have come between 1961 and 1971. This House is fully convinced that this is not merely a legal problem but, basically, a humanitarian problem. As such, all other aspects should be viewed from that angle. We hope that negotiations are going to start very soon. Our Home Minister during the past two months has demonstrated a very pragmatic approach to this situation. The Prime Minister in a message on the 25th July,

1982 has assured the people of Assam that she fully appreciates their desire to maintain their cultural identity. I hope that the negotiations would be given the right direction and that they would be able to reach some definite and concrete conclusions.

Nobody in this House believes that the agitation can be quelled by police action. In fact, it sometimes creates a different atmosphere, and the Government of India are fully conscious of it. So, whenever they have been compelled to take police action, they have done it with restraint. I personally know that the present Governor, who was a member of the Rajya Sabha, has a very sympathetic attitude to the aspiration of the Assamese people to maintain their identity in the national life.

Sometimes it is said that the movement is losing mass support. It is true that during the past so many months the movement appears at times to be petering out but I do not really welcome this situation very much because loss of mass support may turn the agitation into a phase of urban terrorism and then we may have to face a very difficult situation under such circumstances. I would, therefore, appeal to the House and to the Government that we must keep in view the fact that the Assamese people fully appreciate this point of view, or are fully convinced of this point of view, that they are as much a part of the national life as any of us and they would not hesitate to make some sacrifices, to create a situation where a final solution to this sensitive problem may be found. I also hope that the Government of India would try to solve it. They have expressed it as a national problem and the entire burden of this situation would be borne not by Assam alone, but by the entire nation and we shall stand with Assam shoulder to shoulder in finding a solution to this deadlock.

In the present situation, Sir, elections are at a constitutional imperative. You cannot avoid it without amending the Constitution and elections should be held so that the people of Assam should get

their proper representation and an elected Assam Assembly and a Government in their State. But winning elections at least for our party is never the 'be all and end all' of our political objectives. We view the situation from a national point of view, from the point of view that a solution should be found not only to the satisfaction of those who have come, but also keeping in view the aspirations and feelings of the Assamese themselves before the elections are held. I personally feel that although the Home Minister is making very sincere efforts in this direction, a situation has come where the personal intervention of the Prime Minister is necessary to solve this sensitive issue. The Prime Minister perhaps in an interview to some leader from Assam expressed the view that she is prepared to intervene in the Assamese situation and I think her personal charisma and her healing touch is necessary to create that situation, that atmosphere of confidence which is necessary to find a solution.

With these words, I support the motion moved by the Home Minister and I hope that the entire House would not be led by emotions, but take into consideration the hard realities of the situation and help the Home Minister and the Government in reaching a solution in ending this deadlock to the satisfaction of the entire nation. Thank you.

श्री राम बिलास पासवान (हाजीपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज बहुत खेद का विषय है, जसा कि हमारे साथी श्री संतोष मोहन देब जी ने भी कहा, हम पुनः असम के बजट को पार्लिमामेंट के द्वारा पास करने जा रहे हैं। यह इस बात का द्योतक है कि असम की जनता अभी भी मूक है, अभी भी प्रतिनिधि-विहीन है। हम लोग सभी कांस्टीटुएन्सीज से चुनकर यहां पर आए हैं फिर बिहार की विधान सभा को चलाने की क्या जरूरत है, फिर उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान सभा को चलाने की क्या जरूरत है? लेकिन जरूरत इसलिए है कि यहां की समस्यायें हैं जिनका वहां पर निवारण करना है। हमारे मंत्री महोदय, श्री बेकटरमण जी ने शुरुआत में ही कहा था कि 18 सितम्बर, 1982 के पहले असम की विधानसभा का चुनाव होने की



संभावना नहीं है और गृह राज्य मंत्री, लास्कर जी ने कहा कि वहां पर यह जो आन्दोलन चलाए जा रहे हैं वह अखिल असम विद्यार्थी संघ और अखिल असम गण संग्राम परिषद् द्वारा चलाए जा रहे हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि सरकार इस बात को मानकर चल रही है कि वहां का आन्दोलन विद्यार्थियों के हाथ में है।

[Shri Sompeth Chatterjee in the Chair]

और छात्रों के द्वारा यह आन्दोलन चल रहा है। इस के संबंध में पार्लियामेंट में एक प्रश्न पूछा गया था। यह 11 मार्च, 1982 की बात है—इस की वजह से कितनी हानि हुई है? इस के जवाब में सरकार ने बतलाया—खाली पेट्रोलियम और उर्वरक क्षेत्र में 1272 करोड़ रुपये की हानि हुई है। रेलवे को 32 करोड़ रुपये की आर्थिक हानि हुई है। राज्य के कोष में 45 करोड़ रुपये की हानि हुई है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि 1272 करोड़ रुपये की हानि तो केवल पेट्रोलियम में हुई है।

बैठक के सम्बन्ध में जब सरकार से एक अन्य प्रश्न पूछा गया तो सरकार कहती है कि बैठक के लिये सरकार प्रयत्नशील है तथा जल्दी ही बैठक की जायेगी। आज इसके सम्बन्ध में अखबारों में निकला है कि जल्दी ही एक बैठक होई जा रही है। हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री सन्तोष मोहन देब ने अपने भाषण में दो बातें बहुत महत्वपूर्ण कही थीं—एक तो यह कि एक समीक्षा समिति बनाई गई है जिस के सदस्य एस०डी०ओ, डी०एस०पी० होंगे परन्तु इन लोगों ने तो पहले ही आन्दोलन के पक्ष में अपना मत व्यक्त किया है। विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन चल रहा है लोग आन्दोलन में भाग ले रहे हैं और आप के कथानुसार जो सरकारी अधिकारी हैं एस०डी०ओ० या डी०एस०पी० हैं, जो आप के प्रशासन के अंग हैं उन लोगों ने भी अपना समर्थन इस आन्दोलन को दिया है। आप ने आगे यह भी कहा है कि असम न्य.य.प.लिका ने भी आन्दोलन का समर्थन कर दिया है। जब सब ने समर्थन कर दिया है तब तो यह बहुत गम्भीर मामला है, क्यों समर्थन किया है? इस के पीछे सब से बड़ा कारण आर्थिक कारण है। आप ने आगे कहा है कि असम में 80 प्रतिशत गांवों में पानी उपलब्ध नहीं है। जब 80 प्रतिशत गांवों में पानी उपलब्ध नहीं है, जहां एक ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी है, जिस के ऊपर एक डिज है, यदि वह किसी

समय ध्वस्त हो जाय तो असम के आवागमन के सारे मार्ग अवरुद्ध हो सकते हैं। हम नार्थ जोन की पूरी समस्याओं पर डिस्कशन करते हैं, कितना क्षेत्रफल है कितने किलोमीटर में रेल गई है, कितने किलोमीटर में रोड गई है, कम्प्युनिकेशन की क्या स्थिति है—तो इन सब बातों का समाधान यहां से होना चाहिये था। यही कारण है कि जब विदेशियों का सवाल आता है, यदि आप के पास सम्पत्ति रहेगी और कोई आदमी एक्स्ट्रा आ जाय आप के यहां खा ले तो उस से आप का कुछ नहीं बिगड़ेगा लेकिन जब आदमी के पास संपत्ति नहीं है गरीब है और उस के यहां कोई गेस्ट आ जाय तो ऐसा महसूस होता है कि वह जल्दी से विदा हो। वह स्टेट बहुत गरीब है, उसकी हमेशा से उपेक्षा की गई है, उस के बाद जो विदेशी लोग वहां आते गये तो एक स्टेज ऐसी आ गई कि उस ने उस भार को वहन करना छोड़ दिया। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि उस के सामने जीवन-मरण का प्रश्न पैदा हो गया है, उस के सामने जिन्दगी का प्रश्न पैदा हो गया है।

आप ने यह भी कहा कि वहां मार्च 1983 से पहले चुनाव कराना है। सितम्बर 1982 के पहले असम की विधान सभा के चुनाव होने की संभावना नहीं है। ठीक है, मार्च, 1983 के लिये कितने दिन बचे हैं—4 महीने इधर और तीन उधर। ये चुनाव कैसे होंगे, किस आधार पर होंगे? वहां पर जो अपोजीशन की सरकार बनने वाली थी उस को आप ने बनने नहीं दिया, माइ-नारिटी की गवर्नमेंट को वहां इम्पोज किया और अब वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू है। आप ने एक जवाब में यह कहा है—कि हम ने इतने लोगों को वहां से निकाला है। कहां से निकाला है, कैसे निकाला है? कितनी जगहों पर आप ने बार्डर को सील किया है, कितने लोगों को निकाला है? ढाई सालों में कितने लोगों को निकाला है और उन को कहां भेजा है? अभी एक नई प्राबलम बिहार में उत्पन्न होने वाली है—किशन गंज साइड में आक्रमण हो रहा है लोग उधर से आ रहे हैं। सबसे पहली बात यह है कि निर्वाचन सूची से नाम हट नहीं रहे हैं। निर्वाचन सूची से ऐसे लोगों के नाम हटाए इसमें डेट में कुछ फर्क हो सकता है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने हम लोगों को बुलाया था और हम लोग गये थे और वहाँ

बातचीत में भाग लिया था। हम ने कहा था कि निकालने को प्रोसेस शुरू कीजिए, निकालने की कार्यवाही शुरू कीजिए और जो विदेशी नागरिक हैं, उन को निकालते जाइए। झगड़ा डेट पर हो सकता है। उस को आप तय कीजिए।

श्री राम प्यारे पनिका (रोबर्टसगंज) : रिहैबीली-टेशन की बात करिये।

श्री राम बिलास पासवान : उत्तर प्रदेश में रिहैबीलीटेट कर दीजिए, बिहार लेने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। उत्तर प्रदेश में जगह हो, सम्पत्ति हो तो उत्तर प्रदेश में ले लीजिए।

श्री राम प्यारे पनिका : इनहूमैन कम आप सोच सकते हैं। हमारी सरकार ऐसी अमानवता की बात नहीं सोच सकती है, आप सोच सकते हैं। उन को निकालने की ही बात नहीं है, उन को बसाने की बात है और यह कोई सिम्पल चीज नहीं है।

श्री राम बिलास पासवान : आप निकालिये नहीं आप रखिये खूब खिलाइए पिलाइए, मुझे इस बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना है लेकिन देश को जलाने की बात मत सोचिये। मैं इस के इतिहास में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। इस देश में यह आग किस ने लगाई हुई है, वह हम लोगों को मालूम है लेकिन मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि आप वार्ता चला कर उन में कान्फीडेंस जगाइए। बिना ऐसा किये हुए चुनाव कैसे करवाएंगे। इस पर आप को गहराई से सोचना चाहिए। आप ने कहा था कि मार्च तक चुनाव करवा देंगे। वहां कैसे चुनाव होंगे जब कि वहां पर ऐसी स्थिति चल रही है। आन्दोलन दबा हुआ भले ही लगे लेकिन आन्दोलन मरा नहीं है। हमारे एक साथी ने कहा है कि जिस आन्दोलन के पीछे पुलिस का समर्थन हो, जिस आन्दोलन के पीछे न्याय-पालिका का समर्थन हो, उस आन्दोलन को किस तरह से कुचलने की कोशिश की जाती है। सरकार शायद यह सोचती है कि इस आन्दोलन को वाय-लेंस से सपरेस कर के उसे सुविधा होगी लेकिन हम ने यह देखा है कि वायलेंस से आन्दोलन दबा नहीं करता है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में लोग महात्मा गांधी की जय करते हुए बैठ जाते थे, औरतें और बच्चे, सब बैठ जाते थे और उस

समय की सरकार के सारे के सारे हथियार फेल कर गये।

सरकार ने रियेलाइज किया है और सरकार ने जो कहा है मैं उसी को कोट करता हूँ कि यह आन्दोलन विद्यार्थियों के हाथ में जा चुका है। ऐसा गृह मंत्री जी ने कहा है आज छात्र इस आन्दोलन से जुड़े हुए हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि उन से बात कर के आप को इस समस्या का निदान निकालना चाहिए। आज आसाम के लोगों के मन में आप कान्फीडेंस नहीं पैदा कर सके हैं। चाहे आप जो भी करें आप बात कर के ही इस समस्या का निदान निकाल सकते हैं। आप ने अभी तक ऐसा नहीं किया है और यही कारण है कि नार्थ ईस्ट का यह जो हिस्सा है, जो हिन्दुस्तान का अभिन्न अंग रहा है आज उस नार्थ ईस्ट जोन के लोगों के मन में हमारे प्रति और देश के प्रति एक अविश्वास का वातावरण पैदा हो गया है और जो आप के सरकारी कर्म-चारी हैं और अधिकारी हैं, उन पर से आपका विश्वास हिल चुका है और आप का उन पर विश्वास नहीं रहा है। तो यह एक बहुत गंभीर सवाल है और इस के बारे में आप को सोचना चाहिए।

दूसरा प्रश्न 'विदेशी नागरिकों' का है। आप विदेशी किस को मानते हैं, यह आप डिफाइन कीजिए। कभी आप कह देते हैं कि पंजाब के लोग विदेशी हैं, कभी आप उत्तर प्रदेश के लोगों को विदेशी कह देते हैं और कभी आप बिहार के लोगों को विदेशी कह देते हैं। जहां तक हम ने पढ़ा है, हम लोग तो विदेशी उसी को समझते हैं जो हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर के लोग हों। सीधी सी बात है। कम से कम आप यह कहिये कि जो विदेशी हैं, उन को हम हटाएंगे। कहां हटायेंगे यह आप समझें लेकिन वहां के लोगों के मन में एक कान्फीडेंस आप को पैदा करना होगा। हम ढाई साल से तोते की तरह यही रटते आ रहे हैं लेकिन समस्या का निदान कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। खाली मार्च में, जो गवर्नमेंट ने जवाब दिया है, उस के मुताबिक 1533 लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है जिनमें छात्रों की संख्या 126 है। ये सारी चीजें वहां पर चल रही हैं।

मैं आप से दो तीन बातें इस सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। सभी साक्षियों ने यहां पर अपनी राय

रखी है और इस पर काफी बहस हो चुकी है और यह सारी बहस चलती रहेगी लेकिन सरकार को इस समस्या का कोई निदान निकालना चाहिए और सरकार को बातचीत चलानी चाहिए और बातचीत के जरिये इस समस्या के हल का कोई रास्ता निकालना चाहिए। आप ने 1983 में चुनाव करवाने की बात कही है। आप ने यदि इलेक्शन नहीं करवाया, तो फिर एक कांस्टीट्यूशनल क्राइसिस पैदा हो जाएगा और आप को हर हालत में मार्च 1983 से पहले चुनाव करवा लेने हैं। किस तरह से आप चुनाव करवाएंगे? मैं भारत के गृह मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि 6-7 महीने का समय बाकी रह गया है, सरकार क्या कार्यवाही कर रही है और अगर चुनाव नहीं करवाएंगे तो उससे कांस्टीट्यूशनल क्राइसिस पैदा होंगे, उनका मुकाबला करने के लिए सरकार क्या करने जा रही है।

दूसरा आप असेंबियल सर्विसेज ऐक्ट लागू कर रहे हैं इसका हमने पहले भी विरोध किया था और आज भी कर रहे हैं। प्रत्येक जागरूक नागरिक जानता है कि इस काले कानून से कुछ नहीं होगा। इसको आप वापिस लीजिए। वहां चुनाव का प्रासेस क्या होगा, यह बतलाइए? विदेशी कौन है, इसकी व्याख्या अगर फिर से करनी है तो फीजिए। फारेनर्स का नाम इलेक्टोरल रोलस से हटाने के संबन्ध में सरकार क्या कार्यवाही कर रही है?

अंत में मैं सबसे महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न की ओर आता हूँ, जिसकी वजह से सारी समस्या है। 1961 में संसद सदस्यों की एक समिति बनाई गई थी, श्री ए०पी०जैत उसके चैयरमैन थे। उस समय भी भाषाई मामला चला था। उस कमेटी ने रिपोर्ट दी थी। आज 1982 चल रहा है। उस समिति ने जब क संबन्ध में, आर्थिक मामलों के संबन्ध में, भाषाई मामलों के संबन्ध में अपने सुझाव दिए थे, लेकिन जब तक उपद्रव न हों, तब तक सरकार का ध्यान विकास की तरफ नहीं जाता है। आज भी नार्थ-ईस्ट की समस्या काफी गम्भीर है। असम और गोहाटी भारत के अभिन्न अंग रहे हैं। अभी चन्द्र शेखर जी बतला रहे थे कि अभी भी वहां के लोग हमें चाहते हैं, लेकिन उनके आर्थिक विकास के लिए सरकार क्या करने

जा रही है, सरकार जिस तरह पर मुकाबला करने जा रही है? इस तरह से एक दूसरे पर आरोप लगाकर, इधर उधर करके माइनारिटी की सरकार बनाकर तिकड़म लगाकर समस्या का समाधान होने वाला नहीं है। बुनियादी समस्या की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिए और इस काले कानून को वापिस लेना चाहिए। वहां के सारे मामले सरकार के कारण ही पैदा हुए हैं। सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है, सरकार को उनका निदान निकालना चाहिए। दूसरे के माथे पर दोषारोपण करने से काम नहीं चलेगा।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ।

Shri Zainul Basher (Ghazipur) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, more than half the term of this House has already expired. But in the Seventh Lok Sabha, barring the two members, most of the Assam constituencies are unrepresented.

When we came to this honourable House, Assam was in fire; violence was there. The first task of the Government was to put out fire and to bring the situation under control. I must say that the credit goes to this Government for putting out the fire and bringing the situation well under control. But the democratic process in Assam has not been restored.

When the elections were going to be held, the agitators, the leaders of agitation, in Assam declared that they will not allow elections to be held in Assam. I am shocked to say that they have been successful in doing so.

The Assembly was there, but now a situation is created that the Assembly too has to be dissolved and, as I have said, excepting the two representatives that we have in this House, Assam is without a representative in the State Assembly as well as in this Lok Sabha.

There is no doubt that Government tackled the situation very firmly but, at the same time, they did not close the doors for negotiations and persuasion. Many

rounds of talks were held by leaders of agitationists in which the leaders of the Opposition parties in Parliament were also included. But we are far from a permanent solution to the problem.

I hope that the new Home Minister Shri R. Venkataraman who is also the Defence Minister and who is concerned with the development of North-Eastern States including Assam will also have the distinction to find out some solution by holding elections there.

But there is an apprehension in the minds of the minorities in Assam and the persons who are living in Assam from other States that the Government which is functioning in Assam is now following the policy of appeasement of the agitationists. It is high time that we tell them thus far and no further.

Government has negotiated too much. But under the pretext of negotiations, the democratic process in Assam should not be withheld. Elections should be held there as soon as possible.

As I have said the main aim of the agitationists in Assam was not to allow the elections to be held there and they continue to be successful in their game.

Why elections cannot be held now? What is preventing the elections from being held? In my mind, unless and until elections are held, a permanent solution to the Assam problem cannot be found. Elections are a must. Let the people of Assam elect their own representatives in the Assembly and in Parliament and let them tackle their own problems and find out solutions. This is the only solution which can be found out.

Secondly, I would like to say something about the present situation in Assam and about the local administration. It is a fact that in Assam the local administration is very much involved in the agitation itself.

As Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dey, who is one of the two representatives from Assam, has already said the local administration is in question. They are acting under the advice of the Gana Sangram Parishad and the other agitation leaders and now a new element in the Assam politics has been introduced. It is the involvement in a very big way of the RSS and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. Uptil now it was a question of regionalism. But now communalism is taking over regionalism.

The BJP leaders are playing a double game in Assam. When they go to the areas where most of the people are from the majority community. I mean, Hindus, they are saying there 'Let the Bengali and Assamese Hindus live together; this agitation is against the Muslims'. When they go to the Muslim-dominated areas, they say 'This agitation is against foreigners; we are not against the Hindus, we are not against the Muslims, but we are against foreigners'. This is the game of the BJP. Their right and left arms, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and RSS, are already declaring :

हिन्दू-हिन्दू एक हैं, मुसलमान को यहाँ से बाहर निकाल दो ।

This is the slogan that is now being heard in Assam and everywhere.

With pain and anguish I would like to bring to your kind notice that the local administration of Assam is adopting the same policy in eviction. It is, no doubt, true that here and there the linguistic minorities are also being evicted. But, by and large, the Muslims are being evicted from Assam. Even those persons whose names continue to be in the electoral rolls from 1957 onwards, those people who are voters and who have already voted in two or three elections, are being evicted, and it is under the influence of the BJP, Vishwa Hindu Parishad leaders and their agents in the local administration of Assam. I would give only one example and that is from the constituency of the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Mr. Laskar, himself.

75 Muslims were evicted from Ratabari, in the constituency of Mr. Laskar, and it is openly alleged there that, behind this eviction, the hand of the SDO is evident. Who is that SDO? It is open knowledge that the SDO is a hardened member of the RSS cadre. Let Mr. Laskar deny it. It is in the knowledge of Mr. Laskar, and I have also been informed that Mr. Laskar tried his best to have this SDO transferred, but the SDO cannot be transferred. I would very much like Mr. Laskar to enlighten us on this matter, why that SDO who has RSS connections—the Home Minister knows that—has not been transferred. Is it not a fact that those 75 Muslims who were evicted have voted for Mr. Laskar? Have they not been in the voters' list for two or three elections? Why is this kind of thing being done in the constituency of the Home Minister himself? If it is done in that constituency, you can well imagine what would be happening in other parts of Assam.

The Home Minister, Shri Vepkataranian, has been kind enough to issue a letter to stop eviction, but the eviction has not been stopped. Reports are coming that evictions are taking place.

One thing, I would like to say and that is, finding out the foreigners should not be left to the local administration of Assam. There should be a Central agency in Assam to find out the foreigners, to detect the foreigners. The minorities cannot trust the local administration of Assam. We want a Central agency for this purpose, to go into the matter, and if foreigners are detected, if foreigners are found out, they can be deported; we have no objection. But the 1971 cut-off line should not be ignored; we should stick to the 1971 cut-off line.

With these words, I hope that the Home Minister will tackle this problem very seriously and he will try his best to hold elections as soon as possible, so that the representatives of Assam may come in the State Assembly and Parliament and the democratic process could be restored.

The agitationists should be told firmly. 'Thus far, no further'. I also demand stopping of negotiations and taking action.

Shri Ravindra Varma : This is not the first time that my hon friend, the Home Minister has come to the House with a proposal that we endorse the promulgation of the President's rule in Assam. This is perhaps the fourth time the Home Minister has come to this House with the proposal. On some earlier occasions it was linked with the proposal that the Assembly should be held in suspended animation. On the last occasion it was linked with the proposal that the Assembly should be dissolved.

I shall not repeat all that I have said on earlier occasions about the Government's responsibility for the developments that led to the imposition of President's rule in that State. But I cannot help saying that the proposal this time is perhaps the epilogue of a sad and sordid chapter of intrigue against the electorate and the Assembly, characterised by attempts to subvert the verdict of the electorate through an organised and unashamed campaign to induce defections, through abortive attempts to set up a minority Ministry which were thwarted by the majority of the Assembly, through the installation of minority governments, through the denial of the right of a proven majority to form a Ministry and attempts to reduce the office of the Governor to an instrument of the ruling Party to serve its partisan interests at the cost of the Constitution. We are debating this resolution and the Budget under unfortunate circumstances. As many hon. Members have pointed out, it is and that 12 out of the 14 seats from Assam are unrepresented in this Parliament. There is no popular government in Assam to-day. There is no Assembly in the State of Assam to-day and this House has the responsibility to debate not only this resolution on the promulgation of Presidential rule, but also to discuss and pass the Budget of the State. This is a sad state of affairs, a state of affairs that should not be allowed

to endure for a minute longer if it is possible.

But, as other hon Members have said, this situation can be remedied only if there is an election. My friend who spoke before me, the hon Member from Ghazipur, seems to think that it is easy and if elections are held, the problems would be solved. He was putting the cart a mile before the horse. The problem is that elections could not be held in 1980. The problem is that elections cannot be held to-day even if my hon friend, the Home Minister wants to order them tomorrow, through the Election Commission which will oblige him, I suppose. The problem is that elections cannot be held because the State has been in the throes of a unique and unprecedented mass movement to ensure that the electoral rolls are purged of the names of the illegal infiltrants from a foreign country. Unless this problem is solved, unless the people of Assam are assured that the electoral rolls have been freed of the names of illegal infiltrants, it will be difficult to envisage the process of election in Assam. It is known that the movement which has again and again demonstrated its massive nature and the nature of the support it enjoys from the people of Assam has not been dealt with in the manner it should have been dealt with. I am one of those who believe that perhaps the problem could have been solved earlier if the Government had not resorted to the maladroit, deleterious approach that it adopted earlier.

Sir, unfortunately, their reaction to the movement, their response to the movement was the time-honoured reaction that one sees from authoritarian Governments that attempt to deal with a mass movement, I am sorry, the word 'authoritarian' may be objected to by the other side. They can choose any other word but the rose will smell the same way. They tried to follow the footsteps of the British Government in dealing with the mass movement. They tried to denigrate the movement; denounced it as secessionist; and characterised it as a movement directed against the

minorities of the country; they tried to deny the dimensions of public support that the movement enjoys; they tried to divide the ranks of the movement; they tried to depend on agents provocateurs and, finally, they tried to depend on ruthless repression and legislation like the NASA and ESMA. One may refer to them later. But, Sir, the movement survived. It out-lived the campaign of calumny and caricature and it vindicated its mass support.

Sir, I must say that a non-violent mass movement has a momentum of its own. But, there are fluctuations in the momentum. Fluctuations in public participation should not be regarded as an index of fluctuations in public support especially when the cause is one that is basic and emotive. To interpret it as a sign of loss or erosion of public support is to invite dangerous consequences. We have seen instances of what happened when the Government or the leaders of the movement committed this error of judgment—I am not referring to the Kuo Oil deal which was described as an error of judgment.—If the Government becomes a victim of this psychosis, it begins to under-rate the strength of the movement it begins to believe that it can ignore or bypass or circumvent the basic political issues that the movement brings up. It begins to believe that the time has come to suppress the movement with the use of naked and ruthless force.

Sir, we have seen many instances of this pattern during our non-violent struggle for freedom. In the same way, fluctuations in public participation can have dangerous effects on the psychology of the leaders of the movement also. Sir, if, in a spirit of disillusionment or provocation some of them believe that they should opt for programmes which demand lesser public participation, though based on adequate public support, there is a danger that the movement may drift in to the realm of terrorism and violence. Such reactions will lead the Government as well as the movement into the quagmire of bitterness and sterility, of violence and suffering for the people. I think that the time has now

come for me to warn the Government and appeal to the Government as well as the leaders of the movement to ensure that they do not march into this quagmire.

Sir, it is good, therefore, that both the Government and the leaders of the agitation have responded to the call for tripartite negotiations. Some progress has been made at these negotiations. It is not very easy because there has been a trial of bitterness and distrust left behind by the distinguished or not so distinguished predecessor of the Home Minister who is at present holding charge of this portfolio. But, Sir, negotiations have to be continued. My hon. friend, Mr. Jethmalani, referred to the need to ensure that the negotiations are resumed from where they were broken off or from where they were adjourned. I endorse this and I appeal that we may take up the threads of the negotiations from where the negotiations were adjourned before the minigeneral elections.

Now, Sir, Assam is without a popular Government. All of us have stated at various times that a good Government is no substitute for self-Government. Unfortunately, Sir, to-day Assam has neither self-Government nor good Government.—where there is a popular Government, the leaders of the Government, the highest dignitaries are accessible and answerable. It is often said that distance lends enchantment to the view. But, here is a case where distance from the centres of decision-making leads to insensitivity to problems that pinch the people, unconcern at the speed and effectiveness of implementation, unconcern at sloth, inaction and corruption. People's problems fester. Government fails to perform its basic duties. The administration which is supposed to be the administration of a socialist and democratic State and a Welfare State, degenerates into a Police Raj or an administration where the minions of the bureaucracy have immunity for lethargy, corruption and inefficiency. This is the picture that we see in Assam today.

Mr. Chairman : Please conclude.

Shri Ravindra Varma : Everybody has been given 20 or 30 minutes. Would you like me to stop.

Mr. Chairman : You please continue.

Shri Ravindra Varma : I don't think you have to prove your impartiality; you should not allow that thought to absess you. The truth of what I said can be very easily seen from the present situation to which my hon. friend the Member from Ghazipur, has referred: Look at the toll of floods and Erosion in Assam.

The fury of the Brahmaputra and its tributaries is very well known. Every year there is a loss of Rs. 20 to 30 crores, as a result of floods and erosion in Assam. The turbulent river has to be tamed. The fury of the current, the landslides, the slit, the shallowness of the river-bed, the resultant over flow, erosion of banks, are all problems that have to be tackled. A number of deaths happen every year as a result of floods Sir you are looking at your watch. Otherwise I would have liked to talk about the effect of the flood and the fury of the flood and erosion in detail. Floods have been particularly felt in Mangaldai, Lakhimpur, Tezpur where heavy damage has been done. Erosion has been particularly severe between Neamati and Jhajhimukh in Jorhat endangering the Jorhat subdivision and Jorhat town, Mariasula area in Golaghat subdivision, and is now posing a serious threat to the Kaziranga sanctuary. Nobody wants the denizens of the sanctuary to migrate elsewhere, or make inroads elsewhere.

Mr. Chairman : At least not to Bombay.

Shri Ravindra Varma : Not to Jadhavpur. Would you welcome them to Jadhavpur? (Interruptions) the Fakiraganj South Salmera Road has been exposed to erosion. And in Dibrugarh there is continuous erosion by the Buri Dihang endangering the embankments in Upper Assam. Now, Sir, the relief measures undertaken have not been prompt or adequate. And, because of the lethargy of the bureaucracy and the absence of MLA's who could have procecd officials into action people are

suffering. Then there is this severe problem of erosion. In spite of the demands and representations that have been made, regarding the construction of spurs and desilting (which are essential to stop the erosion of the banks) no effective steps have been taken. Sir, the Brahmaputra Control Commission and Board was set up by a Bill adopted by the House. You will recall this : If I remember aright you also made your contribution to the debate. The House passed the Bill in 1980. The Board was set up in 1981, 31st December 1981. This House was told that there was urgency. Everybody knows of the urgency. But even after the House passed the Bill it took more than a year for the Board to be set up. The board was to formulate and implement projects. But no action has been taken as yet, Sir.

I come now to 'Law and Order'. Sir, I request you to give me some time as I am dealing with the Budget proper.

Mr. Chairman : Another 2 minutes please conclude.

Shri Ravindra Varma : If that is so, it is impossible.

Mr. Chairman : You start.

Shri Ravindra Varma : Law and Order situation has been referred to by my hon. friends. There is a police raj in Assam today. There is a reign of terror. Section 144 has been declared throughout the State. The Government follows a policy of arresting and harassing people, framing false charges against the leaders of the movement, and so on; there is unauthorised entry into educational institutions and campuses by the police. Traders have been arrested and their licences have been cancelled on the ground that they have taken part in the dandh. Now, I can go on and on about this matter. But I only wish to point out the total and miserable failure of the Government as far as maintenance of Law and Order or the tracking down of culprits is concerned.

There was a bomb explosion in Fatasil-Ambari on 9th June in which 19 innocent people lost their lives. There was the case of Mr. Parthasarathy who died in an explosion in 1980.

There was an explosion at the MLA's campus in Dispur, Mr. Das—I think my hon. friend Mr. Sontosh Mohan Dev referred to it—was killed in the Guest House of the Veterinary Department. And in spite of the fact that enquiries have been entrusted to the C. B. I. the culprits have not been tracked down. I wonder whether the Government is keen to solve these problems and if it is keen, I wonder whether the Government is efficient at all. Now, there are 10 IGPs in Assam and in spite of the fact that there are 10 IGPs in Assam, there is deterioration in the law and order situation. Sir, if you are going to be very strict with the time. I will have to deal with some economic aspects as well.

Mr. Chairman : You please come to last point. Is it your last point ?

Shri Ravindra Varma : I pleaded with the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs or with the Deputy-Speaker that sufficient time must be given to deal with the subject. Sir, you are a man who believes in democracy. There is no Assembly in the State. We are discussing the Budget of Assam.

Mr. Chairman : Now, you came to the economic aspect—limited to economics.

Shri Ravindra Varma : Now, Sir, there is the question of Oil which is very important for Assam. It is one of the main sources of income for Assam. It is the most important industry that contributes to the resources of the Exchequer, after the Tea industry. There is an ocean of oil in the State of Assam. But what is the Government giving Assam as royalty? A pittance ! I hope that oil wells are found in Bengal too, so that you may join in the crusade for a legitimate quantum of royalty, Sir, the Government has fixed Rs. 61, which is supposed to be 20 per cent of the price of crude. When the price was Rs. 305 per tonne they fixed the royalty at Rs. 61 per tonne at the rate of 20 per cent and soon after entering into this agreement and saying that this Agreement will last for 4 years, the Government increased the price to Rs. 1180, with the result that there is a colossal loss, or if I may use their parlance, there is a notional



loss of a huge magnitude as far as the State of Assam and the coffers of the State of Assam are concerned.

Now, Sir, I turn to prices. You know that this is a State which is vulnerable because of lack of communication. All the prices are shooting up. Mr. Deb will agree with me when I say that rice was sold at Rs. 8 per kilo in some parts of the state.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : In Silchar

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA : Yes, in Silchar. The difference between the wholesale prices and the retail prices clearly shows that the increase in prices and the inability to control prices is primarily because of the inefficiency of the Government, the unconcern of the Government.

Now, coming to the infrastructure, transport and communications, I know that you will agree with me when I say that this is a very important question, for this State. There is only one bridge over the Brahmaputra. It has been said that the bridge at Jogighopa has been approved already. This will help to open the South Bank to rail-communication. But bureaucratic bungling has sabotaged this project, and there is a lingering fear that it may continue to be sabotaged. Proposals for road cum-rail bridges in Assam get sabotaged somewhere in the Railway Ministry because there seems to be road transport lobby, a Lorry lobby which is able to influence the Railway Ministry, especially after my distinguished friend, the right hon. gentleman from Rajapur demitted office. Then there is the proposal for a bridge at Bhomoraguri. The original plan of the Bhomoraguri Bridge has had to be changed because of the erosion of the banks, and in spite of the fact that the Engineers from the State as well as the experts who were sent from here had advised that there must be an effort to build up stone spurs to save the banks from erosion, that was not done. Now, the bridge is going to take more time and cost more.

It is nearly a decade since a decision was taken to extend the Broad-Gauge line from New Bongaigaon to Gauhati Station. Demands have been voiced in this House very often. Sir, there have been many cases of corruption. I know, that you could like me to expose them, but I shall not tax your indulgence.

Recently there was a report in the newspapers about a scandalous deal in Agarwoodoil. My hon. friend must be aware of it. The Assam Police Bureau of Economic offences raided the office of the General Manager of the Gauhati Refinery of the Indian Oil Corporation and unearthed the Scandalous deal. If I had the time, I would have described this case. It involved a loss valued at about Rs. 2 lakhs. It was in flagrant violation of all the laws governing the manufacture, transport, and storage of agarwood oil and the law regarding sales tax.

Then, there have been complaints about the Assam State Transport Corporation and the Assam Tea Corporation. School teachers of 708 schools and 134 madrasas have not been paid their salaries from January onwards. If I do not mention these here where does one mention these problem?

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel that you are quite impatient, or I am taxing your indulgence too much. I would, therefore, conclude with a reference to the need to restart negotiations.

Negotiations should be continued and expedited. There is no other way in which this problem can be solved. Emulating the ostrich and denying that there is a problem, or denying, that there is public support cannot provide the answer. Emulating Col. Blimp cannot provide the answer. Leaders of the agitation have led a massive and unprecedented movement. The people of Assam have given them unstinted and continued support. They have faced ruthless repression and have stood by the leadership of this movement. This places a great responsibility on the shoulders of the leaders of the movement...(interruptions). They should not fritter away this capital in skirmishes on words or peripheral matters. What they are concerned with should be the crux of the issue. It needs courage to lead a non-violent agitation. It needs an equal degree of courage and statesmanship to clinch an agreement and not let it slip between your fingers. I would, therefore, appeal to them to show resilience at the negotiating table, as they have shown determination in leading the struggle. I would appeal to the Government as well as to the leaders of the movements to give evidence of sagacity and statesmanship. My hon. friend. Shri Venkataraman

has taken charge of this portfolio. He is known as a very reasonable person, who can find solutions to big problems. His temperament is such that he does not exacerbate; his temperament is such that no one can dismiss him as flippant. I therefore, believe that he has a great opportunity, if he can bring to bear his talent and his experience and give evidence of earnestness. I know that he can be over-ruled, or even his reasonableness can be over-ruled, but I do wish him well. And I do hope, as a result of his efforts, an early solution would be found so that elections can be held, and democracy restored and the problem of foreign nationals in Assam solved to the satisfaction of all.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT (BHARATPUR):**

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the continuance of the Proclamation. I have carefully listened to the speeches made from both the sides of the House. Shri Ram Jethmalani, by his speech, has created a feeling in the House that Assam is really in a bad situation. In his words, Assam is on fire. But the best barometer to find about the situation in Assam is that we do not read in the newspaper now-a-days about Shri Vajpayee going to Gauhati. It is the best barometer that Assam is not on fire. If Assam had problems, Shri Vajpayee would have been in Gauhati. As I said in my last speech also, there is not much of a problem which the Assamese feel, it is more the political parties which have, in fact, created these problems. And I have proved that also. When I was in Gauhati last, I found that the Gandhi Maidan which is a public speaking platform for politicians had been booked by various political parties like Lok Dal, BJP, Janta Party etc. for a number of days. Every party had booked that place for public meetings. I also mentioned it that day that some of the leaders have said that they may be anywhere in the country, but their heart is in Assam. I am sure their hearts must have been flown back or that they have to recollect their hearts from Assam, where the situation has certainly improved.

**AN HON. MEMBER :** When did you go there :

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT :** I had been there recently. I think one and a half months

back. And, Sir, I challenge, not many Opposition political leaders have been to Assam in the last three months. But if tomorrow a news comes in some newspapers that such and such agitation has taken place, again you will find the IAC seats booked for Gauhati by these people. You would not get a seat for Gauhati on that day. This is the intention of the political parties and this is one of the problems of the Assamese issue.

I do agree that some of the demands are genuine. Due to the negotiations and effort of the Government something is being done in a better sense and the differences have narrowed down.

When this problem started, unfortunately, it was handled by those people who do not know even Assam geographically. I remember a friend of mine, a Member of Parliament, during 1977, visited the then Home Minister and said, "Sir, this is the problem in my area". He asked: 'Is it on China border or on Pakistan border'. It was in 1977, whereas the Pakistan border had already finished in 1971. He asked the question; Does it lie closer to China border or Pakistan border? These were the people handling the Assam problem. They did not know the geographical part of Assam. So, they created more seriousness in the situation. Ultimately when our Government came to power in 1980, it was in the peak of the crisis. After that efforts have been made and the situation has improved.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** Dates are wrong. I think it was 1981.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT :** No, it is 1980. I am quite sure of that. Date and time we remember better. So, after our Government took-over, efforts have been made and today if any one goes to Assam, he should not go to those people who are taking part in the agitation, but meet the common people, see the situation there. He will appreciate that the situation has improved. This Government has put in efforts and after taking over, this Government has handled it in a democratic way. They call it undemocratic, because they

could not make out anything. If you read the Opposition party list, it is full of defectors. In our list there are three or four people. I am not saying we do not take defectors, but we have at least the minimum. But they were full of it. The whole list is full of defectors. I would have told this to Shri Jethmalani, but he has left this place.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (NEW DELHI)** : But, Sir, they had only eight Members, when the election took place and then the number went up to 45.

**MR. CHAIRMAN** : He is probably a little mixed up in figures.

**SHRI RAJESH PILOT** : Now, Sir, what is the cause of this problem? As I have mentioned earlier, one is political interference, survival of some political parties. Whenever there is an Assam problem, you would find some of the political parties collecting funds for Assam. Some of the political parties say it is badly required in Assam. Something is wrong in Assam. Some of the political parties survive on this. The second cause of the problem is the lack of economic development of the State. Therefore, I urge upon the Central Government—as they have President's Rule there—that they must put in some effort on the economic side.

To improve the economic condition in the State, one area is agriculture. You have given so much incentives to other States—knowhow, technical knowhow, financial help etc. But this has not been provided to Assam. Its agriculture has always lagged behind. So, its agriculture should be given more incentives to come up.

Then in regard to industries, the Government has taken up a lot of good plans, but they have not been acted upon. In Gauhati, you started industrial area development programme, but in the last two years only two or three factories have been established there. Therefore, I request the Government to hasten their actions in this

direction. If they set up industries there, two or three of the problems of the State of Assam will automatically be solved—its unemployment and economic problems.

Then in regard to power projects, as I have mentioned earlier, like Kashmir, we have so many places here where power can be generated. The projects like Bramhaputra project should be given priority so that the State does not have a power problem.

Then, Sir, in Assam there are a lot of spots where tourism could be developed. In other words, economic help could be given to the State in this form.

Then in regard to the ratio of recruitment in Government services, I would say that the ratio of recruitment of Assamese in Government services is very meagre. Take for example, in defence services there are hardly two to three recruiting centres in whole of the State of Assam, whereas in a place like Punjab or Haryana, you have two to three recruiting centres in one district. So, this point should be considered—enrolment into police service, enrolment into defence and the Government services. The ratio should be increased; it is not much now.

Now about education. In other States, wherever the population of a village is 2,000 having a primary school is a must. But in Assam, the population is scattered, due to traditional or other reasons. In an area of half-kilometer, 100 houses may be there, but not all at one place. Because of this factor, education has suffered. The number of primary and middle schools is much less. That is one of the causes of lack of economic development.

Then there is the lack of communication. I would say frankly that whatever Government does, does not flow over back to the people of Assam. You have got to form a cell and consider some method whereby they can be involved in the national stream. Half of the things are not reaching there, either because of lack of communication or any other reason.

Among Government servants, posting to Assam is taken as a punishment. They do not take it in the normal sense. This is because of lack of coordination. Some thought should be given, as to how people can be involved in the national stream and their activities integrated with national activities.

The Home Minister here has got everything now. Some projects can be taken up there now, because there is no elected Government there. So, they must certainly take some action which must prove to the people that the Government's intentions are right, and that they want to improve the standard of living of the people there.

We can fight the political battles at the time of elections; but we must take action now, because we are responsible now, and this is the period when some positive action can be taken, and the confidence of the people in Assam can be restored.

These are the few words I wanted to say. Mr. Ravindra Varma had taken a long time because he is a senior person. So, I have taken less time.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (BASIRHAT):** I also hope that this is the last occasion when this House will be called upon to perform the functions of the State Legislature of Assam. I think this has been going on for too long; and most of the Members, I think on both the sides, have referred to the fact—I don't mean any disrespect to the two Members who are here, but the fact remains—that Assam is by and large unrepresented in the Lok Sabha. And this is a distortion which should be corrected as soon as possible. It cannot go on indefinitely like this; and this House cannot go on indefinitely passing the Budget for the State of Assam and extending the periods of President's rule.

I would suggest that the Government should publicly state that it is prepared for the holding of elections. At the end of the next spell of President's rule viz. sometime in March next year or before that—

because after that, it will not be constitutionally possible to do so, unless somebody comes forward with the suggestion that the Constitution should be amended which, I think, nobody will support and at least we will not—elections have to be held i.e. by 18th March, 1983. The position should be made clear by the Government of India but not in a provocative way, as though Government is challenging the people of Assam to come for a battle. It should be properly explained, and elections have got to be held; and preparation should be made for those elections. And the intervening period which is there now—about seven months or so—is crucial. This seven-month period must be utilized for making every possible effort to reach some kind of a satisfactory settlement of this vexed issue of foreign nationals. As far as I know the mind of these student boys from Assam, if no settlement is reached between now and March, they are still in frame of mind to resist the elections. What form, it will take, I cannot say; whether they will give a general call for boycott of elections or whether they will again try as they did last time to prevent nominations being filed by the candidates, which they successfully did last time. I do not know what they intend to do, but their general feeling is that if no settlement is reached before March 1983, then they will consider that the elections are being forcibly imposed; and in such a case, they would again try to gear up for some sort of a confrontation. I consider that it is of the greatest importance that this intervening period of 6-7 months should be positively and constructively utilized to try to come to some reasonable, fair settlement of this issue and that the responsibility rests on the Government.

Certainly, we are in favour of those talks being resumed. There is no question of the talks being broken off; the talks must be resumed. I hope by the time they are resumed, we will not have again a new Home Minister; one cannot say. We are addressing ourselves at the moment to Mr. R. Venkataraman. But by the time the talks are resumed, there may be some other per-

son holding that office. It is also a complicating factor, I can tell you in the whole situation, because some continuity is required—people who must get the feel, hang of this whole sort of atmosphere which has been created. I know it is very difficult for anybody if he is new to face this task; and then again he is likely to be changed very quickly. Anyhow, that is the constant practice.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** Only the Prime Minister is the constant.....

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** She is not very much in the picture directly. I do not want to take time of the House by referring to the shabby way with which the Government behaved when there was a chance of the popular government being restored or six parties, a front of six parties, which have manifestly got a majority; and I should have thought by the way that today it would have been good tactics on the part of the Government to allow them to form a Ministry and make them face the situation. Even that common sense tactics was not employed by the Government. Any Ministry which is formed in Assam has no alternative but to tackle this movement. They have to do something; they cannot avoid it. I should have thought that you would have the good sense to allow those opposition parties, that front under Mr. Sarat Sinha's leadership to form that Ministry and then told them, come on, let us see how do you deal with these agitators; do something. (Interruptions.)

**AN HON. MEMBER :** He could have complicated it.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** He might have complicated it, but what are you doing now, except complicating it. The President's Rule is not a thing which does anything but complicates. For sometimes it becomes the necessity. And this motion which has been brought here, I mean there is no alternative for us but to support it. We cannot say, no there must be no further President's Rule there from today.

because you cannot have elections just now it is obvious. Therefore, whether we like it or not, as a necessity, there has to be another spell of President's Rule. But let it be the last and let us all determine to get together and try to see that the elections are held in a normal and peaceful atmosphere in March, 1983.

I don't think that the situation is as pessimist as sometimes appears. In the course of these talks which have been going on, I had a feeling—I do not know; I may be wrong—I had a feeling that at least a good part of the people who are representing the agitation are slowly and slowly changing their mind to some extent and coming around to the idea, from their own angle, they are also coming around to the idea that it is not possible indefinitely to go on like this type of movement and there should be some kind of settlement. Apart from the AASU leaders, I would like to bring to your notice a very interesting thing which I came across the other day. One of the peoples who regularly represents the Gana Sangram Parishad at our talks, as you know, is a former Divisional Commissioner, a retired IAS Officer, Mr. K. C. Barua. He is one of the stalwarts of the Sangram Parishad, one who has written several pamphlets and booklets also justifying this movement and his demands, in normal language what we call the hard core person; I do not mean any offence to him, but that is the type of person that he depicts. Shri K. C. Barua has written a letter, which has been published in the Assam Tribune of 5th June, 1982. I do not know whether it has been brought to your notice or not, but it is a very interesting letter where Shri Barua makes an allegation against Shri Laskar, which I hope Shri Laskar will explain when he speaks later on, whether it is true or not. Shri Barua has stated in his letter :

“The Minister of State, Mr. Laskar, tries to say that the Assamese votes predominate in 41 constituencies only”, (out of the 126 he means) “and, if necessary, the Government will hold elections in the remaining 85 constituencies.”

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI NIHAR RANJAN LASKAR) :** I have never said what he has mentioned in his statement.

**SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :** What did you say ?

**SHRI NIHAR RANJAN LASKAR :** I said that it has to be held all over Assam.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE :** It should be expunged from the proceedings.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA :** I think he was referring to some speech you have made at Gauhati. But the interesting thing that I am trying to point out is, that this allegation, or whatever it is, is based on something which Shri K. C. Barua is himself contradicting, for he says later in the same letter :

“Regarding 41 Assamese constituencies, it seems the Assamese speaking Muslims have been excluded. The General Secretary, Assam Sahitya Sabha has commented on the basis of the figures given by Shri Laskar. But I would say that the figures given should just be the reverse i.e. 85 constituencies with Assamese predominance, though the day may not be far off when the Assamese will be reduced to a minority if the influx of foreigners from the over-populated Bangladesh is allowed to continue.”

So, he crosses sword with Shri Laskar. According to Shri Barua, Shri Laskar talks of 41 constituencies where the Assamese predominate; but Shri Barua says : no, there are 85 constituencies where the Assamese predominate, why did you exclude the Assamese-speaking Muslims.

I do not know how this question of Hindus or Muslims comes in. If they are Assamese-speaking people, who have been educated in Assam and who have lived there for years, whose children have been educated in Assamese schools, one does not go about trying to find out whether

they are Hindus or Muslims. Then, finally, Shri Barua says :

“So far as the election is concerned, the present agitation is against foreigners and not against election. We have been opposing elections because the voters' list is full of foreigners' names, and the people elected with those foreigners' votes cannot be truly representatives of the people of Assam.....We still demand that corrections of voters' lists be taken up immediately and hold the elections at the earliest.”

I do not say this is a stand which means a complete reversal of their position, but certainly a big shift, I would say, in the attitude of the person of Shri K. C. Barua, I do not know if this is the view of the Jana Sangram Parishad or not.

I say there is nothing to be pessimistic about it, provided we get to business and talk on specific issues and try to clinch them with the agitation leaders. We know, all those who have participated in the talks know, that a lot of time is wasted in just making allegations and accusations against each other, going round and round, trying to find out whether what we have said last time is being correctly reported or not, which is just a waste of time. It is better if certain specific issues which require to be clinched, are clinched. You may not be able to reach agreement on all of them, but that is a different matter. But specific issues should be framed, the discussion should be business like and limited to those issues and we should try to take them up and clinch them.

In our view, there are some apprehensions among the people of Assam, one cannot deny them. Rightly or wrongly, those apprehensions have been still in their minds over the years of this movement and large numbers of people in Assam do feel that there is some huge group of undetected foreigners in Assam, who are likely to overwhelm them or overpower them or something like that and, therefore, that is what has given this movement the whole drift, that is what should be the

great mobilisation in the movement and nothing else. So, this issue cannot be avoided and I think, and my party also thinks, that some process of detection, the machinery for detection, is all important. I agree with some Members who have spoken about it from there. That is another question to which we will have to come, the machinery by which this detection and implementation will be carried out because it must be a machinery which is really impartial and in which everybody can have confidence and faith. It is a difficult thing to do, but it has got to be devised. And everybody has told us, especially people belonging to the minorities in Assam, that if State authorities with the State bureaucracy, State police and all that are allowed to dominate the implementation and detection machinery, then they will create havoc and all sorts of innocent people will be evicted by force. Evictions have been taking place for a long time. Many people have referred to it, but before we come to the machinery, the criterion for detection, the formula for detection, has not yet been agreed upon in those talks. That is why the talks broke down last time and we think we should stick to the formula, to the question that on the basis of our own Constitution, the Citizenship Act, the Foreigners' Act, the Passport Act, the international commitments that we have entered into and also on humanitarian considerations which cannot be ignored, people who have been there, who have been living for 15—20 years, who have either been rehabilitated by the Government or who have managed to settle down themselves and whose children have been born and brought up in Assam, people who were either working on land or in business or in trade or in some job, well, you cannot physically uproot them. There are lakhs of such people, they cannot be physically uprooted and told that they have to get out from there. There is a humanitarian consideration to it also. So, all these things will have to be borne in mind when we arrive at a reasonable and fair formula for detection which has got to be done in my opinion.

The Government, of course, has long ago retreated from the Prime Minister's original commitment that 1971 would be taken as a cut-off year which we had all supported. Later on, the Government has retreated from that position and in the later meetings we have been discussing not 1971, but 1961 to 1971. That whole period has been taken into account. Now I agree, and everybody knows it that there was a big influx from East Pakistan in the years 1964 and 1965 during the Indo-Pak war. Just before the Indo-Pak war there was a big influx of people who were running away. There is no doubt about that and some figures are there with the Government. They may not be absolutely reliable. Those figures do show that the overwhelming majority of the people who came away as *bona fide* refugees, were trying to escape from persecution or the threat of persecution. Those people who are to be identified as *bona fide* refugees cannot possibly be asked to go again, to be driven out. Certainly they cannot be deported. We have some international commitment also to refugees. What is to be done with them later—those who have come into Assam, those who have come into Maghalaya, those who have come into Tripura? For long years they have been coming into West Bengal. This question never arose before. What do we do with them later on, how do we deal with them, how we disperse them, where we settle them, is a different question. But there should be no question of deporting them simply because they come from the origin of the country, which is Pakistan. It cannot be done with those people who came as *bona fide* refugees. This should be made clear. I am repeating. It seems to be an obvious thing to say. But I have to repeat because I regret to say that in this movement which is based on some genuine apprehensions also, I do not deny that this movement has got very strong overtone of Assamese chauvinism, of even anti-Bengali feeling. Anti-Bengali feeling in Assam is nothing new in history. May be the Bengalis are themselves responsible for it. I do not know.

AN HON. MEMBER : Not at all.

enlighten the House at all.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I am saying. Let us argue. But the fact remains that this is nothing new over the years in Assam. There have repeatedly been movements against the Bengalis, but in this movement which is directed specifically or outwardly against foreign nationals, we have got to see to it that not a single Indian citizen from whichever State he may have come and gone to Assam, whether he is a Bengali or Bihari or whoever he may be not a single Indian citizen can be driven out under the plea or under the cover that because he is not an Assamese, therefore, he has no right to remain in Assam. Then there will be nothing left of this country. If this goes on once in Assam, it will start in so many other States also. If it spreads in other States, there will be nothing left of unity in this country at all. If this fundamental right is taken away of an Indian citizen to go and work or to seek employment and settle down in any other part of the country, if this is denied, in any case, it cannot be tolerated.

There remains those people who may be as foreign infiltrators, people who have come illegally, not as refugees, who have not been regularised, who have not been registered as citizen. Well, you have to deal with that and see how many they are, where they are, how they are and also if any of them are willing to give a commitment that they have severed all their connections and links with East Pakistan or Bangla Desh; it is no longer East Pakistan, I would say that that should be considered. Some opportunity should be given under our existing legislation to apply for citizenship if they want to. But that has to be considered.

The Governor of Assam has come here with some proposals which have been kept confidential. Of course, we do not know what he has recommended or suggested except the shuffling of some officers as I am able to make out. But the Press reports are that he has been recommending—why 1967 should be taken as a cut off year. I do not know if the Minister is going to

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN) : Not at this stage.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : The whole trouble is that in these meetings which are going on here, your meeting with representatives of different parties, the meeting which you have called tomorrow which, unfortunately, I would not be able to attend because I would not be here, I would say, Mr. Venkataraman, you have to be very careful that an impression is not created in the minds of these agitation leaders, particularly the students, that before they are called to Delhi for the next round of talks, the Government of India and these political parties are together trying to hatch up some kind of new conditions or terms which we are going to confront them with. This is actually not what we are doing. This is not what we are doing at all. There should be no such apprehension. But the mode, methodology, the modality of our approach should also be such that people who are not interested in settlement, those people who do not want settlement, there are people there, there are forces there, there are also secessionist forces in the movement, there are people who want the talk to be broken down, they should not get handle. They should not be allowed to arouse suspicion in the minds of the people, what is the use of going to Delhi for talks because the Home Minister and five or six parties, they have got together secretly and come to some decision without consulting us and they are going to face us with that. We should not give that kind of impression because that will not create an atmosphere. It will only queer the pitch.

Finally, I would just like to add my people whenever they come here, sometimes we have talked to them separately. I told them so many times that throughout such a prolonged movement you never raise any question about the economic development of Assam. Is that not a part of the movement that is spread over at all? You voice to say a few words. I have told those



talk about foreigners, foreigners, drive out foreigners. It seems, you are not interested at all in the economic development of Assam which are very burning issues and on which issues you should take them up. I told them, we are prepared to support you. But you did not say anything of that at all.

I find somebody has written an article in a paper. From the name of the author, it seems to be, probably also, an Assamese gentleman—giving a ridiculous theory : That all those people in Assam who are cultivating raw-jute—producers of raw-jute—are people who have come from Bangladesh and they are foreigners. So, foreigners in Assam are controlling the whole production of raw-jute and they are in league with the big *Marwaris*, jute mill-owners in Calcutta to whom they are selling raw-jute. So, they are also gaining, profiting and the mill-owners are also profiting.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Does he mean to say that before the Bangladeshis came to Assam, there used to be no raw-jute cultivation ?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : The whole thing is ridiculous. I would like to ask, if the cultivation of raw-jute in Assam is, let us say,—if it is—entirely in the hands of Assamese, genuine Assamese about whom there is no question, would they not sell the same jute to the mill-owners in Calcutta ? Where would they sell ? Unfortunately, there is hardly any jute mill in Assam to consume their own raw-jute. All that raw-jute goes to Calcutta—whether it is being grown by Assamese or by Bengalis or by Bangladeshis or whatever it is. And in any case, let me say those jute cultivators there are suffering just as much as jute cultivators in any other State. Their prices have been depressed by the very same mill-owners. They are not in league with them at all. They are being denied even the statutory prices or support prices which are announced by the Government every year. They are poor people. They are not wealthy

people at all. Such things are being written in order to steer up some kind of chauvinistic feelings which I don't think at all desirable.

I do not know about the youngmen of Assam because there are lot of unemployment there. We should, I think, encourage them to get some more and more opportunities of scientific education and higher technical education and that kind of thing. We have got so many institutes and so many centres of learning in our country. Of course, this would apply as well to the whole North Eastern region and I would not confine only to Assam, but these people from the whole North Eastern region including Assam. I think, these youngmen should be given special facilities and extended opportunities for higher technical education and scientific education in our institutes so that they do not feel that these benefits are all going to people who are far far away from them.

Other things have been mentioned—the question of oil and petro-chemicals and proper utilisation of gas, natural gas, which is there in plenty in Assam. Mr. Rajesh Pilot—he is not here—was challenging us saying, these people do not go there, they only talk from Delhi. Well, I was there only a month and a half ago and to Shiv Sagar, the area you have to go there still, which is one of the crude oil producing areas. In Shiv Sagar, you will see, throughout the countryside, there are so many, what is called, Christmas trees. You know that, that is where the oil has been found in a particular place. For the time being, the well has been plugged and sealed by a plug which looks like a Christmas tree. This is how, it is called the Christmas tree. That oil is not being taken out though there is oil there and stocking all over the place. The well has been plugged because they do not know what to do with the crude oil. They do not have the capacity to use that crude oil. I think, there is scope, here.

If you are serious about planning, and if your Budget is helping for the development of Assam, there is much more scope

for the development of petro-chemical complexes and proper use of natural gas and all that which would certainly help them very much.

My friend, Mr. Varma has mentioned the question of completion of the broad gauge railway line within the scheduled time and extension of the broad gauge line from Jogi Ghopa to Gauhati and from Gauhati to Tinsukia. I do not know why these, are taking such a long time. They all add to the feeling of a sort of separation from India, an unbridgable distance from India.

About the question of completion of construction of a bridge at Silghat over Brahmaputra, it is also running well behind scheduled time. There is also the question of new bridges over Brahmaputra at Jogighopa and Dibrugarh. Again, flood control is a perennial question which is being mentioned again and again. I do not want to repeat it. We should have some intensive schemes for flood control. Otherwise the same thing is repeated over and over again. Tremendous devastation is there partly because of the movement itself and partly because of the administrative difficulties.

There is no doubt that black-marketeers and hoarders are taking the maximum advantage of the situation to raise the prices of essential commodities. You know that the prices of rice, atta, pulses, sugar, cloth, kerosene, mustard oil and so on have shot up like anything. The ordinary people are suffering. Therefore, there should be a proper scheme for the distribution of all these essential commodities at properly controlled prices.

These are some of the things which on the Budget aspect of it I wanted to mention. I am totally opposed to Mr. Laskar's resolution or motion or whatever it is. This is no way to solve the problem by clamping down the Essential Services Maintenance Act to several industries and services and so on. History is proving that these things do not fulfil the purpose for which they

are supposed to be designed at all, specially when there is so much discontent or revolt in certain areas. You cannot quell it simply by this kind of administrative punitive measures. It has not been possible and it is not possible anywhere in the country. We are seeing it every day. I do not want to mention all these things. So, I oppose the motion for extension of the Essential Services Act and its application to so many services and industries.

On the Budget, I have made some remarks. I hope, all the suggestions made by me here regarding the economic development side of it will be seriously taken into consideration. I support Mr. R. Venkataraman's motion for extension of the President's Rule upto March, 1983 with the proviso that let this be the last time : Let there be elections definitely at the end of it: Let the Government fix its target and declare it openly, declare it publicly, in a proper and purposive way to the people. Let them go and campaign there. Why don't they go there in Assam and campaign there? Why don't the people belonging to your party go and explain to the people there? What happened during the movement? How many people belonging to C.P.M. and C.P.I. have been beaten up and killed? We resisted the movement because at the earlier stages, it was a violent and chauvinistic movement. Our offices had been burnt down and our workers had been attacked and assaulted. What were your people doing in Assam at that time? They were helping the movement. They went with the tide : they drifted with the tide. That is not the way any national party can stand up in such moment of crisis. If you want to save the integration of the country, kindly take a proper look at the whole thing and move in a more proper and sober way. You will then get our cooperation and we will try to help you to solve the problem and the elections can be held in March, 1983 in a way which will restore the normalcy.

Once again, I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity.

आचार्य भगवान देव (अजमेर) : सभापति जी, जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया गया है, उसका समर्थन करते हुए मैं गृह मंत्री, प्रधान मंत्री और वहां के गवर्नर ने जितने सूझ-बूझ, समझदारी और शान्तिपूर्वक तरीकों से आसाम के सम्बन्ध में, मार्ग निकालने की कोशिश की है, उसकी प्रशंसा करता हूं और मैं समझता हूं कि इस से बढ़ कर और कोई रास्ता इस समस्या को हल करने का नहीं हो सकता है ।

विरोधी पार्टियों के लोगों ने बार-बार यह बात कही है, हमारे वर्मा जी और गुप्त जी ने यह कहा है कि उनके बात की जाये । मुझे याद है कि प्रधान मंत्री जी के सुपुत्र संजय गांधी की जब मृत्यु हुई थी, उस समय भी विरोधी पार्टियों के नेता जब उन से मिलने गये थे, तो उन्होंने आसाम के बारे में उनसे बातचीत की थी । इस तरह से आप देखें कि उन को कितनी चिन्ता इस बारे में थी और इससे बढ़कर चिन्ता इन विरोधी पार्टियों के लोगों को क्या हो सकती है । विदेशी नागरिकों की बात कही गई और ये 1961, 1971 की बात करते हैं । जब विरोधी पार्टियों के ये लोग सत्ता में थे, ढाई साल में इन्होंने जितना कार्य किया था और ढाई साल में जो कार्य हमारी सरकार ने किये हैं, मैं चलेज करता हूं कि इन्होंने उसका सौवां हिस्सा भी कार्य नहीं किया था । विरोधी दल के लोगों ने अपने काल में समस्या का समाधान क्यों नहीं किया ? आज विदेशियों की बात करते हैं । अटल बिहारी जी यहां पर बठे हैं, ये विदेश मंत्री थे उन दिनों मैं इनसे पूछना चाहता हूं कि विदेशियों की समस्या के समाधान के बारे में आपने क्या किया ? उस समय आप कहां चले गये थे । उस समय विदेशों की यात्रा हो रही थी या शिमला के अन्दर सफिट हाउस में एकांतवास ठूँठा जा रहा था । दिल्ली का "प्रताप" अखबार अपने फ्रंट पेज पर लिख रहा है कि विदेश मंत्री जी श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी . . . .

(व्यवधान)

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :  
Point of order\*\*

आचार्य भगवान देव : मैं हकीकत ब्यान कर रहा हूं, वहां डाक बंगले में . . . . .

(व्यवधान)

सभापति महोदय : आप मेरी बात सुनिए ।

(व्यवधान)

यह कौन सा तरीका है ?

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA : Why should the Hon. Member say something irrelevant ? What is the relevance that it has got ?

PROF. MADHU DANDVATE : We made a political attack on the Prime Minister.

सभापति महोदय : आप चुप क्यों नहीं होते हैं ? जब मैं खड़ा हूं तो आपको बैठ जाना चाहिये । मैं वक्ता महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि यह राष्ट्रीय समस्या है, इस समस्या पर ऊपर उठकर हम लोग विचार-विमर्श करें । व्यक्तिगत आक्षेप करना ठीक नहीं है ।

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :  
Let it be cleared.

आचार्य भगवानदेव : इन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री तक के ऊपर व्यक्तिगत आक्षेप लगाये हैं । इन को सुनना भी चाहिये ।

PROF. MADHU DANDVATE : Have you followed what he has said ?

आचार्य भगवानदेव : आसाम की समस्या को पोलिटिकल बनाया गया है ।

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE :  
That I was in Simla . . . . .

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA : That is an obscene remark.

(व्यवधान)

सभापति महोदय : आप कृपया बैठ जाइए । आप इस तरह का आक्षेप मत कीजिए ।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : From the ruling party, not even one Member has said anything.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is certainly unparliamentary.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : These charges should be cleared.

आचार्य भगवानदेव : उस समय विदेश मंत्री कहां थे ?

सभापति महोदय : यह आप कह सकते हैं, लेकिन व्यक्तिगत आक्षेप नहीं कर सकते।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इस तरह की बातें सदन में नहीं चल सकतीं।

(व्यवधान)

सभापति महोदय : मैंने अभी धोषणा की है कि मैं रिकार्ड देखूंगा और जहां अन-पालियामेंटरी भाषा या व्यक्तिगत आक्षेप किये गये हैं, उनको एक्सपेंज कर दूंगा।

श्री रबिन्द्र वर्मा : सभापति महोदय, जिस विषय पर बहस हो रही है उससे इसका क्या ताल्लुक है ?

सभापति महोदय : मैं यही बार-बार कह रहा रहा हूँ कि जिस विषय पर विचार-विमर्श हो रहा है, उस पर बोलिए।

(व्यवधान)

आचार्य भगवान देव : मैं सूची बात कह रहा हूँ।

(व्यवधान)

सभापति महोदय : आप फिर किसी की बात नहीं मान रहे हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : जो कांच के घर में बैठे हैं वे दूसरों पर पत्थर न फेंकें। हम सदन की गरिमा को गिराना नहीं चाहते।

आचार्य भगवान देव : मैं हकीकत कह रहा हूँ।

(व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इस मेंबर का\*\*

आचार्य भगवान देव : आप\*\* होंगे, आपके साथी \*\*होंगे।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : \*\*

आचार्य भगवान देव : आप\*\* और आपके साथी\*\*

SHRI MOOL CHAND DAGA : Anything personal should be expunged.

इसको आप एक्सपेंज करवा दीजिए।

(व्यवधान)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : ...\*\*

(व्यवधान)

सभापति महोदय : आप अध्यक्ष की बात भी नहीं सुनते हैं।

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : \*\* इसको एक्सपेंज करवा दीजिए।

सभापति महोदय : मैंने तो कह दिया है कि आसन से नीचे जाते ही मैं रिकार्ड देख लूंगा।

I gave that assurance at the very outset. The whole matter, the whole issue, is so complicated that, only if we rise above party considerations and discuss the issue on the national level, can we find some satisfactory solution to this problem.

(Interruptions)

श्री सत्यदेव सिंह (छपरा) : जितनी आपत्तिजनक बातें हैं उनको आप हटा दीजिए।

श्री गिरधारी लाल ग्यास (भोलवाड़ा) : \*\*

वगैरह कहा है, उनको निकालिये।

सभापति महोदय : मैं कह चुका हूँ कि सब देखूंगा।

आचार्य भगवान देव : मेरे पास यह कल का हिन्दुस्तान प्रखबार है। इसके प्रथम पृष्ठ पर एक न्यूज छपी है :—

“असम में चुनावों का विरोध होगा : छात्र संघ की चेतावनी”। इस छात्र संघ के अध्यक्ष प्रफुल्ल कुमार महंत और उसके दो साथी यहां आए हैं और ये दोनों श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी और हमारे श्री वर्मा जी आदि को मिले हैं। असम समस्या का समाधान करना है तो उसका एक सरल मार्ग है कि हमारे विरोधी पार्टियों के नेता

उनको साफ साफ कहें कि हम आप से बात करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। लेकिन आज ही यह रहा है कि उनको ये बुलाकर प्रोत्साहित करते हैं। बन्दर होता है तो उसका तो स्वभाव है उछल कूद करना। लेकिन कोई शराब उसको पिला दे और समझे कि इलाज ही गया तो क्या ये उसका इलाज होगा? इन नौजवानों को बुलाते हैं ये लोग, उनको भड़काते हैं, उनको समझाते नहीं कि उनके वास्ते सही मार्ग कौन सा है, उनको सही मार्ग पर लाने की कोशिश नहीं करते। इसके विपरीत उनको प्रेरणा देते हैं, कहते हैं कि वहां पर चुनाव न करवाने दो। माननीय गुप्त जी ने एक बात कही है कि श्री के०सी० बरुआ ...

**सभापति महादय :** खानगी बातें भी होती हैं उनकी चर्चा यहां नहीं करनी चाहिये।

**आचार्य भगवान देव :** खानगी बात नहीं है। राष्ट्र हित की बात है। उनको सही रास्ते पर क्यों नहीं लाते हैं? क्यों उनको कहते हैं कि वहां शैतानियत करो? श्री के० सी० बरुआ जी की बात हमारे माननीय गुप्त जी ने कही है। इससे एक बात स्पष्ट हो गई है कि यह आन्दोलन छात्र नहीं कर रहे हैं। कुछ रिटायर्ड, सेवा निवृत्त व्यक्ति विदेशी ताकतों के साथ मिल कर, उनकी कठपुतली बन कर नौजवानों को बहका कर, उनको भड़का कर, उनको सुविधायें दे कर, उनको साधन देकर असम के अन्दर असन्तोष पैदा कर रहे हैं। दो साल पहले जो परिस्थिति असम की थी आज उससे कई गुना अधिक बेहतर हो चुकी है। परन्तु रह रह कर, लोगों को बुला-बुला कर, उनको बहका कर, उनको भड़का कर, उनको ये आन्दोलन करने की प्रेरणा देते रहते हैं। मैं श्री समर मुखर्जी से सहमत हूँ कि वहां पर पृथकतावादी, प्रतिक्रियावादी और साम्प्रदायिक शक्तियां तोड़फोड़ करने का प्रयास कर रही हैं। हमारी पार्टी ने, हमारी सरकार ने वहां पर विकास के संबंध में जो कोशिशें की हैं, उसका सौवां हिस्सा भी जब आप सत्ता में थे, आपने नहीं की। विदेशी नागरिक कौन हैं? जो व्यक्ति वहां पर रह रहे हैं कई सालों से क्या वे विदेशी नागरिक हैं? पहले भी वहां कई चुनाव हो चुके हैं। इस समय इनका तीसरा नेत्र

खुल रहा है। जब ये सत्ता में थे तब इनको कोई ज्ञान नहीं हुआ। इनके बाद हम आये तो आज इनका तीसरा नेत्र खुल रहा है। ये लोग विदेशियों की बात कर रहे हैं। आर्थिक कारणों से कई व्यक्ति एक शहर से दूसरे शहर में चले जाते हैं। यह कोई नई बात नहीं है।

आज वहां पर कोई व्यक्ति न सिर्फ असम में आये हैं बंगाल के, बंगाल, त्रिपुरा और बिहार में भी आये। असम में ही क्यों शरारत की जा रही है? इसके पीछे उद्देश्य क्या है? आज साधारण नागरिक के ऊपर आपत्ति करते हैं, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ विरोधी नेताओं से कि क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि जो पाकिस्तान का सैनिक तानाशाह है उसका एक विशेष कूटनीतिज्ञ, जो शैतानियत का काम कर रहा है अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि से, वह जब यहां दिल्ली में आया उसको श्री जेमलानी जी ने, भारतीय जनता पार्टी के उपाध्यक्ष ने, जिसको बी०जे० पी० कहते हैं जिसका स्पष्ट अभिप्राय बोगस जनता पार्टी होता है, जनता पार्टी के तो माननीय डंडवते जी बैठे हुए हैं, इनकी नैतिकता क्या है, इनकी भारतीयता क्या है जो एक सैनिक तानाशाह के कूटनीतिज्ञ को राम लीला प्राउन्ड ...

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** अगर मैं कहूँ कि यह चोरो की पार्टी है ...

**आचार्य भगवान देव :** आप चोरो की पार्टी हो सकते हैं। आप विदेशियों से मिले हुए हैं।

**सभापति महोदय :** आचार्य भगवान देव जी, इससे कटुता और बढ़गी और जो विचार-विमर्श का वातावरण है वह बेकार हो जायेगा।

**आचार्य भगवान देव :** असम में इन्होंने आग लगा रखी है। वहां के विद्यार्थियों को भड़का रहे हैं। इससे बढ़कर आग क्या होगी? ए० के० ब्राह्मी को बुलाकर इसी राम लीला प्राउन्ड में इन्हीं वाजपेयी जी ने उस कूटनीतिज्ञ का स्वागत किया, उसके साथ हाथ मिलाया, आज साधारण नागरिक पर आपत्ति है। ए० के० ब्राह्मी जैसे शैतान को बुलाकर वहां पर यह उसका स्वागत करते हैं। इनकी नीति क्या है? इनके मन में क्या है? इनकी कथनी और करनी जमीन आसमान का अन्तर है। असम की समस्या

का समाधान हो सकता है यदि विरोधी दलों के लोग अपने दिल दिमाग को शांत कर लें तो कोई समस्या नहीं है। उन विद्यार्थियों को अपने यहां न आने दें तो एक दिन में आन्दोलन समाप्त हो सकता है। परन्तु इनकी कथनी और करनी में अन्तर है। एक कहावत है, नाचना आये नहीं और आंगूठ टेढ़ा। यह उधर उधर की बात करते हैं, क्या इन्होंने कोई ठोस सुझाव यहां पर पेश किया है? इन्होंने कभी कोई बताया कि कौन से साल की मतगणना के आधार पर चुनाव होगा? आज कोई कुछ कहता है, कोई कुछ कहता है, और यह दुरंगी चाल चल करके देश में अराजकता लाने का प्रयास हमारे विरोधी पार्टी के लोग ही कर रहे हैं। इनको स्पष्ट नौजवानों को कहना चाहिये कि हम आपसे बात करने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। माननीय बाजपेयी और माननीय रवीन्द्रवर्मा जी तो क्या देखा है असम में क्या है वहां की समस्या क्या है? मैंने आर्य समाज के एक कार्यकर्ता की हैसियत से वहां जंगलों में काम किया है। डीफू, बोकाजाल, गौहाटी और तेजपुर में आज भी हमारे स्कूल चल रहे हैं। हमें मालूम है कि वहां क्या समस्या है। यह जानबूझ कर भाग लगा रहे हैं। क्या आपने कोई वहां स्कूल बनाया, आश्रम स्थापित किया? नहीं। इनको काम नहीं करना है बल्कि वहां के पेट्रोल उत्पादन में अड़चन डालनी है। कोई ठोस योजना विरोधियों की तरफ से आज तक नहीं आयी। लम्बे चौड़े भाषण देते हैं, मगर कोई ठोस प्रस्ताव पेश नहीं किया। आप हमारी एक ही बात मान जायें कि ए०ए०एस०यू० और गणसंग्राम परिषद् के लोगों से आप मिलना बन्द कर दें। असम की समस्या एक दिन में हल हो सकती है। परन्तु यह लोग वहां पर लोगों को भड़काते हैं और यहां पर शेतानियत के काम करते हैं। इससे समाधान नहीं होगा। हमारी सरकार वहां की समस्या हल करने के लिये चिन्तित है। हमने जो वहां पर विकास किया है वह आप अपने समय में नहीं कर सके। आंकड़े विकास के मैं नहीं देना चाहता, वह गृह मंत्री स्वयं देंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव और मांगों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सरकारी पार्टी का दिवाला निकल गया।

21 LSS/82—12

आचार्य भगवान देव : निकल गया दिवाला आपका।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार (पीलीभीत) : सभापति, महोदय, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे समय दिया। जब शरीर और आत्मा कमजोर हो जाती है तो आदमी बहुत बोखला जाता है। आज जिस वातावरण में हमको असम समस्या पर बात करनी चाहिये थी, मैं समझता हूँ कि विरोधी-पक्ष और सत्ता-पक्ष, दोनों के लोगों ने बहुत ही गंभीरता से कार्य किया, परन्तु ऐसा लगता है कि आचार्य भगवान देव :

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कहां का आचार्य है?

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : मैं इनको \*\*कह रहा हूँ।

आचार्य भगवान देव : सभापति महोदय, आप इजाजत दे रहे हैं, मैं फिर बहस शुरू कर दूंगा।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : मैं अगर कोई अन-पार्लियामेंटरी बात कहूँ तो आप फौरन उसे कटवा दें।

आचार्य भगवान देव : असंसदीय बात मैंने भी नहीं कही।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : लेकिन इन्होंने वातावरण को बिगाड़ा। इसमें इनका दोष नहीं है।

प्रो० सत्यदेव सिंह : सभापति महोदय, क्या यही विषय है?

आचार्य भगवान देव : आप इनको रोकिये, यह छेड़खानी करते हैं तो सुनने को भी तैयार रहें।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : इनका मतलब है कि इनकी कांग्रेस (ड) का शरीर केवल असम में बिंबडित हो रहा है। इतने पर भी यह अपनी सरकार की बात करते हैं, वहां कोई इनकी बात मानने का तैयार नहीं है।

मैं यह कहता हूँ कि हमने कुछ नहीं किया है लेकिन आप तो सत्ता में रहे, सारे हिन्दुस्तान की सत्ता में, चक्रवर्ती सत्ता में रहे, आपने ही क्या किया? क्या भगवान देव जी वहां गये?

(व्येश्चान)

I am not yielding to him.

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

(व्यवधान)

आचार्य भगवान देव: ये असम की समस्या पर कहें, असम में मैंने काम किया है आज भी आश्रम और स्कूल चल रहा है।

श्री. हरेश कुमार गंगवार : पार्लियामेंटरी मैनस सिखाइये, क्लास लगाइए।

आपकी कांग्रेस (इ) वहां क्या कर रही है, मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ ? इसका मतलब यह है कि आप कमजोर हैं और इसी वजह से यहाँ गुस्ता निकाल रहे हैं।

(व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : कांग्रेस (इ) नहीं, कांग्रेस (आई)

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : कांग्रेस आई नहीं, वह तो गई।

मेरा मतलब यह है कि आप वहाँ शक्तिशाली नहीं हैं, यह आपके व्यवहार और भाषण से जाहिर हो गया है। अगर आप मजबूत होते तो इस समस्या का हल निकाल पाते। आप का वहाँ कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है।

आप 8 आदमी लेकर वहाँ पहुंचे थे, सब को आपने तोड़फोड़ कर आया राम और गया राम कर दिया जो कि आपकी नीति हरयाणा में थी, वही आपने वहाँ अपनाई। होलसेल ट्रेड भजन ल की तरह। आपने सरकार बना ली, लेकिन उसका नतीजा क्या निकला ? आपने देखा, उससे ज्यादा बड़ी आग लगी। मैं एक बात आपके सामने रखता हूँ ऐसा लगता है कि पूरे असम का सबसे अधिक दर्द भगवान देव को है।

(व्यवधान)

इसमें कौनसी अन-पार्लियामेंटरी बात है ?

बैंकटरमण जी को मैं कहता हूँ कि आप बैठे रहिये, पूरी सरकार को बैठा दीजिये, अपोजिशन का वहाँ कोई नहीं जाएगा, आचार्य भगवान देव वहाँ समस्या का हल कर देंगे, ऐसा हमें विश्वास है, क्योंकि उनके दृश्य में सबसे अधिक दर्द है।

मुझे विश्वास है मैं धीरे ही अपोजिशन को खड़ा कर देता हूँ, सब को विश्वास हो जायेगा, यह अकेले जा कर उसका हल कर दें।

एक माननीय सदस्य : ये जायेंगे नहीं वहाँ।

आचार्य भगवान देव : मैं तो 20 साल से जा रहा हूँ।

सभापति महोदय : जो मुख्य विषय है उसी पर आइए।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : उसी पर आ रहा हूँ यह प्रमुख विषय था।

इस एक भाषण को छोड़कर मैं सभी माननीय सदस्यों का आभारी हूँ कि उन्होंने गंभीरतापूर्वक इस समस्या पर विचार किया और अच्छे सुझाव दिये। हम सब चाहते हैं, सब की नीयत यह है कि वहाँ चुनाव हो। प्रजातंत्र में बहुत समय तक एक भाग को अगर हम चुनाव से वंचित रखें, चुने हुए प्रतिनिधियों को न मानें तो अशांति अपने आप फैलेगी। इसलिये हम चाहते हैं कि चुनाव हो और चुनाव होने के लिये वहाँ अशांति समप्त हो। लेकिन इस अशांति को समप्त करने में आप का बड़ा हाथ है। आप सरकार में और सत्ता में बैठे हैं। आपके पास सेना, पुलिस और दूसरे साधन सब हैं। पैसा भी आप के पास है। अगर एकोनामिक समस्या कोई है तो पैसा लगा कर आप वहाँ शांति ला सकते हैं। वहाँ उन्नति के साधन दे सकते हैं। पुल, पुलिया, रेलें, सड़कें सब बनवा सकते हैं। इस सब के लिये साधन आप के पास हैं। हम अपने भाषणों से, अपने वार्तालापों से उन लोगों को कह सकते हैं कि आप शांतिपूर्वक रहिए और अपनी बातों को शांति पूर्वक मनवाइए और यह सारा विरोध पक्ष यह कर रहा है। अब तक किसी अन्य सदस्य ने कोई और बात नहीं कही। इन को तो मैं गौण मानता हूँ। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि जहाँ शांति है वहाँ भी यह चिन्तारी लगा देंगे और आग लग जायेगी।

आचार्य भगवान देव : फिर आप चिन्तारी की बात कर रहे हैं।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : इन को छोड़ कर बाकी सब लोग इस हाउस के चिन्ता में हैं।

भाचार्य भगवान बेब : इन को रात में भी मेरा सपना आयेगा ।

प्रो० मधु बण्डवते : सपना आना है तो इन का क्यों आयेगा ?

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि यह भाषण कर रहे थे तो सपने में बोल रहे थे ।

हिंसात्मक कार्यों का कोई समर्थन नहीं करेगा । जिस प्रकार से वहां बम फटे, लोगों की हत्याएँ हुई, भ्रष्टाचार का वातावरण बना, कोई इसका समर्थन नहीं करेगा और न हम लोग करते हैं ।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस समस्या को पैदा करने वाले इसी सत्ता पक्ष के लोग हैं । स्वर्गीय श्री फखरुद्दीन अली अहमद जब वहाँ आसाम में थे उस समय से इन्फिल्ट्रेशन की बात वहाँ शुरू हुई । उसके बाद से वह भ्रष्टाचार गति से चल रहा है और आज तक वह रुका नहीं । यह महज बोट के लिये किया गया । हम को बोट मिलता रहे, हमारी सत्ता बनी रहे, हम सत्ता में बने रहे, इसके लिये यह किया गया । मैं बैंकटरमन जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि 24 अगस्त 1981 को उन्होंने लोक सभा में जब हम बहस कर रहे थे तो कहा था, मैं सिर्फ यह बात पढ़ कर उनसे पूछना चाहूँगा कि इस के बाद वहाँ पर इसके ऊपर क्या कार्यवाही की और उसका क्या नतीजा निकला ? आपने 1971 का मापबण्ड माना हो तो 1971 मान लीजिये, 61 का माना हो तो 61 मान लीजिये, 51 का माना हो तो 51 मान लीजिये और अब कोई नई तारीख 75 या 81 की मानी हो तो उसको मान लीजिये अगर समझौता बहरहाल कीजिये । उन्होंने कहा था --

I would like to point out that the vigilance in India-Bangladesh Border has been strengthened. Additional border outposts have been opened in Assam border and the patrolling is strengthened.

Actually, a full compliment of Force under the Prevention of Infiltration of Foreigners Scheme has been sanctioned by the Assam Government.

The Ravine Police has also been strengthened and the Patrol Boats with 'Out-boat motors' have also been put into operation.

We are also trying to issue Identity Cards with photographs to the votes in the North-Eastern as well as Eastern Regions in a phased manner and maintain upto-date birth and death register.

इन बातों की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि आपने पैट्रोलिंग की क्या व्यवस्था की, सीमाओं की सुरक्षा की क्या व्यवस्था की, फ्लेट्स न आयें, इसके लिये क्या व्यवस्था की, कितने लोगों के फोटो आपने छपवाये और कितने वोट्स को आईडेंटिटी कार्ड्स दिये ? जो कुछ भी आपने किया होगा वह तो आप ही बतायेंगे 24 अगस्त, 1981 के बाद एक साल हो चुका है इसके बाद इन्फिल्ट्रेशन कितने आये, उनकी संख्या आप बतलायें इस एक साल में आपने क्या किया वह आप बतायें, आप इन बातों की पूरी प्रोसेस बतायें । जिसका कि आपने वायदा किया था यदि एक साल में आप कुछ नहीं कर पाये, यदि अभी भी—दूसरे देशों से लोगों का आना नहीं रुका है तो फिर आप ही समझें कि इस समस्या का हल कैसे होगा ? खाली कह देने से तो काम चलेगा नहीं । एक साल में आप बहुत कुछ कर सकते थे । जो बाहर से विदेशी लोग घुसे छिपे आ रहे हैं, उनको आप रोक सकते थे । अगर हम यह मान लें कि जो भी चाहे वह हमारे देश में आकर घुस जाये और उसको हम यहाँ का नागरिक मान लें तब मैं जानना चाहूँगा कि शेख अब्दुल्ला के उस दिन को असेन्ट क्यों नहीं दी गई ? उसका विरोध आप क्यों करते हैं वह भी तो ऐसा ही मामला है ? आप सभी पाकिस्तान वालों को बुलाकर बिठा लीजिये जम्मू कश्मीर में । आप वहाँ पर तो असेन्ट नहीं दे रहे हैं फिर यहाँ पर दूसरी चाल क्यों चल है ? मैं समझता हूँ दुनिया में केवल हिन्दुस्तान ही एक ऐसा देश होगा जहाँ पर दुनिया का कोई आक्रमी चला आवे उसे यहाँ की नागरिकता दे दी जायेगी । एक प्रकार से यह एक धर्मशाला हो गया हालाँकि धर्मशाला में भी बाहर के लोग ठहर कर वापिस चले जाते हैं परन्तु यहाँ पर तो उनके रहने का परमानेंट प्रबन्ध हो रहा है ।



इसलिये मैं आचार्य भगवान देव की इस बात से सहमत नहीं हूँ कि जो भी चाहे इस देश में आ जाये, यहां पर रहे और यहां का नागरिक बन जाये चाहे वह हमारा कितना ही विरोधी क्यों न हो।

आचार्य भगवान देव : सभापति जी, ये गलत कह रहे हैं, मैंने ऐसा नहीं कहा है।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : आपने यह कहा था लेकिन आप कहते हैं कि नहीं तो मैं उसको भी मान लेता हूँ क्योंकि पार्लियामेंटरी तरीका यही है, कोई दूसरा नहीं है।

बहरहाल मैं फिर अपील करूंगा इस हाउस से कि इस प्रकार की स्पीचें, इस प्रकार के भाषण और इस प्रकार के विचार जैसे कि भगवान देव जी ने व्यक्त किये, वह यदि व्यक्त न किये जाय तो बहुत अच्छा होगा। असम की समस्या पर हम सभी मिलकर शांतिपूर्ण विचार करें और मैं भगवान से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि

आचार्य भगवान देव : सभापति, जी, ये शून्य-काल के आर्डिन में अपना चेहरा देख लें तो बहुत अच्छा हो (व्यवधान)।

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : मुझे कई शादियां नहीं करनी हैं। (व्यवधान)

आचार्य भगवान देव : बिना शादी के भी लोग बहुत कुछ चला रहे हैं।

(व्यवधान)

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार : मैंने बिहारे की बात नहीं कही है क्योंकि गलत बात कहने से फायदा नहीं होता है। (व्यवधान)

बहरहाल, असम की समस्या के न सुलझने का जो बोध होगा वह ऐसे लोगों पर ही जायेगा, हमारे ऊपर नहीं। यही लोग इसमें घृताहुति डाल रहे हैं, यह मेरा चार्ज है। ऐसी ही लोग इस समस्या को उलझा रहे हैं। ये कांग्रेस (आई) पार्टी, सत्ता पक्ष के लोग हैं, विरोध पक्ष में ऐसा एक भी आदमी नहीं है जो इस समस्या का हल न चाहता हो।

इन शब्दों के साथ ही मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

प्रो० सत्यदेव सिंह (छपरा) : माननीय सभापति, महोदय, असम की समस्या राष्ट्र के लिये एक भयंकर समस्या है—ऐसा मैं मानता हूँ। अभी तक मैंने कभी भी इस विषय पर इस सदन में कुछ नहीं कहा है, लेकिन आज इस संबंध में कुछ न कहना मेरे लिये उचित नहीं होगा, क्योंकि जो मैं महसूस करता हूँ उसे आज मैं साफ शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूँ।

17.02 hrs. Mr. Deputy Speaker in the Chair)

हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने कहा कि सन् 1964-65 के भारत-पाक युद्ध के बाद बंगला देश से था उस समय के पूर्वी-पाकिस्तान से बहुत बड़ी संख्या में शरणार्थी हमारे देश में आये। यदि हम उनका विशेष स्थिति को देखें तो हमें ज्ञात होगा कि यदि वे पूर्वी-पाकिस्तान में रहते तो या तो उन्हें मौत के घाट उतारा जाता या उन्हें धर्म-परिवर्तन करना पड़ता। ऐसी हालत में निराधार, असहाय हो कर जब वह भारत में आये तो उनका प्रश्न और उसकी समस्या एक गंभीर समस्या थी। उन्होंने एक बात अपने भाषण में यह भी कही—

“Anti-Bengali feeling in Assam is nothing new”

मैं बड़ी विनम्रतापूर्वक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ—भाई इन्द्रजीत गुप्त से कि इस प्रकार की स्थिति क्यों उत्पन्न होती है, एन्टी-बंगाली फीलिंग वहां पर क्यों आती है? मैं कोई दोषारोपण नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन जिस बंगाल ने अरविन्द और रवीन्द्र जैसे महामानव को पैदा किया, देशबन्धु चित्तरंजन दास और सुभाष चन्द्र बोस जैसे भारत माता के महान सपूतों को जन्म दिया, उसी बंगाल में अगर आप आज जायें.....

(व्यवधान)

डोलने दें, बीच में मत रोकें। यही सब कमियां हैं जिनके कारण यह हो रहा है... वहां पर भी राष्ट्रवाद और भारतवाद का व्यापक रोल होना चाहिये, लेकिन यदि हम कलकत्ता जाते हैं तो मैं अपने व्यक्तिगत अनुभव के आधार पर कहता हूँ—वहां पर बंगाली और नान-बंगाली की फीलिंग है... (व्यवधान)

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SAHA : There is no feeling of Bengalis or non-Bengalis in West Bengal.

(Interruptions)

श्री कमला मिश्र मधुकर (भोतिहारी) : ऐसी बात नहीं है।

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : He is not correct. In Calcutta, there are more non-Bengalis than Bengalis.

(Interruptions)

प्रो० सत्यदेव सिंह : मैं यह मानता हूँ लेकिन मैं साथ ही कहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर जो नान-बंगाली रहते हैं, जिन्हें सत्खोर कहा जाता है उन लोगों का मनष्य जीवन नहीं है, उन के साथ दक्षिण-अफ्रीका जैसी रंगभेद की नीति अपनाई जाती है। जब तक आप ऐसा वातावरण उत्पन्न नहीं करेंगे कि बंगाल में गैरबंगाली अपने भाई जैसा अनुभव करें, तब तक वातावरण शुद्ध नहीं हो सकता है। हमारे छपरा में भी बहुत से बंगाली रहते हैं, वे बड़े शिक्षित, सम्य और सुसंस्कृत हैं, उनको बड़े भाई जैसा सम्मान दिया जाता है, हम बिहार में उन को बड़े भाई का सम्मान देते हैं, तब हमारा अधिकार है, हमारी माँग है कि बंगाल में भी आप हमें वही स्थान दें। जो आप उनको नहीं दे पाते हैं। मेरा कहना यह है कि इसकी जाँच होनी चाहिये। जो आप की त्रुटियाँ हैं, उन को आप कबूल कीजिये। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो बंगाली, आसामी, बिहारी, उत्तर प्रदेश निवासी और दक्षिण भारत-वासी की बात करता है और एक को दूसरे से अलग करने की बात करता है, वह राष्ट्रद्रोही है और वह भारत माता का सपूत नहीं है बल्कि कपूत है। जो भाषा के आधार पर, प्रान्तीयता के आधार पर देश में 'विदेश' का भाव उत्पन्न करता है, वह राष्ट्र का सच्चा नागरिक नहीं है। इसलिये मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि बंगाल में, आसाम में, बिहार में और भारत में हर भाग में राष्ट्रवाद का विचार होना चाहिये और इस विचाराधारा से प्रान्दोलित हो कर, उत्प्रेरित हो कर हम कार्य करें। आज जो भाई प्रान्तीयता के आधार पर, सम्प्रदाय के आधार पर और भाषा के आधार पर काम करते हैं, वह सही नहीं हैं।

आसाम की आर्थिक स्थिति के बारे में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि भाई इन्द्रजीत गुप्त जी ने यह कहा कि आसाम में जितना जूट का

उत्पादन होता है, वह कलकत्ता में चला जाता है क्योंकि कलकत्ता में जूट मिलें ज्यादा हैं और आसाम में कम हैं, तो आसाम के आर्थिक हित को ध्यान में रखते हुए, वहाँ पर अधिक से अधिक जूट मिलें खोली जायें, जिससे वहाँ के लोगों को मदद मिले, उनको रोजी रोटी मिले और उन की वित्तीय स्थिति सद्द हो सके। (ष्यबधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You don't reply to them. You have prepared the subject, you speak on the subject. You are a professor, you know it better. Don't reply to them. Come to the subject.

प्रो० सत्यदेव सिंह : मैं उसी पर बोल रहा हूँ। मेरा कहना यह है कि वहाँ पर गैस, पेट्रोल और केरोसिन आबल काफी मात्रा में होता है। इन सब की वहाँ पर खोज होनी चाहिये और इस तरह का अनुसंधान होना चाहिये कि वहाँ पर इन पर बेस्ब कौन कौन सी इंडस्ट्री लगाई जा सकती है, जिससे वहाँ के अधिक से अधिक लोगों को रोजी-रोटी मिल सके और आर्थिक रूप से वे सद्द हो सकें।

महपुत्र में एक ही पुल है। वहाँ पर अधिक से अधिक पुल बनाये जायें। पुल होने से कितना लाभ होता है, यह हम उत्तर बिहार के लोग अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। महात्मा गांधी सेतु पटना में बना और उसके बनने से आने-जाने की बहुत सुविधा हो गई और आने-जाने में समय की बहुत बचत हुई है। इसलिये आसाम का विकास होना चाहिये और यह देश के अन्य भागों से ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि यह हमारी उत्तर-पूर्व सीमा पर है। यह हमारे राष्ट्र का बहुत महत्वपूर्ण प्रदेश है और इसकी आर्थिक स्थिति को सुदृढ़ करना चाहिये। जिससे वहाँ के लोगों को संतोष हो सके। यह राष्ट्र का एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग है और इसको औद्योगिक दृष्टि से, आर्थिक दृष्टि से सबल बनाना, सक्षम बनाना बहुत आवश्यक है, जिस से आसामवासियों के मन में जो क्रोध है, वह समाप्त हो जाये और वे यह समझें कि पूरे देश की सहानुभूति और हमदर्दी हमारे साथ है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

**SHRI CHITTA BASU** (Barasat) :

Sir, it is unfortunate that this House has been called upon to discuss and pass the Budget for the Assam State in a situation when there has not been full representation of the Assam people in this House, nor has there been a popular Government or legislature to discuss the Budget and pass it in Assam.

Naturally, I think the entire House, including you, will agree with me that the Budget of the Assam State cannot be discussed properly unless we are acquainted with the real situation obtaining in Assam today. It is reality of life that the people of Assam for the last two and a half years have witnessed the greatest of turmoils and upheavals in their life. Naturally, these upheavals and turmoils are not only prejudicial to the interests of the people of Assam, but the entire country.

I don't have much time that my disposal to discuss all the points in detail, but I would like to draw the attention of the Government and the Hon. Home Minister to certain basic features of turmoil and upheavals in Assam's life.

One of the main features of Assam today is that there has been an agitation, which is being inspired by those forces outside the country, who are more interested in the destabilization of our nation. Naturally, we have to remember national unity and integrity while we discuss the situation in Assam.

It is also to be remembered, and remembered with a full sense of responsibility, that minorities in Assam, both religious and linguistic, are being subjected to certain injustices which need to be remedied if we really want to preserve, strengthen and deepen the unity and integrity of the country.

You would also appreciate the difficulties for the democratic and progressive forces in Assam who have been denied the most elementary right of civil liberty and democratic functioning. The most elementary

democratic rights of agitating, expressing their views and organizing the people, have been taken away under the Notification under the Essential Services Maintenance (Assam) Act, 1980. Naturally, the people have no scope or opportunity....

**SHRI NIHAR RANJAN LASKAR** : We are not curbing the trade union movement, but only agitationists. (Interruptions).

**SHRI CHITTA BASU** : The notification says that it covers the entire industrial workers. Therefore, you have taken away, snatched away the democratic rights of the people to give expression to their views. This is the actual situation prevailing there.

Another most important factor is this. The policy of neglect and indifference towards the removal of economic backwardness of Assam has thrown the people of Assam into the quagmire of abysmal poverty.

These are certain features which this honourable House has to bear in mind. The Central Government, in this situation, has got a bigger responsibility, particularly in lifting the Assamese economy from that abysmal poverty. The Budget speech makes a certain mention about the annual Plan and Central assistance. The annual Plan for 1982-83 envisages a financial Outlay of Rs. 238 crores, as against Rs. 210 crores for 1981-82. This means a marginal increase of annual financial outlay of only Rs. 28 crores. This is inadequate, in relation to the immensity of the economic backwardness of Assam.

Secondly, so far as the question of increased Central assistance is concerned, we have only a marginal increase, viz Rs. 66 crores over the previous year. Therefore, the Central Government has not paid adequate attention to the responsibility which it has got towards the people of Assam.

The people of Assam have got genuine grievances against the Central Government. I have got many facts (Interruptions) to

illustrate the injustice and discrimination towards the people of Assam; but I would only refer to one fact by way of illustration. I think Mr. Laskar will pay heed to it. The **North Eastern Times** issue of 20th June, 1980 has written this about the investments for the river basin areas. They have given a comparative chart, showing that for the Ganga basin area, there has been a total investment of Rs. 1173 crores. For Krishna Basin, the total investment is Rs. 1026.44 crores; for Indus, it is Rs. 518.27 crores; for Godavari, it is Rs. 373.07 crores; for Mahanadi it is Rs. 218.80 crores and for Brahmaputra, it is only Rs. 15.73 crores. For Ganga basin, you have invested Rs. 1173.06 whereas for Brahmaputra you have invested only Rs. 15.73 crores.

It shows that there has not been adequate attention being paid to the economic development of Assam. That is the basic cause of discontentment of the people of Assam and that is to be taken care of.

Now I come to the question deportation. The Government of India has got a pronounced policy. I have got a copy of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which is published from Gauhati. This is dated 1st August, 1982. It says :

"The arbitrary deportation of pre-1971 refugees from erstwhile East Pakistan and Bengali-speaking Indian nationals from other States continues unabated in Assam. The now familiar police modality of mid-knock forcing suspected foreigner families to board police vehicles and then pushing back through the Golokganj or the Mahisasan Checkpost (Assam-Bangladesh border) is followed in gross and patronised violation of the announced Government policy. . . ."

They have given it in detail. At mid night, the police processed the suspected foreigners pre-1971 and they were forced to board police vehicles and then they were pushed through India-Bangladesh check-posts. This is inhuman although the Government's policy is here ; The behaviour of the Assam

Government is very inhuman. There is another report which says as follows :

"During the last six months large-scale eviction drives have been conducted by the Assam Government resulting in the eviction of 8,000 families who all belong to minority communities both religious and linguistic."

They have been there and they are being continued there both minorities-linguistic and religious. We are for negotiated settlement; we are for political settlement of Assam issue.

But we want to make it clear that certain policy stance already adopted by the Government should be irrevocable and non-negotiable. That does not mean that we are not for the continuance of the dialogue. We feel that the dialogue is necessary. But, in the conduct of the dialogue, the nationally accepted policies are not to be thrown overboard.

What are these cardinal principals ? The cut off year should be 1971. The policy instruction regarding the confirmation of citizenship on migrants from East Pakistan should not be abandoned, should not be given up. Consideration of the relevant documents as evidence of the claim of Indian citizenship should be accepted, should not be bartered away. The Agreement should be adhered to. These are the basic nationally accepted policy thrust in order to bring about a political settlement of the Assam tangle.

If you permit me to say so, there have been indications or symptoms which lead me to believe that the Government is sliding back from that accepted policy, which would be disastrous, not only for the people of Assam but for the people of our entire country, as it will affect the unity and integrity of the country as a whole. I would request, rather implore, upon the Government to say whether it would be possible for them to make a public announcement to the effect that the Government is not sliding back from the nationally

accepted policy in order to bring about a political settlement to the Assam problem.

Lastly, the election has to be held. There is no alternative to it. But, in order to hold the election, it is necessary to create a political situation which is congenial for the holding of the elections. For that, special arrangements have to be made for up-dating the electoral rolls under the auspices of an impartial central agency. Other wise, there cannot be impartial up-dating of the electoral rolls. Special arrangements have also to be made for holding the elections under the auspices of the election Commission.

**MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER :** Only the Election Commission can hold the elections; not the Government.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU :** The responsibility for holding the elections cannot be entrusted to the Assam Government, because it is our feeling that the Assam administration, particularly the bureaucracy, is biased against the religious and linguistic minorities. If this attitude continues, then the religious and linguistic minorities shall not be getting the justice, to which they are entitled under the Constitution.

**SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY** (Nizamabad): The Assamese people and their bureaucracy are as patriotic as any other Indian citizens. It is unfortunate that a leader like Shri Chitta Basu has attributed motives to them. Assam is a backward State, which has got its own culture. The Assamese people are afraid that their culture is being eroded and that they may lose their identity. That is why they have started this agitation. Actually, this agitation was started during the Janata regime and we have inherited that legacy. Our Government under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi felt that we have to improve the economic condition of the people once the emotions are cooled down.

Sir, I know, many of the refugees from various places have entered the State and they have snatched away the little opportunity that is available to the local people.

What I want is that the entire Government of India must pool resources from all States and spend the whole amount in Assam and if the economic condition is all right there, then I think the agitation will subside and there will be peaceful conditions, and then we can hold elections. The Government of India is prepared to hold elections provided peaceful conditions prevail and I suggest that there must be scrutiny of the electoral rolls to the satisfaction of Assamese people.

**SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA** (Ponnani) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this House has once again been called upon to discuss the Assam Budget and to clear the Demands for Grants. This is neither a matter of pride nor of any satisfaction for this House. On the contrary it is crystal clear that it is rather unfortunate for the history of democracy in India that for over two years now the people of Assam have had no participation whatsoever in the democratic process both in the Centre as also in the State. Sir, it is well-known, and the fact has been emphasised again and again, that 12 out of 14 seats of this August House are lying vacant, there is no popular Government in Assam, the Assembly has been dissolved. I must say with all the emphasis at my command that the State cannot be kept in continuous turmoil. Democratic process cannot be continuously suspended. This does not lead to any solution of the problems. On the contrary, it complicates the problems. I must, therefore, urge upon the Government to see to it that elections are held in Assam before the term of this Proclamation for the extension of the President's Rule expires.

Sir, early elections, representative government in Assam the participation of the people of Assam in the democratic process are all necessary in the larger interest of the country, in the larger interest of the State itself, and also for the solution of the so called foreigners problem. Here, I heard the hon. Member, Shri Ram Jethmalani with rapt attention. He was eloquent saying that the authentic voice of

Assam is not there. He was very eloquent charging the Ruling Party with the desire not to hold elections in Assam. Sir, I urge upon the Government to take up this challenge, expose the hallowness of this challenge and make a firm announcement about elections. Of course, I am sure that the Government will not come forward for any amendment of the constitution at the end of the Proclamation or think of any other drastic steps to be taken under any other provisions of the Constitution.

Sir, I must also appeal to the people of Assam not to come in the way of holding elections, which is a normal democratic process and only a representative government can, in fact, meet the aspirations of the people. The Assam agitationists themselves say that they want the preservation of the cultural identity of Assam. How is that to be done? Not through the Centre. A popular government in Assam is also necessary for that purpose.

Therefore, while the negotiations can go on, let the democratic process not be suspended as far as Assam is concerned. It is the duty of all of us here, of every party that calls itself a national party, to contribute to building up an atmosphere conducive to the restoration of the democratic process in Assam and to the holding of elections. As far as the Indian Union Muslim League is concerned, we have always repeatedly made it very clear that the Muslim League stands for the restoration of the democratic process in Assam and our full support will definitely be there for holding of the elections as early as it may be possible. The Government has to be firm. In case agitationists decide to oppose, unfortunately, in case they so decide, then the Government has to be firm. This is because not to hold elections indefinitely would be to let the agitationists go away with paralysing the democratic process in Assam. That is an intolerable situation. But I am sure that everybody in Assam will also see to it that it is in the interest of Assam, it is in the

interest of the country; it is in the interest of the various problems that are now facing Assam in the country that the democratic process should be allowed to have a full play. Of course, holding of elections will require a very sensible and delicate handling. The previous agitation got its impetus when matters came up with respect to the holding of elections. Therefore, I must strike a note of caution. As far as electoral roll is concerned we must see to it that no injustice is done. We must see to it that impartial officers are there with respect to the electoral rolls also. It is also necessary that full justice is done. There will be attempts to seek wholesale deletion of names from the electoral rolls and all that but we must see to it that the machinery properly works and justification is done. While attempts should be made to hold the elections, it is also necessary that our talks should continue. On the contrary, the Government has shown a very commendable patience with the agitationists. I was always rising in this House, charging the Government with trying to be rather weak towards them. Nearly about seventeen round of discussions, I believe, were there between the Government and the agitationist leaders. I think this would be the eighteenth round. I wish them all success. I must also say about the talks that there is no room for any unjustified pessimism to say that the talks have been fruitless. A lot of ground has been covered. But then I must emphasise that the question of foreigners cannot be decided without any principles. The decision has to be based on principles. You simply cannot pick up any date here and there. The people, especially the minorities there, are not mere chatters to be bartered away on the negotiation table. The relevant provisions of the Constitution, the relevant provision of all laws with respect to citizenship, the national commitments, international commitments, humanitarian considerations, have all to be seen and looked into. If you come to a natural logical corollary from this, you will observe that there is no escape but to put the cut off date as 25th of March, 1971.

Bangladesh has made it very clear that it is not prepared to accept people who may have come from Bangladesh and settled here before "this" date. How can you deport them? They cannot simply melt away in the air. Insane advice is given sometime that if there is to be no deportation they should be dispersed. Sir, it is a humane question. People cannot be simply lifted from one place, uprooted from one place and then planted at another place. All this requires humanitarian consideration. On this question, we have gone at length and therefore I will not reiterate all those positions. Whatever has been said previously by us in this House, stands and they are a matter of record.

I must say, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, that as far as the Government is concerned, it has given the highest importance to tackling the Assam situation. It has been very sincere and serious. And there can be no denying the fact that a very difficult situation has been controlled by them. Immediately after coming to power when this Government came to power, the first and foremost need there in Assam was to restore peace, to restore order, and no person who is sane, can say that the Government did not address itself to this particular question. No doubt, there has been a restoration of at least some semblance of order. We remember, the oil blockade and other things were there. The Government has succeeded in these matters. Oil and other blockades have now become a past history. Then, steps for effective arrangements to prevent further influx of immigrants have been taken. For example, location of security posts close to one another, intensification of riverine patrolling, erection of physical barriers like walls, barbed wire, fencing etc. As far as the safeguarding of the linguistic and cultural identity of Assam is concerned, again there have been various steps in contemplation, like, legislation to place restriction on acquisition of property by foreigners, citizenship certificate to be awarded by the Centre and so on.

However, it does not mean I can clear the Government of all inactions at the beginning. There is no doubt about it that when the agitation was in full swing, there was inaction and vacillating policy which emboldened the agitationists also. Even today as the situation stands, there are certain problems.

Since there is no time, I will simply list all those problems and conclude :

The first and foremost is the arbitrary and forcible deportation that is going on by the policy in Assam. Especially, it is the minorities who are the target of this forcible and arbitrary deportation. I am just giving an example that during the last month, July itself, there were midnight sweeps led by Diphu police station officer. There were deportations. Another Member said, no more deportation should be there. I am not prepared to say only that. I have to say, what action has been taken against the police officers who have been responsible for such arbitrary and forcible deportation. In Darrang district, the police deported a large number of families from Udalgiri and I would say that not only such attempts at arbitrary deportation has to be stopped but proper action should be taken against those who are responsible for it.

Then, there are large-scale evictions going on. It is said that the Government land has been occupied by encroachers. I understand that more than 2500 persons alleged to have been illegal encroachers of Government land in Assam have been forcibly evicted.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY :  
It is in Bangladesh, not in India.

SHRI G. M. BANTWALLA : Mr. Reddy sometimes be serious at least.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY :  
That is what we have read in the newspapers.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The Minister will reply.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA : The report says that the Government authorities have also auctioned the standing crop grown by the evicted persons. This is a serious matter. I am sure that proper steps will be taken in order to see that the agony of the people in Assam is not increased.

Then, there is also an increase in terrorist violence. I am not going into the details of that terrorist violence. We condemn it. But I must also respectfully draw the attention of this House to the dismal record of the police with respect to increasing terrorist violence. The undetected crimes and unsuccessful investigations is the police record that we have in the face of rising extremist violence there. I may say that during the the three years, there were thousands of such incidents and hundreds of lives have been lost in extremist violence. The police has been able to charge-sheet suspects in only 25 per cent of such cases. What is happening to our intelligence set-up in Assam? It also requires to be shaken up.

Before I conclude, I must say that every attention has to be given to the economic development of Assam. I understand that as far as the entire north-eastern zone is concerned even the Chief Ministers of Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland have spoken of the inadequate functioning of the North Eastern Committee for economic development. They have complained about the lack of speed in the implementation of the projects. So, let attention be paid to this particular factor also.

As we are debating Assam here, the people are suffering in cyclone effected areas. Let every relief be provided to all those people in the cyclone affected areas. Let every step be taken for the rehabilitation and the relief of all those unfortunate victims.

With these words, I must also strike this particular note that as far as Assam situation is concerned, it is a national issue

and every party has to rise before its sectarian considerations in order to see that the democratic process is restored in Assam and the problem is duly solved on principles.

Thank you, Sir.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the outset I should express my thanks to the hon. Members who have made very valuable contribution to this debate. Barring Shri Ram Jethmalani, nobody has expressed opposition to the resolution for continuance of the proclamation.

AN HON. MEMBER : As usual.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN : It is obvious that unless the proclamation is continued, further steps even for the solution of the Assam problem cannot be taken. Therefore, all of us will agree that it is necessary that the President's proclamation should be continued; emphasizing at the same time that a solution should be found for this problem within the period that we want the proclamation to continue.

So far as the resolution moved by my esteemed colleague, Shri Nihar Ranjan Laskar is concerned, there has been a little more opposition, more on grounds of policy rather than on actual facts.

There has been some contribution to the Budget but I shall deal with all these three together.

Every one of the Hon. Members who participated in the discussion emphasised that elections should be held. Without keeping the House in suspense, I can immediately tell them that it is the intention of the Government to hold the elections before March, 1983.

But this is not to minimise the obstacles, the troubles and the problems that confront Government in fulfilling this obligation. When you say that we must hold elections, it means that we must have an



electoral roll before we can hold elections and when we want to prepare an electoral roll, then we must determine who are the persons entitled to be enrolled as voters. Immediately the problem bristles with difficulties because only a citizen is entitled to be enrolled as a voter and the question of the foreigner, the identification of the foreigner, the exclusion of the people not entitled to vote, all these things come up.

Therefore, there cannot be a solution to the problem of elections without a solution to the problem of foreigners in Assam.

I want to make this clear because a number of speakers have said 'hold elections' and somehow they forgot that this cannot be done unless you, at the same time solve this problem or this question of who are entitled to be enrolled as voters which again is based on the problem of solution of the problem of foreigners etc.

I have held a number of individual talks with various leaders of parties and my esteemed friend Shri Indrajit Gupta asked "Why are you holding a meeting of all the people or bypassing the small Committee which we have?" It is not our intention. So far as the tripartite talks are concerned, we are going to have the small Committee which is representative of a number of parties of the Gana Sangram Parishad as well as AASU and the Government but, before we take up a final position in this matter, we thought it is better to have the views of the Opposition parties in Parliament and, that is why, we have called a meeting tomorrow.

Now, as Hon. Members are aware, we have taken an earlier decision that 1971 should be the out off period and that the persons who are entitled as on 25th March, 1971, should be enrolled as members and as voters and be eligible for citizenship and of rights. This has not met with an agreement, support or acceptance from the agitators. It was, therefore, suggested by friends like Shri Ravindra Varma and certain parties that certain other formulae can be put forward which would be accom-

modating the point of view of the agitators without giving up differences which we have accepted. That is why, we are trying to find a solution to this problem by consulting all the Members of the Opposition parties. How far can Government go in this matter, what is the amount of leeway or elbow room you are willing to give to Government?

If you say you stick only to 1971 and nothing else and say that there will be no further conversation or discussions or negotiations etc. on that basis and that should be final, a certain position will follow. But if you accept the other position suggested by Shri Ravindra Varma and certain other parties, that we should not shut out the negotiations on this basis but while sticking to the principle already established we should try to find a way by which we can accommodate the other point of view, the point of view of the students, the Gana Sangram Parishad, etc., then we should try to go along with that. It is only to find out whether we can have some kind of a consensus on this that we are holding this meeting. In the ultimate analysis, I know, Government will have to take a decision. We cannot all the time go on yielding and giving up the position which Government thinks is right and fair, a position which has been arrived at as a result of consensus...

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : That was also a consensus—1971 was also a consensus.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN : That is right. Since it has not met with acceptance, do we stop there or go further? That is the point. The only question is this. Do we stop here or do we continue the negotiations without in any way doing anything derogatory to the principle and try to accommodate them in some form or other? Otherwise, there will be no point in any discussions and we will find ourselves in a position in which we would shut out any possible negotiations in this regard. Therefore, I want to make it clear that Govern-

ment have no position on this matter today...

**SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT** (Manjeri) : Government have been yielding so far.

**SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN** : Government has not yielded. Government has been receptive to various suggestions which have the effect of getting something less than what has been agreed upon, but Government has not yielded. Have we at any stage, at any place, stated that we are agreeing to something different from 1971? No. Neither officially not, I can tell you, even non-officially. But then Government did not shut out any discussions, and when some kind of suggestions came forward, Government said that they were prepared to consider this matter and have discussions with them.

**SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT** : No question of going back on 1971.

**SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN** : The position as it is is that. But we will have to find out a solution. All the Members said that we must find a solution, all the Members said that we must find a compromise. But compromise involves two sides. You cannot have a compromise with one side saying, 'We want this and nothing else'. Therefore, if you want a compromise, there must be give-and-take on both sides, and unless the agitators also are prepared to make compromise, have give-and-take, Government cannot go forward with that. I want to make that clear. Government are prepared to arrive at a compromise only if the agitators of Assam are prepared to compromise on the basis of give-and-take. Likewise, if we find that it would be acceptable to us on the basis of the principles which we have enunciated making a few adjustments here and there, then Government will be able to arrive at a compromise. But you cannot criticise the Government saying that we have not arrived at a compromise. How can Government arrive at a compromise when one side is not prepared to agree? It is a case of 'Barkis is willing'—

I am willing but the other side must be willing; Pegetty is not willing to marry; where do I get the parties willing? Therefore, compromise can be achieved only if the two sides are prepared to come together. We are exploring now the possibility of arriving at a compromise. There is no use merely criticising the Government, that Government has not achieved the compromise. Government cannot achieve compromise. Compromise must be achieved by the parties. Government can only act as a catalyst to bring together the parties. The ultimate position may raise, which I do not want to say here because we should exhaust all the possibilities of arriving at a compromise before we are thrown back saying that no compromise has been possible; that stage has not reached. And I am informed on good authority that the students are ready for some kind of a dialogue and some kind of a compromise and I do hope that when they come to this meeting which I hope will be called towards the last week of August, they will be in a better position and a better frame of mind to see that some final solution is achieved.

I must also inform the hon. House that the economic development of Assam has been halted and almost prevented because of the lack of political stability. You are putting the cart before the horse when you say that the economic programmes must have been followed with greater vigour and all that. Certainly, when I was moving the Assam Budget in 1980, I said that the Planning Minister and myself, as Finance Minister, were prepared to go to Assam, sit with them and discuss with them the main problems, things that would help the infrastructure and build the economy. But we could not do anything at all in the last two years because, as hon. Members are aware, there was no political stability at all for the Government to go in and do any measure of economic development in that area.

Then hon. Members said, including Mr. Chitta Basu, that Assam has been treated badly. It is not at all correct. It is a myth.

On the contrary what we have given to Assam is very much more than what has been given to other States. The per capita allocation for Assam now in the Sixth Five Year Plan is Rs. 566 as against the national average of Rs. 258. There are certain parts of the country which have remained backward—not because of us, but long, long before we got independence and you cannot completely remove all the disparity in the course of 30 years unless you block all development in all other States and divert all the resources of the Government of India to the development of Assam and the north-eastern States. Would you or would this House allow such a kind of distribution of the resources of the country?...

**SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY :** We can allow for one year.

**SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN :** The one year which we have allowed, we have said that they will have double. Every time, we have said, you will have double of what the other areas get and on that basis we have given to the north-eastern area, that is, double of what the average allocation has been. It only shows that this area has been backward and it has been neglected or was not even attended to in the past years and years ago. The British developed Maharashtra and Bombay. The British developed Calcutta but the British never developed Assam and you cannot turn round and say that all the 200 years of development that had taken place in other States could be made up by the Government of India investing the resources in 30 years in that place. It is not possible. The myth that Assam is neglected must be exploded because it has been receiving a greater attention and a special attention in all the Plans—the First Plan, the Second Plan, the Third Plan etc. Every time it is receiving a higher plan allocation.

I do not want to take more time of the House. There are a few items which were mentioned. Certainly Jogigopa bridge has been sanctioned. A railway line, I am told,

has already been taken up for construction. Whatever is possible is being done so far as Assam is concerned.

The other criticism is that jute is being taken to Calcutta and the jute growers are trying to have some kind of a deal between the jute manufacturers and the jute dealers. Well, it is not worth replying, because at any time did the Assam people ever come and say, 'We want to establish jute mills'? Have they made any application for establishing jute mills? Do they expect the Government of India to go and open jute mills or what? Therefore, Government of India will only establish those basic industries which will go to develop further industries.

So far as consumer industries are concerned, they are left to the enterprise of the local State Government and others. They have not come forward. I do not know if in the course of my speech I have said that the Government of India have taken a decision that 1971 is the cut off period. All that our stand is that the Government of India have noted that the 1971 is the consensus arrived at in our meetings. That is the position which I have stated.

Now, they wanted this to be clarified lest there should be anything wrong on record. I will now take up some of the points mentioned individually. My esteemed friend, Shri Samar Mukherjee made a very useful contribution. Actually, he insisted that we should solve this problem as early as possible, that we should have vigilance all along the border. I shall give some figures later when I deal with another hon. Member as to what we have done in this border.

Then, he said that detection of infiltrators must be taken up. We have taken it up. Steps are going on to arrive at a satisfactory solution to the problem. My friend, Mr. Jethmalani, was very bitter. He is a very eloquent speaker. In fact, he is matchless when he indulges in vituperative language. In fact, I have got some things, I would have said some things. In his absence, I do not want to say anything. I searched in

vain for any suggestion for the solution of this problem in his speech. Apart from condemning the Government, I do not find anything. If, by condemning the Government you will find a solution to the Assam problem, it will be a great solution to the headache that we are having. I do not find any suggestion which is worth-taking up. He is not here. I will leave it at that.

Then, Sir, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan again said that economic neglect has been the cause of all this difficulty in Assam. I have given some figures about it. Then, he said that names of foreigners should be deleted. It is begging the question. The question is : who is a foreigner ? Everybody says that the foreigner should be deleted. But, who is a foreigner according to the definition ?

The old Members said that a man who is not a citizen of India or a man who has not been given the right to come and settle here under the various international agreements is not a foreigner. These are all parameters and we are trying to settle that. If we arrive at some agreement on the parameters, then, it will be easy to decide this question.

I would say that the problem has to be looked at from both the angles—one angle is that Assam's culture and Assam Language and all that should not be drowned in a large influx of people, particularly, non-Indian citizens, foreigners and, thereby, their entity should not suffer to that nobody will have any objection. At the same time, certain people have been admitted to this country as a result of the Bangladesh war upto 5th March. There are certain obligations. Then, certain people have come and settled here. To uproot all of them and then say that they are disenfranchised will create again a problem which will have to be looked at in its magnitude. You cannot say, no, no, somehow throw them out ; nor can you say, allow all of them to come in. That is where Government finds it difficult to draw a line and reach an acceptable solution to both parties. For instance, even take the case which has been quoted by some

people. Now, Mr. Gangwar said, what have you done to remove the various foreigners, the infiltrators who have come ; you gave an undertaking in 1981 in your speech that you have taken action to stop infiltration, this, that and the other ; now, what have you done to remove them. On the other hand, Mr. Chitta Basu and others said that large number of people have been thrown out and they have been practically improperly . . .

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Pushed out.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN : I do not know, the Government of India will not know, whether the person who has been pushed back is or is not a person who is entitled to be here. So, this will be a difficult situation ; one way of settling it would be to have a duly constituted authority which will decide whether or not they come within the parameters and whether they will be entitled to stay or whether they should be evicted.

Now, one of the things I intend to take up for discussion along with the agitators, as well as the Assamese students and Gana Sangram Parishad is to find out whether they would agree to some such institution, some such authority, which will determine, to the satisfaction of both sides, whether or not they are entitled, under the various parameters that we are going to set up, the right to stay here, or whether they should be evicted. Until then we will not be able to say who is right and who is wrong. All that I can assure you is that if any hard cases are brought to our notice we will certainly immediately interfere. Recently it was stated that some of the people who were occupying the railway land and others, have been evicted *en masse*. Now, I said, pending solution of these problems please stop these evictions so that we can look into this matter. We do not want to add some more fuel to the already burning fire and therefore we said, it should be stopped for a while. Now, we can always intervene ; Government of India can always intervene to settle this kind of aberrations

and mistakes. But, by and large, it has got to be done by some duly constituted authority. This is one of the points that I propose to take up in our discussion and I hope that they would agree to some such authority for proper identification.

Then, Sir, Mr. Ravindra Varma, as usual, made a very eloquent plea. In fact, he has made some very valuable suggestions for the solution of this problem. I found from the records of the last meeting that he has made a very good suggestion. Well, that would also be taken up for consideration. But, as I said, his suggestion is that we must not stick to the 1971 Formula as such, but should find something by which we can have the consent of the Assamese students and agitators, without in any large way deviating from the consensus which was arrived at. That is what I thought his proposition was. We will take it up at the next meeting and see whether they would agree to that. In that case, we will be taking one step forward towards the solution of this problem. And I understand, Mr. Varma has some contacts with the Students' organisations. I do hope that he will be able to exercise his influence with them to see that they accept some kind of a solution.

Mr. Indrajit Gupta again made some valuable contributions. He has said that the machinery for detection should be impartial. I have already mentioned it that some kind of Institution must be established for this purpose. Then the criteria should be settled. Well, that is what we are attempting to do. The moment a certain Bengali chauvanism raises its head, it is our endeavour to see that there is no religious or linguistic bias. We should try to keep these things out. Apart from this, the problem should be looked at only from the point of view of national interest and it should not be mixed up with other questions like linguistic minorities and religious minorities and all that. That will colour the decisions that we take. I agree with Shri Gupta that in all decisions that we take we will try to keep these things out. We are fully alive and conscious of

preserving the integrity of the nation and we will try to see that the solution does not in any way affect the integrity of the nation.

Then, Shri Gangwar asked me a number of questions. He said that the number of border outposts has not been increased and the strengthening of it has not been demonstrated. I have got some figures here. The number of border outpost in Assam Sector has been increased from 48 to 79.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : For what purpose have you increased the number of these outposts ?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN : He said that we had not done it.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : What is the purpose of doing so ? That must be explained. If the people of Assam are sent to Bangladesh then tomorrow the Bangladesh press will say that India is sending away the Muslims to Bangladesh. That will be the effect of his speech. That is why I want you to explain it.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN : I wish you were here when he spoke. I explain other Members' speeches better than saying it myself. His point was, "You said in your 1981 speech that you will strengthen the border areas so that there is no fresh infiltration into Assam." Now the point was not that it was a charge of lapse on the part of the Government that they did not carry out what they promised on the floor of the House. Now, I told them that in order to see that the borders are properly protected, we have increased the number of border security force. In every country, they have a right to have border securities, force to prevent people coming from neighbouring countries. Persons from any other country cannot come to India without a valid passport and valid visa and valid document; and, if they do come, we are entitled to throw them out.

On this, there can be no dispute. It is only persons from other countries who have valid documents of entry who will be allowed to come. The point raised by Mr. Gangwar was, "you have not strengthened the border and the infiltration is going on". I will give figures to show that we have strengthened our border and we have taken sufficient action in pursuance of what I had stated in 1981.

Firstly, the number of border posts in Assam sector has been increased to 79. About 1700 police personnel at different levels have been sanctioned and now they continue to be in Assam under the Prevention of Infiltration of Foreigners Scheme. The Central Government is actually reimbursing the cost of this. Then, as regards the number of boats with the BSF and other boats with Assam Government, sanction of additional 26 boats has been given. We have sanctioned a number of boats, which I said, we would do.

The hon. Member also asked another question, why photos have not yet been issued to them. We said that we would issue photos to those who become eligible to vote. It was part of the process of elections. We wanted to introduce this in the north-eastern area; every voter would have an identity card with his photograph. As soon as we are able to prepare the electoral roll, we will see to it that in this area, identity cards with photographs are issued so that there is greater protection against any other person masquerading or impersonating the regular voters. This is the reason why the photos have not been issued as yet. We are, however, carrying out all the things, which I said, we would do.

I will now say one or two words about the flood situation. It is a pity that in the recent floods, a total area of about one lakh hectares has been effected, and nearly 900 villages have been affected during the last few days by the floods. It is said that the crop damage is to the extent of 16000 hectares, and the lives lost are nine.

Hon. Members are aware that there is a regular procedure for giving flood relief. A team of officers will go, they will assess the damage and then the Government of India will give all the necessary help in this matter. I wish only to express the sympathy of the House to the people of Assam in this suffering due to floods.

PROF. N. G. RANGA : We have already spent some crores on flood relief and preventive works.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN : I think, I have covered all the points and I would now request the House to accept my Resolution.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I shall now put the Statutory Resolution moved by Shri R. Venkataraman to the vote of the House. The question is :

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation, dated the 19th March, 1982 in respect of Assam, issued under Article 356 of the Constitution by the President, for a further period of six months with effect from 19th September, 1982."

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I shall now put the Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget for the State of Assam for 1982-83 to the vote of the House :

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the fourth column of the Order Paper, be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1983, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands No. 1 to 72."

*The motion was adopted.*

*Demands for Grants (Assam), 1982-83 Voted by the Lok Sabha*

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand on Account Voted by the House on 27-3-1982		Amount of Demand for Grant Voted by the House	
		Revenue	Capital	Revenue	Capital
1	2	3		4	
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1.	State Legislature	28,96,000	..	20,84,000	..
2.	Council of Ministers	11,50,000	..	1,00,000	..
3.	Administration of Justice	97,43,000	..	1,01,43,000	..
4.	Elections	2,49,91,000	..	2,49,92,000	..
5.	Taxes on Income and Expenditure	4,41,000	..	4,41,000	..
6.	Land Revenue and Land Ceiling	4,11,85,000	..	4,35,85,000	..
7.	Stamps	5,00,000	..	4,99,000	..
8.	Registration	15,54,000	..	15,53,000	..
9.	State Excise	39,70,000	..	42,33,000	..
10.	Sales Tax and Other Taxes	63,88,000	..	63,88,000	..
11.	Transport Services	1,78,66,000	49,25,000	1,15,02,000	1,27,90,000
12.	Electrical Inspectorate	3,72,000	..	3,71,000	..
13.	Small Savings	1,62,000	..	1,63,000	..
14.	Financial Inspection	1,37,000	..	1,38,000	..
15.	Civil Secretariat and Attached Offices	1,94,40,000	..	1,94,40,000	..
16.	District Administration	1,79,81,000	..	1,80,80,000	..
17.	Treasury and Accounts Administration	59,08,000	..	59,09,000	..
18.	Police	18,73,84,000	50,000	18,73,83,000	50,000
19.	Jails	86,68,000	..	86,68,000	..
20.	Stationery and Printing	73,07,000	..	77,07,000	..
21.	Administrative and Functional Buildings	3,27,21,000	6,00,48,000	2,36,37,000	6,25,45,000
22.	Fire Services	51,56,000	..	1,14,56,000	..
23.	Vigilance and Special commissions	6,58,000	..	6,58,000	..
24.	Civil Defence and Home Guards	1,26,26,000	..	1,26,27,000	..
25.	Guest Houses, Government Hostels, etc.	16,36,000	..	23,77,000	..
26.	Administrative Training	3,69,000	..	3,68,000	..
27.	Vital Statistics, etc.	5,10,000	..	5,10,000	..
28.	Pensions and other Retirement Benefits	1,81,60,000	..	1,81,61,000	..
29.	Aid Materials	1,22,00,000	..	1,22,00,000	..
30.	State Lotteries and Others	24,48,000	..	25,48,000	..

		Revenue	Capital	Revenue	Capital
1	2				
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
31.	Education	57,23,67,000	1,00,000	67,42,26,000	1,00,000
32.	Art and Culture	52,28,000	..	47,68,000	..
33.	State Archives	1,10,000	..	1,10,000	..
34.	Medical and Public Health	25,62,89,000	70,25,000	26,37,88,000	70,25,000
35.	Sanitation and Sewerage	6,50,000	2,00,000	12,50,000	2,00,000
36.	Housing Schemes	1,26,72,000	19,31,000	1,14,74,000	31,30,000
37.	Residential Buildings	1,21,79,000	2,21,43,000	1,21,80,000	3,17,50,000
38.	Urban Development	55,75,000	55,45,000	55,75,000	55,45,000
39.	Information and Publicity	33,75,000	..	33,75,000	..
40.	Labour and Employment	1,39,84,000	..	1,39,83,000	..
41.	Civil Supplies	66,61,000	..	66,62,000	..
42.	Relief and Rehabilitation	48,000	..	47,000	..
43.	Welfare of Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes and others	2,50,28,000	5,00,000	3,59,77,000	5,00,000
44.	Social Welfare	1,55,70,000	..	2,42,44,000	..
45.	Prohibition	25,18,000	..	25,17,000	..
46.	Pensions to Freedom Fighters, Rajya Sainik Board , etc.	20,36,000	14,87,000	21,65,000	14,87,000
47.	Natural Calamities	3,46,00,000	..	5,46,00,000	..
48.	Social and Community Services	2,50,000	..	2,50,000	..
49.	Planning Board	16,35,000	..	16,35,000	..
50.	Cooperation	2,74,11,000	2,12,03,000	3,21,86,000	6,27,87,000
51.	North Eastern Council Schemes	81,34,000	1,89,32,000	82,92,000	1,87,74,000
52.	Statistics	59,18,000	..	71,82,000	..
53.	Weights and Measures	18,32,000	..	18,32,000	..
54.	Trade Adviser	3,44,000	..	3,44,000	..
55.	Agriculture	19,73,50,000	..	20,27,66,000	5,50,00,000
56.	Irrigation	2,43,96,000	13,04,38,000	2,43,97,000	13,12,21,000
57.	Soil and Water Conservation	1,95,74,000	60,00,000	1,71,23,000	60,00,000
58.	Animal Husbandary and Vete- rinary	4,44,91,000	..	4,54,51,000	..
59.	Dairy Development	72,00,000	..	1,02,01,000	..
60.	Fisheries	1,06,53,000	1,00,000	1,08,54,000	1,00,000
61.	Forests	10,32,76,000	..	10,67,75,000	..
62.	Community Development	4,18,42,000	..	4,18,42,000	..
63.	Industries	21,70,000	2,64,73,000	21,71,000	4,20,96,000
64.	Sericulture and Weaving	2,32,33,000	1,22,000	2,27,53,000	89,000
65.	Cottage Industries	1,09,44,000	61,30,000	1,42,09,000	32,65,000



	Revenue	Capital	Revenue	Capital
1	2	3	4	5
66. Mines, Minerals and Power	45,23,000	29,00,00,000	45,22,000	22,67,00,000
67. Flood Control	4,35,05,000	6,50,00,000	4,35,05,000	6,50,00,000
68. Roads and Bridges	13,71,33,000	11,95,00,000	14,62,17,000	12,70,01,000
69. Tourism	18,38,000	..	18,38,000	..
70. Payment of Compensation and Assignment to Local Bodies and Panchayati Raj Institutions	1,96,35,000	..	1,96,35,000	..
71. Assam Capital Construction	..	20,63,000	..	81,78,000
72. Loans and Advances to Government Servants	..	3,12,50,000	..	3,12,50,000

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I shall now put the following Statutory Resolution moved by Shri Nihar Ranjan Laskar to the vote of the House :

"That in pursuance of sub-section (2) of section 2 of the Essential Services Maintenance (Assam) Act, 1980 (41 of 1980), as amended by the Essential Services Maintenance Act, 1981 (40 of 1981), this House approves the issue of the notification of the Government of Assam, Political (A) Department No. PLA. 906/82/3, dated the 5th May, 1982, declaring the following services to be essential services within the State of Assam for the purposes of the Essential Services Maintenance (Assam) Act, 1980 :—

- (i) All services in any undertaking or establishment owned or controlled by the State Government for storage, supply and distribution of foodgrains and other essential commodities.
- (ii) All services in any undertaking or establishment owned or controlled by the State Government for storage, supply and distribution of agricultural inputs and machinery.
- (iii) All services in any undertaking or establishment owned or controlled by the State Gov-

ernment for publication, production and distribution of text books.

- (iv) All services in any undertaking or establishment owned or controlled by the State Government for storage, supply and distribution of seeds for agricultural operations."

The Lok Sabha divided :

Division No. 131

18.25 hrs.

AYES

Ahmed, Shri Kamaluddin  
Azad, Shri Bhagwat Jha  
Baleshwar Ram, Shri  
Banatwalla, Shri G. M.  
Bansi Lal, Shri  
Behera, Shri Rasabehari  
Bhagwan Dev. Acharya  
Bhakta, Shri Manoranjan  
Bhoi, Dr. Krupasindhu  
Brijendra Pal Singh, Shri  
Chandra Shekhar Singh, Shri  
Chaudhary, Shri Manphool Singh  
Daga, Shri Mool Chand  
Dennis, Shri N.  
Desai, Shri B. V.  
Dev, Shri Santosh Mohan

Era Mohan, Shri  
 Faleiro, Shri Eduardo  
 Gehlot, Shri Ashok  
 Jain, Shri Virdhi Chander  
 Kamla Kumari, Kumari  
 Karma, Shri Laxman  
 Kaul, Shrimati Sheila  
 Kaushal, Shri Jagan Nath  
 Krishna Pratap Singh, Shri  
 Kuchan, Shri Gangadhar S.  
 Laskar, Shri Nihar Ranjan  
 Mallikarjun, Shri  
 Malhu, Shri Anantha Ramulu  
 Mishra, Shri Gargi Shankar  
 Mishra, Shri Ram Nagina  
 Mohanty, Shri Brajamohan  
 Mohite, Shri Yashawantrao  
 Motilal Singh, Shri  
 Nabata, Shri B. R.  
 Namgyal, Shri P.  
 Netam, Shri Arvind  
 Nihal Singh, Shri  
 Panigrahi, Shri Chintamani  
 Panika, Shri Ram Pyare  
 Parchi, Shri Kesharao  
 Patel, Shri Mohan Lal  
 Patel, Shri Shantubhai  
 Patil, Shri A. T.  
 Patil, Shri Chandrabhan Athare  
 Patil, Shri Uttamrao  
 Patil, Shri Veerendra  
 Patil, Shri Vijay N.  
 Patnaik, Shrimati Jayanti  
 Phulwariya, Shri Virda Ram  
 Pilot, Shri Rajesh  
 Potdukhe, Shri Shantaram  
 Quadri, Shri S. T.  
 Rahim, Shri A. A.  
 Ram, Shri Ramswaroop  
 Ramalingam, Shri N. Kudanthai  
 Ramamurthy, Shri K.  
 Rana Vir Singh, Shri  
 Ranga, Prof. N. G.

Ranjit Singh, Shri  
 Rao, Shri M. Nageswara  
 Rathod, Shri Uttam  
 Raut, Shri Bhola  
 Rawat, Shri Harish  
 Reddy, Shri M. Ram Gopal  
 Sahu, Shri Shiv Prasad  
 Sathe, Shri Vasant  
 Satish Prasad Singh, Shri  
 Satya Deo Singh, Prof.  
 Sayeed, Shri P. M.  
 Sebastian, Shri S. A. Dorai  
 Shankaranand, Shri B.  
 Shastri, Shri Hari Krishna  
 Shingda, Shri D. B.  
 Singh Deo, Shri K. P.  
 Soren, Shri Hari Har  
 Sreenivasa Prasad, Shri V.  
 Sunder Singh, Shri  
 Tariq Anwar, Shri  
 Tayeng, Shri Sobeng  
 Thungon, Shri P. K.  
 Vairale, Shri Madhusudan  
 Varma, Shri Jai Ram  
 Venkataraman, Shri R.  
 Venkatasubbaiah, Shri P.  
 Vijayaraghavan, Shri V. S.  
 Virbhadra Singh, Shri  
 Vyas, Shri Girdhari Lal  
 Wagh, Dr. Pratap  
 Yadav, Shri Ram Singh

## NOES

Acharia, Shri Basudeb  
 Bag, Shri Ajit  
 Balanandan, Shri E.  
 Basu, Shri Chitta  
 Chakraborty, Shri Satyasadhan  
 Chandra Pal Singh, Shri  
 Das, Shri R. P.  
 Datta, Shri Amal  
 Digamber Singh, Shri  
 Giri, Shri Sudhir  
 Gupta, Shri Indrajit

Horo, Shri N. E.

Jha, Shri Bhogendra

Khan, Shri Ghulam Mohammad

Lawrence, Shri M. M.

Masudal Hossain, Shri Syed

Mehta, Prof. Ajit Kumar

Mukherjee, Shri Samar

Rajda, Shri Ratansinh

Roy, Shri A. K.

Roy, Dr. Saradish

Saha, Shri Ajit Kumar

Shakya, Shri Daya Ram

Shastri, Shri Ramavatar

Shejwalkar, Shri N. K.

Tirkey, Shri Pius

Unnikrishnan, Shri K. P.

Varma, Shri Ravindra

Verma, Shri R. L. P.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Subject to correction, the result\*\* of the division is :

AYES : 90

NOES : 29

The motion was adopted.

18.26 hrs.

ASSAM APPROPRIATION (NO. 2)  
BILL 1982\*\*

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA) : I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam for the services of the financial year 1982-83.

\*\*The following Members also recorded their votes :

AYES : Sarvashri Narayan Datt Tiwari and Saminuddin.

\*\*Published in Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II, Section 2 dated 5-8-1982.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam for the services of the financial year 1982-83.

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA : I introduce\* the Bill.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now Mr. Sisodia.

SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA : I beg to move.\*

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam for the services of the financial year 1982-83, be taken into consideration."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam for the services of the financial year 1982-83, be taken into consideration."

Now Prof. Ajit Kumar Mehta. Only 2 or 3 minutes.

(Interruptions)

प्रो० अजित कुमार मेहता (समस्तीपुर) : मैं कहीं हुई बात को दोहराना नहीं चाहता । अभी अभी गृह मंत्री जी ने एक बड़ी अच्छी बात कही और चुनाव को एक प्रकार से घोषणा ही कर दी कि मार्च के पहले चुनाव होंगे । मैं इस का स्वागत करता हूँ ।

\*Introduced/Moved with the recommendation of the President.