की नीति की परिकल्पना की थी तो उसका ग्राचरण इ.स.ढंग से नहीं होना चाहिये।

दक्षिए पूर्वीय एशिया से ब्रिटेन के हटने के कारण जो परिस्थिति पैदा हो रही है उसके प्रति हमें सचेत और सावधान होना चाहिए । ब्रिटेन के लिए वहां रहना सम्भव नहीं है। उसके जाने का हमें अफसोस भी नहीं है। मगर दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के जो छोटे देश हैं उनकी स्वतन्त्रता ग्रीर सुरक्षा संकटापन्न न हो यह उनके हृदय में आशंका पैदा होना स्वाभाविक है। जब श्री चागला दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया के दौरे पर गये थे तो उन्होंने "कौंसिल म्राफ़ एशिया" का सझाव दिया था। मैं किसो सैनिक गटबन्दी में शामिल होने की बात नहीं कर रहा । लेकिन क्या यह सम्भव नहीं है कि दक्षिग पूर्व एशिया के देश आर्थिक क्षेत्र में निकट सहयोग को प्रकिया को प्रारम्भ करें ? कौंसिल झाफ़ एशिया के उस सुझाव का क्या हुआ। ? सरकार ने उस सुझाव को मागे क्यों नहीं बढ़ाया ? हमें दक्षिण पूर्व एशिया को जरा निकट से देखने की श्राव-श्यकता है। वैसे भी इन देशों के साथ हमारे पूराने सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध हैं त्रौर मैं चाहता हूं कि मारत सरकार, चुंकि ब्रिटेन हट रहा है भौर हम किसी भौर शक्ति का इस क्षेत्र में पदापर्णं नहीं चाहते, ग्रौर इस क्षेत्र के ग्रन्य देश इस बारे में गम्भीरता से विचार करें। बस इतना कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हं । धन्यवाद ।

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT-DISTURBANCES IN ASSAM-contd.

भी मचुलिमये (मुंगेर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करना चाहता हूँ कि इस समा की कार्यवाही स्वगित की जाय । यह प्रस्ताव रखने का मुख्य कारण यह है कि पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दुस्तान में और असम में इन दिनों में जो घटनाएं घटी हैं उससे न केवल भैर ग्रसामी नागरिकों की जानें भौर उनकी जायदाद ख़तरे में आई है बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान की सुरक्षा और उसकी ग्रक्षुण्णता पर बड़ा संकट आया है और इन संकट से देश को बचाने में न केवल स्थानीय कांग्रेस के नेता और सरकारी नेता ग्रसमर्थ रहे हैं बल्कि केन्द्रीय सरकार भी इसमें सम्पूर्णंतया ग्रसफल रही है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक ग्रस से उनकी म्रकर्मण्यता के कारण पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दूस्तान सम्बन्धी परस्पर विरोधी वक्तव्यों ग्रौर नीतियों के कारण माज ऐसा खतरा महसूस हो रहा है कि अगर यह नीति चली तो कुछ ही वर्षों के ग्रन्दर यह पूरा इलाका हिन्द्स्तान से अलग हो जायगा । इसलिए आज हम इन नीतियों के प्रति विरोध प्रकट करके इसके बारे में जो सही रास्ता है उस रास्ते को बताना चाहते हैं । पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दूस्तान में पांच विदेशी हस्तक्षेप इस वक्त चल रहे हैं। एक भ्रोर चीन के द्वारा ऐसी गतिविधियां हो रही हैं कि जिससे इस इलाक़े में श्रशान्ति बनी रहे फिर पाकिस्तान की भी हरकतें चल रही है भीर साथ साथ ग्रमरीकी, विदेशी पादरी ग्रीर चाय के बागानों के विदेशी मालिक, यह पांच विदेशी शक्तियां पूर्वोत्तर हिन्दुस्तान में बदग्रमनी पैदा करने की कोशिश कर रही हैं। अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी, जिसके कि हाथ में धसम को हुकूमत रही और केन्द्र की हुकूमत है, भ्रगर सही रास्ते पर चलती तो इस विदेशी हस्तक्षेप को रोका जा सकता था लेकिन इन लोगों का बराबर रुख ऐसा रहा जिससे विदेशी ताक़तों को वहां बदग्रमनी पैदा करने का और तोडफोड करने का मौक़ा मिले । ग्रामी भी गौहाटी में जो घटनाएं हुई उनके बारे में मैं बहुत तफसील में नहीं जाना चाहता है ।

[श्री मधु लिमवे]

हां यह मेरे पास तस्वीरें पड़ी हुई हैं जिसमें कितनी क्षति पहुंची है जायदाद को उसका पता चल जाएगा । लेकिन कुछ ऐसी बातें सामने आई हैं जैसे इस दंगे फिसाद की तैयारी एक प्रसें से हो रही थी घौर केन्द्रीय सरकार के जासूसी विभाग को जनवरी महीने में ही इसका पता चल गया था फिर भी कल चव्हाण साहब ने कहा कि हम को कोई इत्तिला नहीं थी कोई अवसर ही नहीं था । इन के शब्द जो उन्होंने कल कहे हैं वह मैं प्रापके सामने रखना चाहता ह

"But about this particular incident naturally the Government of India had no occasion to receive any information."

श्री रवि राय ने सवाल पूछा...

गृहक्तमं मंत्री (श्री यक्षतन्त राष बेब्हाग): उसके पहले मैंने क्या कहा वा?

भी मधु लिमचे : मैंने वह सब पढ़ा है । झाप जबाब दीजिये ।

भी यशवन्तराव अक्हासः हाउस को कहा है।

भी मचुलिमयेः हाउस भी जानता है। हाउस पूरी तरह नानता है। रवि राय जी वे ग्राप से पूछा कि क्या केन्द्र के जासूसी विषाय ने इस घटना की पहले ग्राप को इस विषय में इत्तिला दी थी, ग्रीर ग्रगर इत्तिला दी थी तो वह घटनाएं घटें नहीं इसके लिए आपने क्या किया? प्रापने इस सदन को कहा कि स्थानीय प्रधिकारी जानते थे कि केवल राष्ट्रीय झंडा उतारा जायगा और यह घटनान हो पाये इसलिए उन्होंने सारा इन्तजाम किया था। सवाल यह है कि प्रसमी और गैं:-प्रसमी के विवाद को उभाड़ कर इस तरह के व्यापक उपद्रव करने की तैयारी की जा रहो थी और इसका पता ग्रापको था फिर भी इस चीज को रोकने के लिए प्रापने कोई को जिश नहीं की। यह मेरा प्रापके ऊपर और प्रापकी सरकार के ऊपर ग्रारोप है।

जहां तक असम की पूनग़ंठना का सवाल है शरू से ही जैसे राज्यों की पूनग्रंठना के सवाल पर इन लोगों की दुलमुल नीति रही है उसी तरह ग्रसम के बारे में भी रही है। ग्रापको याद होगा कि जब इम्बई राज्य की पूनर्रचना का सवाल ग्राया वां तो एक एक दो दो महीने के ब्रन्दर म्राप म्रपने निर्णशों को बदलते गए थे। पहले ग्रापने कहा था कि लव् द्विभाषिक राज्य होगा, बाद में कहा कि तिमाधिक राज्य होगा, फिर कहा कि बम्बई केन्द्र शासित होगा टाद में कहा कि महा-द्विभाषिक बनेगा भौर अन्त में जाकर संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र ग्रीर गुजरात बने। चार पांच बार नीतियां बदल कर म्रापने को ऐसा वातावरण वहां पैदा किया उसका नतीजा यह हुन्ना कि सैंकड़ों मासूम लोगों की हत्या हो गई ग्रौर तब जाकर इन्होंने पूर्नाठन के बारे में सही फ्रैप़ला किया। भसम के बारे में भी परस्पर विरोधी वक्तव्य ये वेते झा रहे हैं। झगर नागा लोगों के साथ योग्य समय पर, योग्य अवसर पर बात की जाती तो शायद नागाओं का भ्रलग राज्य ल्नाने का जो फैसला इन्होंने बाद में जाकर किया बह इनको न करना पडता। लेकिन समय पर सरकार जो उजित मौर मुनासिव काम है वह करती नहीं है मामले को उलझा देती है और ाद में एसो स्थिति उत्पन्न हो जातो है कि यह उपद्रव और बदम्रमनी का सिलसिला गुरू हो जाता है।

प्रमी वाजपेथी जो ने इस ात का उल्लेख किया है गायद हम लोगों ने जो रवैया प्रपनाया था उतकी घोर वह संकेत कर रहे थे । यह धात सही है कि जब युह मन्वी जीने फैसला किया पिछले वर्थ कि ग्रसम के प्रश्न पर राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य पैदा करने हेतु विरोधी दलों के नेताओं का एक सम्मेलन बुलाया जाय, तो जरूर हम लोगों को यह रख प्रख्यार करना पड़ा। इत्रका कारण यह या कि ग्रसम सम्बन्त्री जितने बड़े ड़े वक्तव्य इन्होंने किये उनको करते समय हम से कभो भी इन्होंने नहीं प्रछा था।

जिस 13 जनवरी के वक्तव्य को लेकर इतना हंगामा हो रहा है इसके बारे में सरकारी प्रैस नोट मेरे पास है। हम लोगों में से किसी को भी नहीं पूछा गया था। इस में उन्होंने प्रस्ताव रखा था कि ग्रसम की पूनर्गठना संघ राज्य के सिद्धान्त के ग्रामार पर की जायेगी मौर यह संघ राज्य **पर्वोत्त** र समुचे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए बनेगा । जहां त क तफसील की बातों का सवाल है एक कभेटी बनेगी झौर वह छः महीने के ग्रन्दर यह योजना बनायेग़ी ! ग्रब गृह मन्त्रो जो कह रहे हैं कि यह केवल सुझाव था इसमें कोई ग्राश्वासन या वचन नहीं था। लेकिन इस बात को मानने के लिए पहाड़ी नेता तैयार नहीं भौर अगर श्राप उनका प्रैस नोट पढेंगे. उनके वक्तव्यों को पढेंगे तो झाप को भी, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा कि इसमें निश्चित रूप से उनको एक किस्म का म्राश्वासन उन्होंने दिया था और

कहा था कि ग्रसम राज्य की जो पूनग्रंठना होगी वह संघ राज्य के सिद्धान्त के ब्राधार पर होगो। मुझे यहां तक पता है कि ग्रसम के म्ब्य मन्त्री चालिहा साहब ने पहले इस बात को स्वीकार किया था लेकिन चुनाव के दिनों में जब उन्होंने देखा कि मैंदानी इलाके में इसके विरुद्ध भावनायें प्रज्वलित हो रही हैं तो जैसा कि चालिहा साहब का हमेशा तरीका रहा है उन्होंने यह असमी और ग़ैर असमी का झाडा बड़ा कर दिया झौर फिर इत योजना का विरोध करना भो प्रारम्भ किया। मैं कहना चाहता हं कि शुरू से माखिर तक चालिहा साहब के भाई भतीजाबाद सवर्ण कट्टरता ग्रौर सत्ता लोलुपता के कारण ग्रासम का मामला उलझ गया है। इन्होंने मित्रों यूनियन जो कि ग्रलग पहाडी राज्य के पक्ष में था लेकिन कम से कम भारत के प्रति धफादार था. उसको हराने के लिए उसको खत्म करने के लिए एक ऐसे संगठन को उमाडा जिन्होंने ग्राज हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ विद्रोह किया है ।

इसो तरह से मसम राज्य की पुनर्गठना न हो इसलिए शुरू में इन्होंने जो माहोम लोग हैं जो बहां के दो जिलों में मोटी तादाद में हैं उन लोगों को भी उकसाया या मौर कहा या कि म्राप लोग भी मांग करो कि म्राहोम लोगों का स्वायक्त राज्य बने । उन्होंने बहां जो दो जिलों में राजवंशी लोग हैं उनको भी उकसाया था कि म्राप भी मलग राज्य को मांग करो । उन्होंने दो जिलों में जो मैदानी पहाड़ी लोग हैं उनको भी उकसाया मौर मलगाव की प्रवृत्तियों को मांग बढ़ाया । केन्द्र को यह बताने के लिये कि पुनर्गठना से पूर्वोक्तर भारत खतम हो जायगा । मपनी सक्ता को बनाये रखने के लिये चालिहा साहब ने ये सारे गन्दे काम किये हैं ।

धापको यह जान कर ताज्जुब होगा कि गोहाटी में जब यह सब कुछ हो रहा था

[श्री मधु लिमये]

ये सब घटनायें घट रही थीं तो चालिहा साहब शिवसागर में गए हुए ये घौर मुझे इतिला मिली है कि जो 24 तारीख को वहां हड़ताल होने वाली थी घौर जिसको चालिहा साहब करवाना चाहते ये चूंकि वह सफल नहीं होने वाली थी--इस कारण से कि घाहोम लोग कहते ये कि घापके इस झगड़े से हमें क्या मतलब इस वास्ते चालिहा साहब स्वयं शिवसागर में हड़ताल को सफल बनाने के लिए गए थे। उसके बारे में सारी इत्तिलायें हमारे पास हैं।

16.05 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

इसलिए मैं सरकार से मांग करता हूं कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के नेता चालिहा साहब को इस्तीफा देने को कहें । ग्रगर चालिहा साहब इस्तीफा नहीं देते हैं तो फिर एक ही संवैद्या-निक तरीका रह जाता है उनको हटाने का । तब उनको उस संवैद्यानिक तरीके से हटाया जाए ।

ग्रसम में जो कुछ भी हग्रा है उसकी जिम्मेदारी जिस तरह केन्द्रीय सरकार की है उसी तरह चालिहा साहब की भी है और उनको हटाना ग्रसम में पूर्व स्थिति लाने के लिए ग्रौर ग्रसम की समस्या का हल निकालने के लिए ग्रावश्यक हो गया है । जो गोहाटी में उपद्रव हए उनमें सभी गैर ग्रसमियों के ऊपर हमले हए हैं। वर्मा स्पोर्टस की दुकान एक पंजाबी की दुकान थी उसको जलाया गया। सोहन संज मैडीकल स्टोर्ज था उसको भी जलाया गया। सिंधियों तथा राजस्थानियों के मकान भ्रौर उनकी दुकानें जलाई गई । जब पूरा मार्किट जलाया गया तो बंगाली भी नहीं बचे । ये उपद्रवी लोग कहते थे कि सबसे पहले गैर बंगालियों से निपट लेंगे फिर बंगाँलियों को समाप्त करने में कितना समय सगेगा ? इस तरह की बातें हई हैं।

जहां तक लचेत सेना मादि का मामला है मुझे ग्राज यह कहना पड़ता है कि चालिहा साहब जानबूझ कर इस तरह का वातावरण पैदा करना चाहते हैं ताकि केन्द्र पर दबाव डाला जा सके । उनके साथ साथ दूसरे लोग भी भपने ढंग से केन्द्र पर दबाव डालना चाहते थे । इसी कारण से वह उपद्रवकारी कामों को प्रोत्साहन देते हैं । म्रब समय भा गया है कि लोकसभा इन चोजों के बारे में सोचे । यह पहली बार नहीं हो रहा है । म्रसम में 1960 में क्या हुम्रा ? म्रल्पसंख्यक बंगा-लियों पर मत्याचार हुए । उसके बाद फिर एक बार गैर म्रसमियों के खिलाफ कार्रवाई भौर उपद्रव हो गए थे । म्राज तीसरी बार बडे पैमाने पर यह सारा काम हो रहा है ।

फिर ग्राप यह भी देखें कि इस दंगा फप्ताद में ग्राग लगाने के लिए किस एम्पल का इस्तेमाल किया गया है । यह मेरे पास तसवीर है । मैं इसको चव्हाण साहब को दिखा रहा हं। मैं उनसे जानना चाहता हूं कि विस्फोटक द्रव्य जिन में हैं इस तरह के एम्पूल कहां बनाये गये सप्रेगन कहां से आई? इखर दो तीन साल से जो विस्फोट हो रहे थे उनके बारे में खुद मैंने कई बार सवाल किये थे भौर तीन चार दफा सवाल करने के पश्चात् मुझे जवाब मिला है कि वहां जो राकेट पाए गए हैं ग्रौर राकेट लांचर्ज पाए गए हैं उनके ऊपर फ्रांसीसी मार्का था। मैंने पूछा था कि क्या सरकार ने फांस से पूछा है। झभी तक इस प्रश्न का जवाब नहीं मिल रहा है। हम आभी तक विदेशी हथियार विदेशी पैसे ग्रौर विदेशी हस्तक्षेप की जड़ में जाने के लिए तैयार नहीं है । हमारी मांग है कि भासाम में जितने भी विदेशियों के चाय के बाग्रीचे हैं उनका तत्काल राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाये श्रौर चाय बागानों के मालिकों को निकाला जाये क्योंकि इन बाग्रीचों का इस्तैमाल उपद्ववियों मौर विद्रोहियों को छिपाने के लिए किया जा रहा है। जब तक यह विदेशी हस्तक्षेप विदेशी हथियार भ्रौर विदेशो पैसा बन्द नहीं होगा तथ तक ग्रासाम की समस्या हल नहीं होगी।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि मैदान में रहने वाले जो ग्रासामी लोग हैं उनमें जो सवर्ण तत्व हैं उनकी कट्टरता भी एक बड़ा कारण है जिससे ग्रासाम का मामला बहुत कुछ उलझ गया है वर्ना यह समस्या इतनी गम्भीर न होती।

इस लिए माज मैं चाहता हूं कि सदन इस प्रस्ताव को पास करके ठोस शब्दों में सब किस्म के विदेशी हस्तक्षेप के ख़िलाफ़ मावाज उठाए चालिहा साहब की जो तोड़-फोड़ की मौर लोगों को उकसाने की कार्यवाहियां चल रही हैं उनके ख़िलाफ़ मावाज उठाए । उसी तरह इस बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार की जो मकर्मण्यता है जो परस्पर विरोघी वक्तव्य और नीतियां हैं उनका सिलसिला बन्द करने के लिए भी इस प्रस्ताव को पारित करना जरूरी हां गया है ।

"That the House do now adjourn."

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Sitaram Kesri—not present. Shri Himatsingka

SHRI HIMATSINGKA (Godda): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have heard the speech of the hon. Shri Madhu Limaye. He has tried to condemn the Central Government for the trouble. So far as the Central Government is concerned, I may state categorically that as soon as the Central Government was informed of the troubles that were brewing in Gauhati, immediate steps were taken to send the Border Security Force and the Reserve Police and they were stationed in all the trouble-spots. It is a different thing that they were not utilised properly by the local administration or the local administration did not

use them properly. But so far as the Central Government is concerned. immediate steps were taken by them from Delhi to post all available forces that they had in different places, to Gauhati and other places in time to be able to prevent a portion of the trouble that had started earlier. But so far as the local administration is concerned, I must say that it completely failed to protect the citizens. Enormous loss of property was caused by hooligans even when curfew had been promulgated, and curfew had started; even during the curfew hours, the trouble continued and property after property was destroyed. Valuable property was looted and whatever was left was set on fire and destroyed. The police stood as silent spectators and the report was that they had in many places supported the hooligans and allowed them to loot property and put them on fire. So far as the local administration is concerned, it completely failed, and for that, I do not think that the Central Government can be taken to task.

As has been stated, the property of all the different non-Assamese elements was destroyed. No one was spared. The property of the people from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab Sind, Rajasthan and of every other person who was regarded as a non-Assamese was destroyed. It was an organised thing, and this trouble had been going on for a number of months. Notices were issued to individuals, to associations and to shopkeepers and businessmen to clear away from Assam if they wanted to save themselves, but the local administration failed completely to do anything.

Assam is a border State full of trouble of different kinds and it is absolutely necessary that the local administration be strengthened, because it is an area which can give a lot of trouble; unless proper steps are taken in proper time, it will be very

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difficult, and therefore, it is necessary that efficient administration is arranged by posting a number of efficient persons at the key posts, which is absolutely necessary for the safety of the border State. It may lead to various troubles if not attended to properly.

It is necessary to realise that the reasons that are being put forward by the local administration, that there was some kind of grievances about non-employment or want of employment for young men, are not convincing. It does not seem to be justified; it is a lame excuse, because the shopkeepers and businessmen who have been carrying on the kind of business that they have, are more or less self-employed; there is not much room for giving employment to others. So far as certain new industries are concerned, they have taken proper steps to employ a large number of local Assamese young men who are capable of doing that business and there cannot be any grievance, and that cannot be an excuse to allow this kind of destruction to be carried on, and the property of loyal and peaceful citizens being allowed to be looted. Crores of rupees worth of property had been looted and taken away and or destroyed, and the worst part of it is that the local administration at least did not take efficient steps to recover it or to bring the offenders to book. Otherwise, that would have brought confidence in the local people. Therefore, it is necessary that steps are taken to round up the culprits and to create a sense of security among the people who are there.

The people who have been affected are living there over hundreds of vears. They have been born there, brought up there and their forefathers were there. Therefore, to treat them as non-Assamese also is absolutely wrong. Even if they are non-Assamese they are citizens of India and everyone of them has equal right to be there as any other person has. Therefore, it is necessary that the local administration is geared up and takes proper steps to see that such people are not put into difficulties.

The insult to the National Flag has been mentioned. It was an organised thing. The people were not allowed to join the flag-hoisting ceremony. Only three persons including the Minister could be present at the flaghoisting ceremony, and the students and others who had gathered together to prevent people from going to the Parade Ground, formed themselves into a procession and went about pul-National Flags and ling down the trampling them and putting them on fire. It is an insult to the whole nation and no step was taken by the police. In fact, the flag at the police station itself was pulled down and the flag at the State Bank of India was also pulled down and burnt. But still the local authorities did not take any steps. Therefore, I feel that the local administration was certainly negligent in its duty and it completely failed to take proper steps.

As has also been mentioned, different classes of people have been affected. It was not an action taken against any particular community, but all the non-Assamese residents of the place were affected.

I feel that the Government should now make arrangements to see that proper officers are posted so that the local administration may become strong and efficient, especially so far as the intelligence side is concerned, so that the Government might be able to get timely information and take proper steps in time.

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner): Sir, what has happened in Assam this time is in my opinion a symptom of a very sinister disease that is spreading in this country. As an Independent, I feel that there is no sense in merely apportioning blame either on the opposition or on the Congress. Rather the time has come for all of us to sit together and find a solution as to how we can control this sinister regionalism, linguism and fissiparous tendencies that are trying to draw the country apart.

What happened in Assam is something that all of us Indians have to be ashamed of. Citizens from all over India including Rajasthan suffered as a result of this. It is against the very principles of our Constitution which lays down that every citizen has the right to move freely throughout the teritory of India, the right to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property and to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business. When a slogan starts in any one part of the country like "Assam for Assamese", "Bengal for Bengalis", "Punjab for Punjabis", "Rajasthan for Rajasthanis" etc. I feel the time has come when all of us in this House and outside have to get together and quash this feeling and create a feeling of oneness in the country, which is so important.

I am sorry to state that with the passing away of our great leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri, a big vacuum has been created. I would like to make it clear that I have no respect for the Congress party today. But I have always worshipped the name of Jawaharlal Nehru, who had become the symbol of Indian unity. I am sorry to say there is not a single man today in this country who can be called an All-India figure. You have State figures and District figures but there is not a single toman day who can be classified along with Jawaharlal Nehru or Lal Bahadur Shastri, We have our Home Minister; 3092 (Ai) LSD-10.

to us, the people of India, he is a State figure. The same applies to Mr. Morarji Desai; he may be one and a half State figure. I do not wish to say anything about our Prime Minister, I come from a chivalrous State. All I can say is, she is a very gracious lady. I do feel that some sort of leadership has to emerge in this country to fill I do feel up this vacuum. What we need to-'day is a leader who can go to any part of the country and millions will flock round him. I do not think there is anybody in this entire House today who can carry millions as Jawaharlal Nehru did. That is why this feeling of oneness and nationalism that had come t othe country at the time of independence is gradually evaporating. All of us must sit together and try to fill that vacuum, whether by one individual or collectively. If this feeling of regionalism continues to spread in our country, as it is doing today, many of us are seriously thinking whether the time has not come to scrap the States and think in terms in zones. Every citizen must begin to think seriously how we can bring this great country together. I feel that all these linguistic and regional feelings developing in this country are extremely sinister and dangerous. I feel one day this same House may have to crap the States and bring in a new regional formula which can defeat this tendency of "Assam for Assamese",

Coming to the question of security of life and property, I feel every citizen in this country has a right to have his life and property safeguarded by Government. But we have seen that in many places nowadays the citizen's life and property is not safe. He is not safe to travel; he is not safe to start his business in different parts of the country. What sort of a nation are we trying to build if this is the situation? I would like to know from the Home Minister as to where he draws the thin line between self-

"Gujarat for Gujaratis" etc.

[Dr. Karni Singh]

defence and murder. This time is coming when an armed citizen like who have Members of Parliament arms licences may wish to use his weapon to safeguard his life and property. When the Government is not in a position to protect a citizen, what are the rights of the citizen to protect himself and his property? I feel the Government will have to bring in some sort of law by which in case of break-down of law and order as was the case in Assam, a citizen will be able to use his arms to protect himself, his family and his property. I feel the thin dividing line between self-defence and murder that frightens the citizen will have to be made clear.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: If a man is afraid to use his arms, he will never protect himelf.

DR. KARNI SINGH: To an average citizen, in an average country, under average conditions, what the minister says will apply. But I doubt very much if average conditions prevail in this country today.

I would strongly urge on the Home Minister to call a meeting of all the Chief Ministers and leaders of all political parties-Congress as well as opposition-and devise ways and means of putting an end to these fissiparous tendencies that are developing in this country. I feel if all of us collectively put our heads together, we can find some sort of a solution. I feel if we do not work for this unification of the country, a time may very well come when this country may break into as many countries as we have States. All citizens in this country and responsible leaders will have to try and avert that catastrophe.

Before I conclude, I would like to ask the Home Minister whether he has any proposal to introduce President's rule in Assam or he likes to introduce President's rule only in opposition-run States.

श्री सीताराम केसरी (कटिहार) : अध्यक्ष जी, मध् लिमये साहब जो ऐडजनैमेंट

मोशन लाये हैं मैं समझता था कि यह राष्टीय स्तर पर सदन में लाने का एक प्रश्न है ग्रौर इन्होंने जो झासाम में घटनाएं घटो इस के ऊपर एक राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर विचार व्यक्त किया । लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि इसमें ऐडजर्नमेंट मोशन लाने की आवश्यकता नहीं थी। यद्यपि सारे देश में इस तरह की घटनाएं, दूखद घटनाएं हो रही हैं और ग्रासाम में जो घटनाएं घटी हैं वह प्रान्तीय भावना से भरी हुई घटनाएं हैं, बहुत दुःखद घटनाएं हैं। जो वहां पर लूटपाट हुग्रा, लोगों के माल ग्रौर प्रापर्टी का तहस नहस और विनाश किया गया यह एक दुखद घटना है। तो प्रान्त की भावना से जो लोग ग्रीतप्रीत रहे उन्होंने इस प्रकार की घटनाएं कीं। मैं अपने दोस्त से कहंगा कि जब कमी राष्ट्र के स्तर पर इस तरह की घटनामों को नियंत्रित करने के लिए हम भापको निनंत्रित करते हैं तो उसमें भाप शरीक न होकर उसे राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर नियंत्रित करना नहीं चाहते । यह दूख की बात है । जो भासाम में घटनाएं घटी उस तरह की घटनाएं ग्रीर प्रान्तों में तो नहीं घटीं लेकिन बहुत सारे प्रान्तों में विघटनकारी प्रवृत्तियां पैदा हो रही हैं जैसे भ्राप महाराष्ट में देखिए. शिव सेना प्रान्तीय भावना को उत्तेजित कर रही है। मद्रास में देखिए वहां पर तामिल सेना प्रान्तीय भावना को उत्तेजित कर रही है। बंगाल में आइए वहां भी प्रान्तीय भावना को उत्तेजित किया जा रहा है । म्राज देश में राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर इन सब चीजों को नियंत्रित करने के लिये आप को धौर हम को जो कि सत्ता में हैं एक साथ बैठ कर कोई समस्या का समाधान निकालना चाहिए । माप जो एडजर्नमेंट मोशन लाए हैं उसको सदन के सामने लाने की भावश्यकता नहीं यी। यह ठीक है कि ग्रासाम में जो घटाएं घटीं वह सिर्फ दुख की बात नहीं है वह शर्म की बात भी है मगर इसकी वजह से यह कहें कि मुख्य मंत्री ने चालिहा साहब इस घटनाएं करायीं, ŧ तरह की समझता हं कि इसमें कोई ग्रीचित्य नहीं है,

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इसमें सच्चाई नहीं है। यह ठीक है कि बहां की पुलिस ने, जो प्रान्तीय भावनाओं से ग्रोतप्रोत थी, उन घटनाओं को घटते हुए देखा। हमारे प्रान्त में भी कभी कभी इस तरह की घटनाएं घटी हैं। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि ग्रसम में गैर ग्रसमियों के साथ जी व्यवहार हुग्रा, उसमें राजस्थान के लोग ही नहीं थे, हमारे बिहार के भी थे, यु० पी० के भी थे ग्रीर बंगाल के लोग भी थे। यह भी सच है कि वहां पर ट्रक में लोग ग्राये ग्रीर उन गुण्डों ग्रीर लुटेरों ने उनको लुटा ।

भाष यह भी जानते हैं कि झसम हमारा सीमावर्ती प्रदेश है, जिसकी वजह से चीन. जो हमारा सब से बडा विरोधी देश है. पाकिस्तान जो हमारा सब से बढा विरोधी देश है, उन के बहत सारे सिपाय, उन के जासस हमारे यहां माकर इस तरह की घटनामों को उत्तेजित करते हैं। मैं विरोधी दल के नेताओं से कईगा कि इस तरह की घटनाओं पर सिर्फ एडजार्नमेंट मोझन मुव कर के ग्राप निन्दा नहीं कर सकते, बल्कि इसको भाप राष्टीय स्तर पर देखिये और प्रास्तीय भाषना जो सारे देश में पनप रही हैं, पैदा हो रही है, व देश और जनतंत्र के विकास के लिए भयकर रूप ब्रहण कर रही है, इसलिये मैं झाब्रह करूंगा, यदि स्राप चाहते हैं, ईमानदारी के साथ चाहते हैं कि देश में ग्रमन और शान्ति हो, प्रान्तीय भावना का सन्त हो, तो झाप राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर हमारी प्रधाना के साथ, हमारे राष्ट्रपति के मामंत्रण में शरीक हो कर इनका कोई स्थायी हल निकालें।

मेरे दोस्त ने कहा कि सरकार के सबल होते हुए भी इस तरह की घटना घटी है, गड़बड़ हुई है, मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूं कि कैनेडी जैसे व्यक्ति को भी सहायता नहीं पहुंच सकी, गांधी जी को दिल्ली में मारा गया,

उन्हें सहायता नहीं पहुंचाई जा सकी, तो यह तो भावना का प्रश्न है, जनता के ग्रन्दर कानन के प्रति ला-एबाइडिंग भावना झाने से ही देश के ग्रन्दर ग्रमन ग्रौर शान्ति रह सकती है लेकिन जिस तरह से ग्राप उनको उत्तेजित करती हैं जिस तरह से ग्राप उनको भडकाते हैं, जिस तरह से भाष उनको उठाते हैं, उस की वजह से यह सारी घटनायें होती हैं। मैं आपसे ग्नजं करूंगा कि इन छोटे छोटे उत्तेजनात्मक कामों, उपद्रवी भावना, विघटनकारी प्रवृत्तियों श्रौर विनाशकारी विचारों पर गम्भीरता से विचार कीजिए और जनतन्त्र के ग्राधार पर ग्रागे बढ कर हमारे नेताओं से, सत्ता में जो हमारी प्रधना हैं, जो उप-प्रधान हैं, गृह मंत्री हैं और भापके नेता लोग बैठ कर इसका राष्ट्रीय स्त**र प**र इस निकालें. जिससे कि भविष्य में इस प्रकार की घटनायें न घटें. इस तरह की बीमारी न बढ़े, उस पर नियंत्रण हो, तभी इस समस्या का समाधान होगा. तभी इसको संतद में लाने की भावना की पुष्टि होगी भौर तभी जनमानस ऐसा समझेगा कि भापने ससम की घटनाओं पर यह एडजर्बमेंट मोझन लाकर देस के प्रति भपनी ईमानदांरी त्रोर वफादारी का परिचय दिया है ।

SHRI D. N. PATODIA (Jalore): Mr. Speaker, Sir, whatever has happened there, never before such a large-scale damage was done within such a short period, never before in spite of large-scale damage the administration was as incapable as it was there. Where did it happen? All this happened in the border State of Assam where security arrangements are expected to be available at its best. It happened in Gauhati which is a de facto capital of Assam. Tt happened on Republic Day where police arrangements were already available. It happened in broad daylight between 9.30 and 12.00 in the morning.

The secessionist tendencies and antinational activities are rising and

[Shri D. N. Patodia]

growing so fast that to minimise the importance and the seriousness of the incidents will not be proper and may become dangerous. There is no doubt that everything that has happened there has happened under the nose of the administration and the police, with their knowledge and with their connivance.

We are aware that the Lachit Sena element is growing since about one year. They are carrying out all these anti-national activities in various forms about which both the Centre and the State have ample information through their Intelligence Department. They were propagating secessionist tendencies 'Assam for Assamese not for Indians' and so on, and when the Prime Minister made certain statements these elements constituting Lachit Sena and pro-Pakistanis took advantage of the situation. It gave them the handle and they utilised this opportunity. They wanted to see that with the help of the local government they make an agitation, a demonstration which is successful. With this background it started.

On 13th January protest meetings were held, loud-speaker announcements were made, processions were taken out and posters were pasted. Thereafter, on 24th January there was a hartal all over Assam and violence took place at the airport of Gauhati. There was an attack on the airport by more than 500 persons, aircrafts were prevented from taking off and one air hostess was injured in the process. It is surprising how such a mob was permitted to enter into the airport area. Certain attacks were made on certain factories also. A decision was taken that on 26th January the Republic Day will not be permitted to be celebrated. It was not only the flag hoisting ceremony that was to be prevented, it was an anti-Republic Day demonstration and decision was taken to that effect.

All this was known to the State and the Centre about which there is a clear proof. The Chief Minister of Assam and the Assam Government wrote to the Central Government that the situation was getting beyond their control and if timely action was not taken, if the Centre did not change its attitude the situation will go beyond their control and they may .iot be able to control it. What more proof can there be about it. In spite of that the situation was permitted to deteriorate. In spite of that all this happened on the 26th January and it has been amply described. But in spite of that nothing was done either before the disturbances or during the disturbances or even after the disturbances. How can anybody explain, whether it is the Central Government or the State Government, that until three days after the disturbances no arrest was made, no searches were made, no police raid was made, not even diaries were recorded in the police stations? What does it mean? Still we claim that the State did not have Centre and the proper knowledge and they did not expect so much agitation. Is it not known to everybody that the Deputy Commissioner of that area has openly confessed that instructions were not carried out by subordinate officers? Is it not known to everybody that the Chief Minister of Assam even until the last stage wanted to justify by saying that in view of the students' agitation he was unable to control it? Is it not known to everybody that the State Administration and the Chief Minister were afraid of the students. afraid of the agitators and were afraid to arrest them? Is it not a fact that the Chief Minister permitted himself to be made a party and wanted to teach a lesson to the Centre, wanted to see that the demonstration succeeded and the Centre changed its attituđe.

Sir, these were the circumstances. It is all so disgusting to describe these

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incidents. A few years back similar incidents took place in Dibrugarh and surrounding areas and an Inquiry Commission was set up under the chairmanship of Shri S. K. Dutta. The Commission submitted its report. That report has still to see the light of the day. I have been told that that report has conclusively proved that even in those disturbances the Government of Assam was involved. That may possibly be one reason why the report has not been made public.

Now, Sir, regarding the Centre my hon, friend from the opposite side has said that Centre should not be made responsible. Does the Centre not have sufficient intelligence arrangements in that State which is a border State? Do they not get day to day and hour to hour information? If they do not get, their intelligence is weak. If they get, then they close their eyes and do nothing about it. Were they not aware that the State Government sent information to them in advance explaining the situation? What did they do? Did they not have sufficient powers, when such a situation arose in a border State, a situation of emergency, for them to intervene and do something under the Constitution? They do have such powers. But in this case they did not act. Now when so much of damage has been done, when on the plea of non-Assamese origin they were rendered helpless without protection, the State was unable to provide even the elementary protection which is the first duty of the State. When property worth crores of rupees has been damaged, the hon. Home Minister says that the question of compension is very difficult. Why? Who is to compensate? What for the State has been provided? They are unable to provide protection, they are unable to provide security, they are unable to take adequate action either before or after the disturbances and they are also unable to provide compensation. I want to state that it would be one of the duties of the State that adequate compensation is provided and that would be needed to restore the confidence that has been lost in the affected people of the area.

Now, another angle which I would like to touch is that Assam is a horder State. It is a strategic area. If you look at the sequence of events in these border States, so much of disturbance has been happening in these border States and the Government and the Railway administration have been most ineffective. It started with Naxalbari; then it came to Kashmir and now it has come to Assam. At each of the places, the administration was ineffective and at each of the places hooligans had their way. Which way are we going? Are we going to make our borders vulunerable like this? Are we going to invite Chinese and Pakistanis again into our territory? Are we not going to be strong on the borders? What has happened? In spite of such damage, so much lawlessness, so much of inaction is an ample proof,-and as the hon. Home Minister has said that, in his opinion, the administration failed completely, why was this thing permitted and why is the Government permitted to function in this manner? Will he be good enough to compare the State of Assam with other States like Rajasthan? Will he consider not to apply double standards? We believe that this is a national point. This is a point over which the entire country is involved and we have to do something.

The third point which i would like to stress is regarding the survival of democracy in our country. My hon, friend, Shri Limaye, has very ably ctressed on this. We are passing through a stage where, apart from economic distress, we are facing social unrest and political unrest.

[Shri D. N. Patodia]

There are language riots; there are religious riots; there are boundary riots, etc. and we are unable to control any one of them. In which direction is our country going? Is democracy going to survive like this? My hon. friend, Shri Nath Pai, said yesterday that we do not know how many Indians we have in our country. We know how many Assamese are there; we know how many Bengalis are there; we know how many Rajasthanis are there. But we do not know how many Indians are there. This is the direction in which our country is going. Everything gets reflected from a weak leadership at the Centre. I want to say that if the leadership at the Centre is strong. the State Governments like Assam, the Chief Minister of Assam, will never have the courage to behave in the way in which he has behaved. Therefore, it is the Central leadership that is needed to be strong. It is the Central leadership that is needed to be effective if we have to prevent our country going to pieces.

SHRI R. BARUA (Jorhat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is with a deep sense of sorrow and responsibility that I share the feelings of all the hon. Members over what has happened in Gauhati. But I feel it is just a manifestation of a bigger disease which has taken roots in the entire country. Therefore, it is rather symptomatic than the disease in itself. I would appeal to the hon. Members to look at the whole thing from an objective perspective.

Looking to the geography of the area, we find that the State of Assam has been flanked by two inimical countries, China and Pakistan and, on the other hand, there are so many problems that bother the State of Assam. My hon. friend, Shri Limaye, has thought it fit to come up with this adjournment motion. But I do not find the utility of an adjournment motion when a problem like this faces the entire country.

Now, the immediate problem for us today is how to rehabilitate the distressed people there and how to bring about confidence in the people there. It is true that on the 26th January, 1967, the disturbances took place there. The people of Assam do not take a solace from the fact that such things have happened in other parts of the country. We have no solace from the fact that in Madras, the National Anthem was not allow-We are sorry for ed to be sung. such unfortunate things happening in Assam. I can assure you that all shades of opinion came up immediately condemning violence as a result of which nothing happened in any other part of Assam. I myself rushed from here to Gauhati and from went to other there I parts of Assam. A silver lining is there that the disturbances which happened in Gauhati did not spread to other parts of Assam. Therefore, I would appeal to the hon. Members and to this House to put their heads together to see how the distressed people can be rehabilitated. It is not the material rehabilitation but the psychological rehabilitation that is more It needs neither anger important. nor emotion but only a practical approach.

I had the occasion to meet some young people, some students, and it was really gratifying to note that some of them were very sore for all the ugly happenings that took place in Gauhati. I am sure, if we approach the problem with sympathy and understanding, the people who were misled will, certainly, not repeat the same thing. You will remember that the people of Assam played a prominent role in the strug-Independence. Even the gle for present Chief Minister of Assam had made an immense contribution in the struggle for Independence. Even now, he did his best to bring about peace in the Nagaland.

I was surprised to hear a responsible Member like Shri Limaye say-

ing that it was the Chief Minister of Assam who encouraged all this and it was he who encouraged the people of Assam to demand a separate State. I can assure you that he is not a man -of double standards of that nature. He was free and frank in saying that he was opposed to disintegration of Assam. To say something imputing motive is something very uncharitable. It was also said that the Chief Minister made a provocative speech. May I remind the hon. Member, Shri Limaye, that on the 13th January, in a meeting at Gauhati, his colleague, a S.S.P. member, made a very provocative speech? This is how the things happen. Therefore, it will be of no use...

भो वद्यु लिमये : क्या कहा बतलाइये ? प्रध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि "ग्रसम ग्रसामयों के लिए" व ला चालिहा साहब ने जो भाषण दिया था उस पर एक ध्यानाकर्षण प्रस्ताव हमारे दल के एक ग्रादमी ने पिछले साल दिया था इसलिये मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या उन्होंने भाषण किया ? प्रगर कोई प्रनुचित काम किया है तो जरूर हम कार्यवाही करेंगे । ग्राप बतलाइये कि क्या कहा था ?

SHRI R. BARUA: What I mean to say is that such statements have been made from such people also.

भी मधु लिमये : ग्रध्यक्ष महोदय, ग्रभी भी बह नहीं बतला रहे हैं कि उन्होंने क्या कहा है ?

SHRI R. BARUA: As Mr. Karni Singh said, this is not a party question. It is the symptom of a disease and it should be dealt with as such. I say with a deep sense of sorrow that this disease has spread to such an extent and it is time we put all our heads together and to do something to find out the solution.

17 hrs.

It has also been said that nothing was done by the State Government. As my hon friend sitting over there has said, this kind of thing has been happening in different parts of the country where the police sometimes remain inactive and the officers do not act in the manner that they ought to. A similar thing may have happened in Gauhati also; so, for that matter, immediately a commission of inquiry has been appointed by the State Government, and certain formalities alone remain to be completed. It is also my information that three of the top officers there have been transferred immediately subject to any future punishment that they may have to face after inquiry is over. On top of all this, the Government of Assam had also immediately appointed investigation cells to go ahead with specific cases. Therefore, it will be uncharitable to say that the Government of Assam did nothing. On the 27th and also on the 28th, the police force was mobilised and all necessary steps were taken in different parts of the State to see that there was no recrudescence of any such trobule.

Therefore, I would appeal to all hon. Members that this is a problem which needs the attention of all of us, and we have to see that such things do not happen again. It is true that divisive forces are there now in Assam as indeed in other parts of the country, but we should also beware of the fact that there are inimical forces on the two flanks to encourage these things, as has already been admitted by my hon, friend. So, you can realise the complexity of the problem. I was sorry that today somebody was trying to give a communal colour to it. This is not the time to create complications and make the matter more complex. Unless you go to that area and see for yourself the actual situation you cannot appreciate the position. If you go to that area you will find the complex pattern of the popu-

[Shri R. Barua]

lation there; the ethnological groups are different, their standards are different, their ways of living are diffeent and so on; at the same time there is a conglomeration of the different races and ethnological groups. Therefore, isolating one group from the other or trying to set one against the other will land us in a serious difficulty in that part of the country.

One hon. Member has said that President's rule is the solution. Here and now, I may assure you that President's rule is no solution to the problem in that part of the country.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): It is a solution only for Haryana.

SHRI R. BARUA: Politically speaking, my hon. firend may be right because there is a Congress regime there and they want to throw it out. But I would submit that it is not just a political problem. If we really mean to deal with the problem, then we cannot do so through President's rule. We must take the people with us. This is not the time to provoke the people. Therefore, let us not speak and do things which may harm the wider and deeper causes that we have in view.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, Shri J. B. Kripalani.

SHRI MANOHARAN: (Madras North): You had promised to call me.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no question of promise. I shall call him him later.

SHRI MANOHARAN: You should go according to parties. You may call me next after Shri J. B. Kripalani.

MR. SPEAKER: Next, I would be calling Shri Bal Raj Modhok.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak): Those Members who had gone to Gauhati may be given some time. MR. SPEAKER: I do not know. There is ample time, and we still have 14 hours left and every party will get a chance. After Shri J. B. Kripalani I shall call Shri Bal Raj Madhok, then I shall call one from the Congress side, and after that I shal call Shri Manoharan. Shri J. B. Kripalani is above all parties. Now, I am calling him.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai): I had also sent my name.

भी जी० भ० इपालानी (गना) : मुझे बड़ा प्रफसोस होता है जब इस बहस में कोई भी कांग्रेस वाला मधु लिमये जी के ऊपर दोष लगाता है। मैं समझता हूं कि हम लोगों को उनका शुकर गुजार होना चाहिये कि इस सवाल को वह पालियामेंट के सामने लाए हैं। जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा है उस में मैं प्रपने को भी शामिल करता हूं। यह कहना कि केन्द्रीय सरकार को खबर नहीं थी बहुत ग्रजीब बात है। हम जैसे ना चीज ग्रादमियों के पास तीन महीने पहले फोटो स्टेट कापीज इसके बारे में ग्राई थी। जो पोस्टर्ज होते हैं वे ग्राए थे। उनमें लिखा हुग्रा था:

"Asam is not part of India; Assam. is for Assamese", all the foreigners must get away.".

ये सब हमारे पास ग्राए थे । लेकिन हम लोगों के पास कोई प्रखत्यार ही नही था जो हम कुछ कर सकते । लेकिन मुझे मालूम है कि ये फोटोस्टेट कापीज होम मिनिस्टर के पास भी मेजी गई थीं ग्रौर ग्रगर मिनिस्टर्स के पास भी मेजी गई थीं फिर भी यह कहना कि हम लोगों को मालुम नहीं था ठीक नहीं है ।

मैं समझता हूं कि यह 'असम 'की हैंजो बीमारी है वह हर दम, हरदम उठती है। अगर सरकार पहले से इसके बारे में कोई किदम उठाती तो यह हालत न होती। मेरे भाई ने कहा कि बंगालियों के ऊपर जुल्म हुए थे। उन लोगों के घर बरबाद किये गये थे, ग्रौरतों की बेइज्जती की गई थी। एक कमीशन भी बैठा था। उस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट कभी किसो ने देखी ही नहीं। सैट्रल गवर्नमेंट जब ऐसे अपनी प्रार्खे बन्द कर लेती है, अपने कानों में रुई दाल लेती है या उसे भी ज्यादा सख्त कोई चीज कानों में डाल लेती है....

एक माननीय सदस्यः पत्थर डाल लती है।

श्री स॰ मो॰ बनर्जी (कानपुर) : शीशा डाल लेती है।

श्वो जो॰ भ॰ इरुगातानो : जब यह कहा जाता है कि यह स्टेट का सवाल है तो यह बहुत ग्रजीव बात मालूम देती है । इस तरह से हमारा देश चलेगा तो इस देश की एकता भग हो जाएगी । मैं कहता हूं कि ग्राज जो हालत है ग्रगर 19वीं सैंचरी में होती तो हमारा देश दूसरे किसी देश के नीचे पड़ जाता । लेकिन हमारी सरकार क्या करती है ? जब बात हो जाती है तब वह जागती है । जागती है तब क्या करती है? एक कमिश्रन एप्वाइंट कर देती है ।

They are just postponing the evil day. That has been the bane of this Government. पोस्टपोन दी इविल डे, जैसे इविल डे ग्राने ही वाला नहीं है। इस तरह से झगर गवर्नमेंट का काम चलेगा तो हमारा देश झाजादी रख ही नहीं सकेगा। मगर मैं प्रधान मंत्री होऊं तो मैं जो यह कहते हैं।

Assam for Assamese or Bengal for Bengalis or Maharashtra for Maharashtrians or Punjab for Punjabis. उनको मैं कहूं कि जितने पंजाबी हैं, जितने महाराष्ट्रियन हैं, वे मेहरवानी करके ग्रपनी स्टेट में चले जागें वहीं रहें, वहां से निकलें ही नहीं । ग्रगर ऐसा कुछ हमारी सरकार करेतो कूछ हो सकता है, वर्नानहीं ।

ग्रभी क्या होता है ?

Bengal for Bengalis, but the rest of India also for Bengalis, Maharashtra for Maharashtrians but the rest of India also for Maharashtrians, Assam for Assamese but the rest of Indiaalso for Assamese

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: And UP⁻ for all.

भी बी॰ भ॰ रुपालानी : खाली यह नहीं होता है कि ग्रसम फार ग्रसमीख । एक की जो स्टेट है, दूसरी स्टेट में वहां के ग्रादमी जात हैं तो वहां से पैसा कमाते हैं ग्रीर कमा कर घर ले जाते हैं ग्रीर फिर कहते हैं कि हमारी चीज को हाथ मत लगाग्रो । तुम्हारी चीज हमारी है । हमारी चीज को हाथ न लगाग्रो ।

भों कंवर लाल गुफा (दिल्ली सदर) : हमारी तो हमारी है ही ।

श्रो जो॰ भ॰ क्रुपा लगे : जब ऐसे बलेगा तो हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा । मैं समझता हूं कि घव वक्त ग्रा गया है जब कम से कम ग्रसम में ग्रोर बाद में दूसरी जगहों में भी गवनर्ज रूल हो जाना चाहिये । ग्रोर जगह ग्रगर 'नहीं तो ग्रसम में तो जरुर गवर्नर्ज रूल हो जाना चाहिये । इस सब के बाद इस सरकार को ग्राप रख नहीं सकते उन्होंने कहा कि ला एंड ग्रार्डर जिन्होंने खराब किया है, वह बदमाशों का काम है ।

This is not the work of badmashes; this is the work of gentlemer.

यह हमें समझना चाहिये । एजुकेटिड मादमियों का काम है । यह किसी बदमाण का काम नहीं है । म्रगर म्राप कहें कि एजुकेटिड म्रादमी बदमाश है तो यह बात मेरी समझ में माती है । लेकिन यह कहना कि बदमाशों का काम है, बदमाशों के ऊपर धब्बा ल ना है । [श्रो: जी० भ० कुनालानी]

There is honour even among thieves. बदमाशों में भी कुछ ग्रानर होती है, लेकिन जब एजूकेटिड ग्रौर साफिस्टिकेटिड ग्रादभी बदमाज हो जाते हैं, तब उनमें कोई ग्रानर नहीं रहती है। इस वजह .से मुझे यह कहना पड़ता है।

मेरे पास सिंधियों की एक कम्प्लेंट ग्राई है। पहले भी आई थी और ग्रव फिर ग्राई है। मैं तो ग्रपने ग्रापको कभी सिंधी नहीं समझता ह, लेकिन सिंधी मुद्य को सिंधी समझते हैं मौर दूसरे भी यह समझते हैं कि ग्रभी तक मैं सिधी हं। हिन्दूस्तान में कोई मादमी चाहे कितनी देर. चाहे बीस बरस तक, किसी स्टेट में रह जाये. लेकिन वह उस स्टेट का नहीं हो सकता है। अपगर मैं पांच, सात या दस बरस किसी दूसरे मुल्क में उठ्ठ, तो मैं उस मल्क का निवासी हो जाता हं, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में चाहे कोई ग्रादमी बीस बरम तक किसी स्टेट में ग्हे, लेकिन तब भी वह उस स्टेट का नहीं समझा जाता है, तब भी उस पर दूसरी स्टेट का आगरिजिनल ठप्पा लगा रहता है। स्राज आगी मझे सिंधी समझा जाता है।

सिंधियों ने मुझ से कहा है कि राजस्थान के झादमियों के लिए राजस्थान के चौफ मिनिस्टर बहां चत्रे गए, इससे राजस्थानियों की कुछ खबर ली बाती है; झगर हमारे पास प्राप ग्रायें, तो हमारे लिए कुछ हो सकेना । उन लोगों को यह मालूम नहीं र्र्ट् कि में ता करीं का चौफ मिनिस्टर नहीं हूं, मेरे जाने से क्या होना ? ये जो सहूलियतें ग्रीर कम्पेन्सेंगन मिल रही है, वे भी इस तरह मिल रही है कि प्रगर कांग्रेस का चौफ मिनिस्टर जाये, तब सहूलियतें मिलती हैं ग्रीर जिन सोगों का कोई चीफ मिनिस्टर है ही नहीं, उनको सहलियत भी नहीं मिलती है। क्या यह हिन्दुस्तान एक है? गंधा इस लोगों ने इतनो जंग और जढ़ां-जहद इस लिए की थी कि हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े टुकड़े हो जायें? क्या इसलिए की थी कि सिंध इंडिगेंडेंट हो जाये? सिंघ तो हिन्दुस्तान में है ही नहीं। हम तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए काम करते थें धौर हिन्दुस्तान को एक समझते थे। बब कुठ लोग अपने को अलग अलग समझते हैं। अगर वे अलग है, तो क्यों न उनको अलग होने दें?

Let them keep their own army; let them keep their own navy; let them keep their own defence and let them be outside if they want to. Give them a fair chance.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratnagiri): Let them pay for it.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: They can pay for everything they do. They should not rely upon the Centre. Unless you put this proposition before those people who consider they are not Indians, there can be no solution to We should certainly this problem. let them go. We are not Pakistan; we will not force any province to be with us. But we cannot allow our national flag to be dishonoured, our national anthem to be dishonoured and our people living there to be dishonoured. Why cannot this Government take courage in both hands and act?

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): How could he expect this Government to do that?

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: This Government goes out to keep the peace the world over; it cannot keep the peace in its own ranks. A house divided against itself is a house built on sands and when the storm comes, it will fall. I say that many governments have fallen before, in India and they have taken the nation along with them. My trouble is that when this Government falls, it is going to take the nation along with it. That is the

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tragedy. It is not that the Congress Government may fall. It may fall; It does not matter. One government goes and another comes. But it is taking the nation along with it. That is the sad tragedy.

भी मनुभाई पटेल (डमोई): ग्रध्यक्ष महोदय. माननीय सदस्य, श्री मध लिमये, ने भ्रपने एजाने मेंट मोशन में कहा है कि मासाम में जो कुठ हुन्ना, वह केन्द्रीय सरकार के लोडर्ज ग्रौर प्राइम मिनिस्टर के इनकानसिस्टेंट स्टेटमेंटस के कारण हवा। मुझे यह देख कर झाश्चर्य हुझा है कि न तो श्री मधुलिमये ने, ग्रौर न ही ग्रन्य वक्ताग्रों ने, इस कथन के समर्थन में कोई इनकानसिस्टेंट स्टेटमेंट पेश किये। खद श्री मध लिमयं ने यह कहा कि वहां पर चाय के बागीचों के विदेशी मालिकों द्वारा जो एक्स्प्लायटेशन हो रहा है, वहां के मैदान के सवर्ण लोगों में जो कट्टरता है ग्रौर वहां पर जो परदेशी हथियार ग्रा रहे हैं, उनकी वजह से आसाम में ये सब घटनायें हई।

17.16 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

श्री मधु लिमये ने झपने भाषण में कोई इनकानसिस्टेंट स्टेटमेंट नहीं बताया। 8 मई, 1961 का प्र.इम मिनिस्टर, म्रांडित नेहरू, ने ग्रेटर ग्राटोनोमी की बात कही। उस समय से लेकर 13 जनवरी, 1967 तक, जब कि होम मिनिस्टर, श्री चव्हाण, ने रिजनल फेडेरेशन की बात कही, कोई इनकानसिस्टेंसी नहीं हुई और नही किसी ने बताई।

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Who is responsible for that- Is the Government not responsible? What are you talking?

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: I was replying to Shri Madhu Limaye. SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Is not the Government responsible for it? This is nonsense.

श्री मनुभाई पटेल: दादा ने भावावेझ में झाकर कह दिया कि नेशनल फ्लेग का सम्मान खरम हो रहा है, इससे तो यही मच्छा है कि ऐसे लोगों को देश से ग्रलग होने दिया जाये । जो लोग उम्र की वजह से मायूस हैं, वे ऐसा सोच सकते हैं, लेकिन हम नीजवान लोग कभी ऐसी बात बर्यास्त नहीं कर सकते ।

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: What nonsense are you talking about my age? Is there any young man here who is younger than myself? I say I am 80 years young.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: You are the youngest here.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Are not the Congress people ashamed of the doing of their Government?

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: We draw inspiration from him.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Yet they have the face to stand up in defence of their Government's doings.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: It is no question of defending anything; it is putting facts before the House. I am sorry. I am not trying to excite you.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please address the Chair.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: You are losing your temper. He is a Member. He has a right to speak.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: He is a Member, but he must talk sense. I hold my temper when the Houe is on fire.

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भी मनु भाई पटेल : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, दादा पर में कोई इल्जाम नहीं लगाना चाहता। मैं सिर्फ यह कह रहा हूं कि राष्ट्र-स्वज का जो ग्रपमान हुग्रा, किसी ने उसको बर्दाझ्त नहीं किया । खद होम मिनिस्टर ने यहां पर जो बयान दिया, उसमें उन्होंने इस घटना को धिक्कारा, इतना ही नहीं, गौहाटी में होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह स्टेटमेंट दिया---ग्रासाम में कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट होते हुए भी उन्होंने कहा कि वहां का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन टोटली फेल हुमा। उन्होंने उसको छोड़ा नहीं। इस लिए यह कहना गलत है कि वहां जो कुछ हुग्रा है, किसी ने उसका वचाव किया है। हमने किसी का बचाव नहीं किया है। वहां पर जो कुछ हुआ। है, वह ग्रच्छा नहीं हुम्रा है ग्रौर हम सबको उसका दुख है। लेकिन एजार्नमेंट मोशन में जो यह कहा गया है कि स्टेट की रीम्रागंनाइजेशन के बारे में सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की जो इन-कानसिस्टेंट नीति रही, उसकी वजह से वहां पर ये घटनायें हुई, इससे मैं सहमत नहीं हो सकता हूं। इसलिए मैं इस एजार्नमेंट मोशन का विरोध करता हूं।

मुख्य बात यह है कि देश के सब प्रान्तों में भाषा के प्रश्न को लेकर एक भावना उठी है। खुद श्री मधु लिमये ने इस बात को स्वीकार किया है। वह एक ऐसी नाजुक भावना है जिसके कारण मालूम नहीं, कब कहां फुलेयर ग्रंप हो जाता है, तूफान मच जाता है। ग्रौर ग्रापने खुर मिसाल दिया कि बिगर बाम्बे, बाई-लिंगुप्रल बाम्बे का बंटवारा होते होते पांच सात साल हो गए, दो राज्य का फार्मूला आया, बाम्बे ग्रलग रहे यह फारमूला ग्राया, यह सब कर के जो हुमा सो हुमा लेकिन वहां के जो लोग हैं उनकी भावनाग्रों को जहां तक संतुष्ट नहीं कर सके उस के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार क्या करे? केन्द्रीय सरकार यहां बैठकर यदि कोई कड़ा कदम उठाती है तो कहेंगे

कि यह तो ब्रूटल रूदम उठाते हैं ग्रौर पटौदिया साहब ने कहा ग्रभी कि केन्द्रीय सरकार यहां पर नरम है, वह नरमाई से काम करती है यहां पर स्ट्रांग लीडरशिप चाहिये। लेकिन ग्रगर स्ट्रांग कदम उठाते हैं तो कल को दूसरा ऐडजर्नमेंट मोशन श्रायेगा। इसलिए उनकी भावना का सम्मान करते हुए कोई ऐसा रास्ता निकालना चाहिये जिसमें सब को संतोध हो सके। लेकिन यह तो हरगिज नहीं हो सकता कि देश का बंटवारा और करते जाय और बंटवारे को हम सहन करते जांये। पहले रीजनल फेडरेशन के बारे में एक प्रस्ताव था। उसके बारे में कुठ हिल लीडर्स के साथ भी बातचीत को। किर मेहता कमीशन ग्राया। उस की मीटिंग में ट्राइबल लीडर्स ग्रौर हिल लीडर्म हाजिर नहीं रहे_. इसलिए वह बात रुक गई। तो कहां किंधर इ.त-कौंसिसटेंसी है? जुरू से लेकर ग्राखोर तक कांसिसटेंटली केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इर्ताव किया है। एक के बाद एक कदम उठाय है। मधुलिमये साहब ने कह कि यह स करते हैं, हम को पूछते नहीं है तो विरोधी दल के ग्रासाम में जो लोग हैं उन सग को राय लेकर उन को सन्य में लेते। लकिन ग्रगर यही सवाल है कि क्यों हम को पूछते नहीं हैं इसलिए हम विरोध करते हैं तब तो कुछ कहनहीं सकते । पटौदिया साहब ने कहां कहा कि नक्स बाड़ो है, यह है वह है तो इन को सहारा कौन देता है ? वैसे तो नक्सलबाड़ी का विरोध करते हैं लेकिन यहां पर यूनाइटेड फ्रंट कर के उनके साथ बैठते हैं, ऐडजर्नमेंट मोशन में भी सब एक साथ जुड़ जाते हैं ग्रीर हम से शिकायत करते हैं कि नक्सलबाड़ी को बर्दाग्त करते हैं 🕨

बर्दाप्रत तो वह लोग करते हैं जो उनका साथ देते हैं । श्री कर्णी सिंह जी, महाराज बीकानेर, वैसे तो पास में खुद इंडिपेंडेंट हैं लेकिन बैठने से सोहबत का ग्रसर ग्रा हुं! जाता है। तो वह भी ग्रपने ग्राप को संयम में नहीं रख सके झौर जो कम्यूनिस्टिक टैक्टिस है कैरेक्टर एसेसिनेशन की वह उन पर भी चढ़ गई। कहने लगे कि देश में एकता का कोई सिम्बल नहीं देखता । पंडित नेहरू थे उसके बाद अब कोई नहीं रहा । हां महात्मा गांवी पंडित नेहरू वगैरह महान विभूतियां थीं। ऐसी महान विभूतियां हर जमाने में नहीं पैदा होतीं। कान्ति काल के वह हमारे लीडर थे।.. (व्याधान)में यह कहना चाहता था कि देश में सब से बड़ा कोई नेशनल फोरम है तो वह हमारी पालियामेंट है। हमारी पालियामेंट में वह क्षमता है ग्रीर लोक-तांत्रिक व्यवस्था में एक एक लोडर में ऐसी क्षमता है कि वहनेशनल लोडर बन सकता है। ऐसो बात करना कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर नेशनल लीडर नहीं है, मोरार जी नहीं हैं, चव्हाण साहब नेशनस लोडर नहीं हें यह कैरेक्टर एनेमिनेशन के सिवाय ग्रार कोई बात नहीं है। महात्मा गांधी मौर पंडित नेहरू की हाइट के वह नहीं हैं। लेकिन माज यह बात नहीं है कि देश में कोई नेजनल लीडर नहीं है। हम दावे के साथ कह सकते हैं कि हमारे देश की पालियामेंट एक ऐसा नेशनल फारम है जो देश की नेशनल यूनिटी ग्रीर इंटेगिटी को संमाल सकतो है। इसलिए कर्णो सिंह जा जैसे एक स्वस्थ विचार वाले व्यक्ति ऐसी बात कहें तो मुझे तो यही लगता है कि उन के ऊपर उन के साथ बैठने का मसर हो गया है।

जो सच्ची बात है वहां ग्रासाम में वह जो भाई मधु लिमये जी ने तीन कारण कहे, मैं उनको स्वीकार करताह ग्रौर उनके शथ में सहमन हूं कि वहां एक्सप्लायटेशन है, वहां विदेशी हाथ श्रौर हत्तक्षेप है झौर वहां के सवर्ण लागों में तथा जो हिल के ट्राइक्ज हैं या दूसरे प्रोतों के लोग हैं, इन के बीच में जो एक साइकोलोजिकल डिस्टेंस हो गई है वह है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि इससे भी ज्यादा, इस एक्सप्लायटेशन के साथ साथ वहां के लोगों में खाम करके नवजवानों में एक फस्ट्रेशन है। आसाम के लोगो में फरस्ट्रेशन इसी वजह से है कि उनको एक रेकग्नीशन नहीं मालूम होता है, यह रेकग्नीशन भी देने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए, नेशनल इम्पार्टेस भी उनको महलूस हो सके ऐसी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए।

इन झब्दों के साथ जो ग्राखीर में म्राचार्य कृपालानी जी ने सुझाव दिया इसका मैं विरोध करता हुं। गवर्नर्स रूल का इससे कोई ताल्लक नहीं है, कोई वास्ता नहीं है। गवर्नर्सं रूल से कोई काम बन नहीं सकेगा। ग्रौर जैस. मधुलिमये साहब ने कहा कि चालिहा साहब को वहां से हटाया जावे तो इस से भी कोई परिणाम निकलने वाला नहीं है। चालिहा साहब को हटाना या रखना वहां के एलेक्टोरेट के हाव में है। यहां पार्लियामेंट के हाथ में नहीं है। उनको चुनने वाले वहां के लोग हैं। उन्होंने उनको चुनकर चीफ मिनिस्टर बढाया है। वह लोग चाहेंगे तो नहीं चुनेंगे । लेकिन हमारे पास ऐसी सत्ता नहीं है कि हम उनको हटाएं। इसलिए यह एडजर्नमेंट मोशन की बात आज के समय के अनकूल नहीं है जबकि घाव ताजा है। उस में मदद देने के बजाया वह ग्रौर नमक डालने की कोशिश करता है। इसलिए मैं समझता हं कि जो कारण उन्होंने रखे हैं वह ठीक नहीं हैं। मैं इसका विरोध करता हूं भौर इस ऐडजर्नमेंट मोशन को खत्म करना चाहिए ।

श्री बलराज मधोक (दक्षिण दिल्ली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे खेद है कि सादनीय सदस्य श्री पटेल ने माचार्य कृपालानी को

[श्रीबलराज मधेक]

भावना को समझने के बजाय उन पर ग्राघात करना ठीक समझा । ग्रावार्य कृपालानो देश के एक वयोवृद्ध नेता हैं म्रौर उनकी बातों में वेदना थी । उस वेदना का कारण है। जो कुछ ग्रासाम में हुग्रा, गोहाटी में हुग्रा वह एक सांकेतिक चीज है ग्रीर उस से हर्मे सबक लेना होगा। मैंने गोहाटी में जो कुछ हुग्रा उसे स्वयं देखा। जो कुछ वहां पर हुग्रा उसकी जिम्मेदारी किस पर है इस में मैं ब्राज जाता नहीं। मगर तीन घंटेके ग्रन्दर करोड़ों रुपये की सम्पत्ति तबाह कर दी जाय, राष्ट्रीय ध्वजंका ग्रपमान किया जाय, युलिस स्टेशन के ऊपर से राष्ट्रीय ध्वज को उतारा जाय, पुलिस स्टेशन के सामने पीषूल्स कोर्ट लगाई जाय भौर खुल्लमखुल्ला पाकिस्तान जिन्दाबाद, ध्रयुव जिन्दाबाद, मान्रो जिन्दाबाद के नारे लगाए जायं, बह कहा जाब कि जो लोग ग्रासामी नहीं हैं वह निकल जायं, नाम चाहे किसी का लिया जाय, लचेत सेना का लिया गया है लेकिन लचेत सेना तो केवल एक कार नेम है, इसका कौन लीडर है, इसके पीछे कौन ग्रादमी है कोई जानता नहीं, ग्रासाम को जो वास्तविक स्थिति है उसको समझने की कोज्ञिज्ञ कीजिए। आसाम हमारी सीमा का प्रान्त है। उस के साथ ही ग्रौर क्षेत्र लगे हुए हैं, मणिपूर है, लिपूरा है, सारा उत्तरी पूर्वी सीमा का क्षेत्र है जिसके एक ग्रोर चीन है, एक ग्रोर पाकिस्तान है, और एक और बर्माहै। जब से बर्माकी सरकार ग्रौर चीन के बीच में मतभेद शुरू हुए हैं उत्तर बर्मा के अन्दर जो इलाका हमारी सीमा से लगता है वहां पर भी चीनियों की गतिविधियां शुरू हो गई हैं। इस प्रकार तीन आरेर सैवह शत्र आगें से घिरा हुन्ना है। इस क्षेत्र पर पाकिस्तान की नजरें शुरू से रही हैं। 1901 मे जब क्रंग्रेजों ने बंगाल का विभाजन किया तो ग्रासाम को ईस्ट बंगाल के साथ

मिलाया। फिर जब कैबिनेट मिशन ग्राया तो उसने बंगाल ग्रौर ग्रासाम को मिला कर एक करना चाहा। उस समय श्री बारदोली ने इस योजना के विरुद्ध प्रोटेस्ट किया ग्रौर महात्मा गांधी ने भी उनका समर्थन किया। फलस्वरूप उस समय श्रासाम बच गगया । मगर पाकिस्तान की कुदुष्टि भ्रासाम पर है । ग्रभी पिछले दिनों श्री मुट्रो ने एक ग्राटिकल लिखाथा जिसमें स्पष्ट कहाथा कि श्रासाम तो पाकिस्तान का है श्रौर होना चाहिए। इस उद्देश्य से पाकिस्तान की ग्रोर से वहां 1947 से गतिविधियां चल रही हैं। सन् 1947 के अन्दर ग्रासाम में मुसलमाना की झाबादी लगभग 10 प्रतिशत थी। मैं मुसलमान का नाम लूंगा तो कुछ भाई कहैंके कि यह कम्युनल है लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस समय जरूरत है तथ्यों को निर्भीकता से सामने रखा जाय। अगर हम यह कहने को तैयार नहीं हैं, तो हम देश के साथ द्रोह करेंगे, राष्ट्र के साथ द्रोह करेंगे। इसलिए मैं साफ बात कहना चाहता हूं। उम समय यह माबादी 10%थी, मगर उसके बाद उन्होंने वहां से पाकिस्तानियों को ग्रमम में भेजना शुरू किया ग्रीर सन् 61 में वहां मुसलमानों की आवादी हो गई 25 प्रतिशत ह यह माबादी कैसे बढ़ गई? एक तरफ यह मस्लिम ग्राबादी बढ़ती जा रही है ग्रौर दूसरी तरफ जो मुसलमान नहीं हैं उन को पाकिस्तानी तत्व वहां से निकालने की कोशिण कर रहे हैं, कभी बंगाली के नाम पर करें ग्रौर कभी गैर-ग्रामामी के नाम पर। गौहाटी की घटना को इस पृष्ठभूमि में देखना होगा। गोहाटी में मैं गया श्रौर गोहाटी की तबाही का जो पैटर्न है उस को स्वयं देखा । दो दूकार्ने इधर बंगाली हिन्दु की और दो इधर मा वाड़ी हिन्दू की हैं। वह जली हुई हैं। बीच में एक दूकान बंगाली मुसलमान की है वह नहीं जली है । एक प्रापर्टी है, मालिक मकान मुसलमान है, मगर टेमेंट हिन्दू है । उसका सामान निकाल कर जला दिया गया है, मगर बिल्डिंग कायम है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं मेरा चैलेंज है

किहिम्मत हो तो इन तथ्यों को झुठलाम्रो, ।

हिम्मत हो तो इन्हें कन्ट्राडिक्ट करो । (व्यवधान)

इस लिये जो यह स्थिति है वह यह है कि एक ग्रोर गैर ग्रसमियों के नाम से वहां पर जो गैर-ग्रसामी हिन्दू ग्राबादी है, बिहारी है, बंगाली हैं उनको हटाकर भगाने की बात की जा रही है और दूसरी खोर मुसलमान पाकिस्तान से वहां ग्रा कर बस रहे हैं। मैं चव्हाण साहब से पूछना चाहता हं कि इस बात में कितनी सत्यता है कि केन्द्र सरकार ने ग्रसम सरकार को कहा है कि जो वहां पर गैर कानुनी गढंसे पाकिस्तानी आये हुए हैं, मौर जो वहां पांच साल से रह रहे हैं, उन को नागरिकता के मधिकार दे दिये आयें। दूसरी भोर जो लोग सदियों से वहां रह रहे हैं, उनको निकाला जा रहा है। क्या यह सारा एक षडयन्त्र नहीं है जो ग्रसम को भारत से ग्रलग करने के लिये रचा जा रहा है ? इस काम में प्रो-चाइनीज एलीमेंट एक्टिव है, प्रो-पाक एलीमेंट एक्टिव है भौर जो प्रो-वेस्ट एलीमेंट है, पादरी लोग हैं, वे एक्टिव हैं। ये सब तत्व म्रपने मपने ढंग से मसम के हिस्से काटने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं ।

मझे याद है जब 1962 में चीन का हमला हुमा था, तब तेजपुर में पाकिस्तान के झण्डे लगाये गये थे, तब प्रखबारों में यह छपा था कि यह योजना है कि ब्रह्मपुत के उत्तर का भाग जो है, वह चीन ले लेगा ग्रौर दक्षिण का जो भाग है, वह पाकिस्तान ले लेगा । वही बात माज वहां पर चल रही है भ्राज इस चीज को रिजनलिज्म का नाम दिया जा रहा है या उस के लिये विद्यार्थियों का नाम लिया जाता है। मैं वहां कालेजों के प्रिन्सिपलन से मिला था , विद्यार्थियों से मिला था, यह काम विद्यार्थियों का नहीं था। मैं विद्यायियों को जानता हुं, मैं टीचर हुं, हमारे विद्यार्थी बुरे नहीं हैं उन का नाम केवल स्पोक-स्कीन के लिए लिया जा रहा है । उस के पीछे दूसरे तत्व हैं ग्रौर ग्राज यह पता

लगाने की जरूरत है कि किस तरह से कौन ग्रासम को ग्रालग करने की कोशिश कर रहा है। इस ग्रोर सरकार का घ्यान जाना चाहिये।

इस स्थिति के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को नीति बहुत हद तक जिम्मेदार है। अभी कहा गया है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की बातों में इन-कंसिस्टैन्सी है, प्रशोक मेहता जाते हैं वह केन्द्र के मंत्री हैं, वह एक रिपोर्ट दे कर आते हैं, उस के बाद प्रधान मंत्री जाती हैं, वह दूसरी बात कह कर झाती हैं। क्या उन का यह फर्ज नहीं था कि वह इस सामरिक महत्व के क्षेत्न के बारे में विचारपूर्वक काम करें।

फिर ग्रापने नागालैंड बनाया, यह जो नागालैंड है, इस का ग्रसम की घटनाग्रों से बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण संबंध है। आपने तीन लाज की स्टेट बनाई ग्रीर स्टेट बनने के बाद भी, बहां एक नया राज्य कायम करने के बाद भी माप वहां विद्रोही लोगों से बात करते हैं। इस का प्रभाव सारे ग्रसम पर पडा है।-लोग समझते हैं कि ग्रगर गड़बड़ करने से तीन लाख की स्टेट बन सकती है, जिनकी अपनी ग्रामदनी पांच लाख भी नहीं है, परन्तु केन्द्र से ग्राठ-दस करोड रूपये साल का मिल सकता है, तो फिर तीन लाख की मीजोलैंड क्यों नहीं बन सकती, 20 लाख का ग्रहोम राज्य क्यों नहीं बन सकता, कामतापूर राज्य क्यों नहीं बन सकता, कछार राज्य क्यों नहीं बन सकता ।

सन् 1962 में नागालैंड की बात याद थी। मैं उस वक्त लोक सभाका सदस्य था, मैंने उस वक्त कहाथाकि नागालैंड स्टेट बनाकर ग्राप विघटन का रास्ताखोल रहे हैं----

"You are opening the floodgates of disruption."

जो बात मैंने उस वक्त कही थी, ग्राज सत्य सिद्ध हो रही है। नागालैंड की मिसाल झौर जगहों पर भी चल रही है। क्रुपलानी जी ने. [श्री बलराज मवोक]

कहा कि महाराष्ट्र में शिव सेना बन गई है, असम ग्रसमियां के लिये हैं, बंगाल बंगालियों के लिये हैं, लेकिन यह सब शरू कैसे हझा ? ग्रगर ग्राप काश्मीर को स्पेशल स्टेटस देते हैं, काश्मीर काश्मीरियों के लिये है, काश्मीर में जा कर कोई जमीन नहीं खरीद सकता, नौकरी नहीं कर सकता, नागालैंड नागाग्रों के लिये है, वहां कोई जमीन नहीं ले सकता, तो फिर जो कहते हैं कि ग्रसम ग्रसमियों के लिये है, ग्राप उनको दोष क से दे सकते हैं। इसमें हमारी गलती है, केन्द्रीय सरकार की गलती है । हम डबल स्टैण्डर्ड नहीं चला सकती । जब काश्मीर कश्मीरियों के लिये है तो महाराष्ट्र महाराष्ट्रियों के लिये क्यों नहीं । तब हम शिव-सेना की कैसे निंदा कर सकते हैं । इस लिये मेरा कहना है कि हम इस समस्या के मुल में जायें इस पर विचार करने के लिये मैं मापके सामने कुछ सुझाव रखना चाहता हूं ग्रौर मैं चाहता हूं कि ग्राप उन पर ध्यान *t* :

1. पहली बात तो यह है कि ग्रसम सीमावर्ती क्षेत्र है, तीनों ग्रोर से शत देशों ंसे घिरा हुआ, है। इस को भारत से ग्रलग करने की योजनायें चल रही हैं, इसलिये यदि ग्रसम का कोई पुनर्गठन करना है तो हमारे लिये देश की सुरक्षा का सवाल सब से ग्रधिक महत्वपूर्ण है । इसलिये इस पर पीसमील ढंग से या पार्टी ढंग से विचार न किया जाय । मेरा सुझाव है कि एक उच्च-स्तरीय ग्रायोग बनाया जाय, जो डिफेन्स क्रोरियेन्टेड हो, जिसमें सूरक्षा का विचार ग्रधिक हो, उस में मिलिटी के एक्सपटर्स हों श्रोर नैशनल लीडर्स भी हों, वह श्रायोग सारे क्षेत्न के बारे में, मणिपूर, त्निपुरा, ग्रसम-नागालैंड ग्रौर मीजोलैंड इन सब के बारे में विचार करे। वहां की जन-भावना का भी विचार करे, ग्राथिक विकास का भी विचार करे ग्रौर सारे देश की सुरक्षा का भी विचार करे ग्रौर उसके बाद जो सुझाव वह ग्रायोग दे, उसके आधार पर इस सारे क्षेत्र का पूनगठन किया

जाय । ऐसा मत कीजिए कि कभी इस कमेटी को बैठा दिया ग्रौर कभी उस कमेटी को बैठा दिया ।

2. दूसरी बात—वहां पर जो लगातार पाकिस्तानी घसपैठ हो रहा है, उस को रोकिये । ग्रमी तक ग्राप उस को रोक नहीं पाये हैं । जब नन्दा जी गृहमंत्री थे, उस वक्त ऐसा तय हुम्रा था कि सीमा के साथ-साथ एक मील की पट्टी खाली कर दी जाय ताकि इम्मी-ग्रेन्ट्स को रोका जा सके, लेकिन प्रभी तक उस पर ग्रमल नहीं हुम्रा । यह योजना ग्रापको ग्रमल में लानी चाहिये ताकि पाकिस्तान के साथ जो इलाका लगता है, वहां से लोगों का माना रूक सके । इस लिए यह प्रावश्यक है कि सीमा का इलाका साफ कराया जाय गौ उनकी रोक कर सकें । जब तक यह रोक नहीं होगी तब तक देश पर खतरा बना रहेगा ।

3. तीसरी—यह कि जो वहां पर विदेशी पादरी हैं जो नागालैंड और मीजोलैंड में काम कर रहे हैं उन सब को वहां से निकाला जाय । यह म्रत्यावस्यक है क्योंकि वे लोग ऐसे ढंग से वहां पर उस चीज को करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि वहां पर वेस्टर्न-पावसं का एक म्रड्डा बन जाय । जिस तरह से कम्यूनिस्ट चीन ग्रीर पाकिस्तान वहां पर प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं उसी तरह से ये वैस्टर्न-पावर्स भी इन्टरेस्टेड हैं, पश्चिमी राष्ट्र भी पादरियों के द्वारा प्रयत्नशील हैं।

4. सारे ग्रसम में जो एक प्रकार का इनसिक्योरिटी का भाव पैदा हुआ है, उस को दूर करने के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार को विगेप ध्यान देना चाहिये । आप कहते हैं कि यह वार्डर एरिया है---दुनिया भर का इतिह स बताता है कि जो वार्डर एरियाज होते है और जहां वार्डर के उस पार इंग्मन मुक्त होते हैं वे उन पर बार्डर एरियाज में गड़बड़ कराते हैं । उम का रास्ता यह नहीं है कि वहां से एन्डीकेट कर दो । पीछे हटा दो उस का रास्ता सिर्फ यही है कि उस को सख्ती उस दवाओं । हमारे यहां क्या हो रहा है ?

We are temporising. Abdication is no solution. अगर बार्डर एरिया के किसी क्षेत्र में गड़वड़ होती है तो उस का बह इलाज नहीं है कि सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट बहां से हट जाय । जरूदा यह है कि इन को सैन्ट्रलो एडमिनिस्टर्ड एरिया बबाया जाय । जहां जहां सैन्टर की विगेप बिम्मेदारी है उस को मेन्ट्रलो एडमिनिस्टड एरिया बनया जाय । जो ग्रालरेडी सेन्ट्रली डमिषिस्टर्ड एरियाज है मैं उन के बारे में 500 नहीं कहना चाहता । लेकिन इन एरियाज में केन्द्र के प्रथिकार बढ़ने चाहिये कम नहीं इरोन चाहिये ।

5. इन एरियाज में केन्द्र की पुलिस को बढ़ाइये । जिस प्रकार वहां की लोकन पुलिस ने काम नहीं किया उस से जनता ब्या मनोबल घटा है उनका विश्वास घटा है । सेन्ट्रल रिजर्व पुलिस काफी माला में इन खोलों में रखनी होगी ।

6. बहां पर जो लोग मारे गये हैं बिन सोगों को लूटा गया है उन का कोई दोष नहीं था। सरकार की यह एलीमेंट्री दबूटी है कि उन लोगों को सेफटी दे। उन की साइफ और प्रोपर्टी को बचाये। लेकिन जो जबनंमेंट ऐसा नहीं कर सकी तो गवर्नमेंट का फर्ज है कि उन को कम्पेन्सेट करा। बास कर बिहार के लोगों को जिनकी रिक्शा में बचा दी गई हैं। जो लोग ग्रमीर हैं उन को रिहैबिलिटेशन ग्रान्ट दे, उन को विदाऊट इन्टरेस्ट लोन दिया जाय लेकिन जो गरीब तबका है उन को पूरी तरह से कम्पेन्सेट करना इनेगा।

अस्तिम बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि हिन्दुस्तान का इतिहास हमें बताता है कि जब कभी भी हिन्दुस्तान की सेन्ट्रल गवनमेंट कमबोर है हुई, तभी सीमाग्रों पर इस प्रकार 39892 (Ai) LSD-11.

को डिसरप्टिव फोर्सेज उठी हैं क्वौर विघटन को कार्यवाहियां शरू हुई हैं । स्राप सपनो दुष्टि में बलवान व्यक्ति हो सकते हैं लेकिन म्राज देश के मन्दर यह इम्प्रेसन पैंदा हो गया 青年 Central Government is weak. ग्रौर ग्रापके बस का यह रोग वहीं रहा है । इसलिये कोई नोति सोचिये मिल कर बैठिये ग्रीर विचार कोजिये। मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूं जो चाहेंगे कि सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट दूबेंल रहे। मैं चाहंगा कि सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट मजबूत हो चाहे आपके हाथ में हो या मेरे हाय में हो लेकिन सेन्टल गवर्नमेंट मजबूत होनी चाहिये। इसलिये हम यूनीटरी गवर्नमेंट की एकात्मक शासन की मांग करते हैं। सेन्ट्रल एवडीकेट न करे उन का मुकाबला करे ग्रौर ग्रसम जो कि ग्राज विदेशी विघटन कारी शक्तियों का मड्डा बन गया है उनका मजबूती से मकाबला करे । इस लिये मैं चाहूंना कि ग्रसम की ग्रोर विशेष ध्यान दिया ज जाय ।

इसलिये इस मोशन का दलयत भावना से नहीं बल्कि इस समस्या की ग्रीर सरकार का व्यान जाये इस दृष्टि से समर्थन करता हूं।

श्री तुलसी दास जाघव (वारामती): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस एडजर्नमेंट मोशन पर, जो इस समय हाउस के सामने झाया है, हमारे माननीय सदस्यों ने जो प्वाइ-न्ट्स उठाये हैं, जहां तक मेने सूना है किसी ने उनका समर्थन या निरोध नहीं किया है। सभी नेइस वात को कहा है कि म्राज देश के मन्दर जो एक गन्दी हवा फ्रैलो हुई है उसका प्रभाने सारे देश पर पड़ रहा है और असम मे कुछ ज्यादा पड़ा है। इस सब का क्या कारण है और कैंसे यह सब हुआ, आज इस को सोचने की जरूरत है। वहां पर लाखों रुषये की जायदाद और मकान जला दिये दये, [श्री नुलसी दास जावव] गोहाटी के अन्दर जो ये वातें हुई हैं, यह ब्हुत बुरी है, लेकिन जैसा मैंने कहा यह हवा दूसरें प्रान्तों में भी फ्रैल रही है, इसलिये ग्राज इस हवा को निकालने की जरूरत है।

ग्रौर वह हवा निकलने के वस्त ग्रापने ग्रभी तक यह पिछले तीन, चार वर्गमे देखा है कि चाहे वह लैंग्वेज के वारेमें हो या **बौर्ड**र के बारे में हो,वह जो एक भडकाने वाली जहरीली हवा पैदा हो जाती हैतो फिर चाहे वह किसी पार्टी काहो उसका प लिक के ऊपर लोगों के ऊपर कोई कंट्रोल नहीं रह पाता है गौर एक चारों तरफ ग्रशान्ति और ग्रव्यवस्थायी की हवा फैल जाया करती है और ग्राम तौर पर लोगों के हाथ में कानून का तोडना चला जाता है ग्रीर उसको टैंकिल करने मे पूलिस या वह सरकारी मशीनरी नाकामया। रहती है। वह खद भी देखते हैं कि यहां जोखिम उठाने से क्या फायदा है? ब्राखिर वह तो एक सबैंट लोग एक कर्मचारी लोग हैं ग्रीर उन का जितना कानून से प्रमोशन ग्रादि हो सकता है वहां तक वह होता चलाही जाता है। मेरी राय है कि इसमें जिसको रिस्क उठाना हो जोखिम उठाना हो तो उसके लिए यह प लिक वर्कर्स हैं ग्रौर इस पत्रलिक क्षेत्र मे चाहे ग्राप उनको लीडर्स कहिये या वर्कर्स कहिये ग्राज उनकी हमें कमी दिखाई देती है। इसके लिए अगर यह अपोजीशन वाले महज कांग्रेस पर चुंकि वह पावर में है उसके ऊपर बह धब्गा लगायें सारी जिम्मेदारी व दोष उस कांग्रेस के ऊपर ही मढ़ें तो उससे काम नहीं होगा। जिन की पावर में जितना करना है उसमें हमारी समझ में कोई दोष नहीं है। ऐसा भी किसी का कहना उचित व सही नहीं होगा कि प्राइन मिनिस्टर की असम में कुछ स्पीच हुई दो उसके

ग्रन्दर कोई ऐसाइंटैंशन थाकि यह ग्रान भड़क जाय। प्रगर कोई मिन्न इस तरह की बात प्राइम मिनिस्टर की **किसी** स्पीच के लिए कहें तो में उससे बिलक्र्ल सहमत नहीं हूं। वह एक झूठी बात है श्रीर वह इलजाम लगाने वाली वात है ग्रौर पालिटिक्स में जैंसा कहा जाता वैस्ता कहने वाली बात है। दूसरे कई लोगों 🕏 कहा कि जा हमको इतिला मिली तो श्री चव्हाण को जोकि होम मिनिस्टर 🖡 उनको यह इतिला कैसे नहीं मिली? हो सकता है कि कोई कोई बातों की इत्तिला मिली हो इत्तिलाएं मिलती हैं यह हो सकता है लेकिन उसके अन्दर सच्चाई कहां तक हैवह भी इनक्तायरी करने के लिए उन्होंने पूछा होगा। वह 🗬 एक प्रोसीज्योर है। ऐसातों नहीं हो सकता कि कल वहां ग्रसम में कुछ दीवारो पर पर्चे ग्रादिलगाये जायें ग्रीर यहां सैंटर केहोम मिनिस्टर से उस बारे में पूळताख कर ली जाय। ऐसी पूळताळ करने के बाद भी लोग कहेंगे कि यह तो स्टेट गवर्नमेट की डेमोकेेशी में उन्होंने दखाल दी है। मेरा कहना है कि यह भी धज्जा लगाते हुए उन्होंने उत्त बारे मे कोई खयक्ता नहीं किया श्रीर उसका कोई लिहाज नहीं किया तो यह भी ठीक नहीं है।

मेरा कहना यह है कि ग्राजकन देश में जो हवा फैनी हुई है वह बहुत बुरी है ग्रौर इस जहरीली हवा को जोकि फैनी हुई है उसको हर ग्रादमी के दिमाग सेनिकालने की हम समी लोगों को मिल कर कोणिश करनी है। इस बारे में ज्यादम जवावदारी पोलिटिकल पार्टियों की ग्रौर

उनके नेताग्रों की है। जो हवा ग्रभी ग्राज दिखती है गांधी जी का खून होने के षहले वाली हवा मालुम पड़ती है। गांधी जी की हत्या होने के पहले वर्ष दो वर्ष तक ग्रखबारों द्वारा ग्रौर भाषणों द्वारा एक इतना श्रंगार फैलाया हन्ना था कि हमने देखा कि वह चिंगारी निकली भौर वह दुखद कांड हम्रा । जाहिर है कि ग्रंगार में जब चिंगारियां फूटती हैं तो मकान जलते हैं और तबाही झाती है और मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि कुछ वही हाल ग्राजकल हो रहा है। कल एक कौलिंग झटैंशन नोटिस झाया था ग्रौर यहां पर उसमें बतलाया गया कि जैसे वह जनसंघ के म्राध्यक्ष उपाध्याय जी की मृत्यु हुई, वह कांड हुन्रा । दूसरे जैसे कल अखबार में आया और मालूम हुआ कि मध्यप्रदेश में हरिजन लोगों ने वहां कुछ धार्मिक हिस्सा लिया तो उनको खत्म कर दिया कितने ही ग्रादमियों को बहां पर मार दिया गया। यह भी खबर माई है कि कोई एक एम० एल० ए० हैं किसी एक पार्टी के उनको गोली मार दी गई। इसके पहले भी जब वह बौरडर का सवाल था तो वहां भी पार्लियामेंट की जो वह हाइऐस्ट डेमोकेटिक बौडी है, मंदिर भी है, उसके पुजारी को भी रेल के ऊपर जाकर पीटा जाता है। रेलें लुटी जाती हैं कोई देखने वाला नहीं है। ऐसे ही नक्सलवाडी में हन्ना। ऐसा भी देखने में ग्राया कि जहां पर कुछ रेलें जलाई गईं तो वहां ऐक्शन लेने के वास्ते रेलवे पुलिस को पावर नहीं थी ग्रौर जैसा कि रेलवेज के मिनिस्टर ने कहा वहां स्टेट गवर्नमैंट देखती नहीं। उसके कूली भी देखते रहे। मेरी समझ में नहीं ग्राता कि यह जो देश में यहां वहां सरकारी सम्पत्ति ग्रादि को जलाने व बर्बाद करने ग्रौर अपनी अोपीनियन का ग्रादमी न हो तो उसको सहन न करने की प्रवृत्ति जो दिनों दिन बढ़ती जा रही हैउसके लिए देश के ग्रन्दर छोटे से बड़े तक, एक छोटे वर्कर सेलेकर हाइऐस्ट नीडर तक सब पर उसकी जवाबदेही है। सब पर इसकी जबाबदारी हैं।

श्री बलराज मधोक ने यहां पर ग्रभी ग्रपने विचार रक्खे ग्रौर मैं भीजो कि 30-35 साल से राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में काम करता हूं इसलिए उन्होंने जो चीज यहां पर साबित करने की कोशिश की है मैं उसको बखूबी समझ सकता हूं। उन्होंने जो जो बातें यहां पर कहीं उनके सत्य ग्रसत्य में मैं नहीं जाता। वह वहां गये थे। लेकिन मेरा कहना है फि जितने भाषण यहां पर हुए हैं उनके अन्दर किसी ब्रादमी ने किसी कम्युनिटी का नाम नहीं लिया लेकिन मधोक साहब ने अपने भाषण द्वारा जिस प्रवृत्ति का परिचय दिया है वह प्रवृत्ति ठीक नहीं है। मैं उनसे निवेदन करता हूं कि देश में ग्रंगार लगाने में कुछ ऐसी इंधर उधर गड़बड़ होने में, ऐसी स्पीचैंज कारण बनती हैं तो ऐसी प्रवत्ति का परिचय देना ग्रौर ऐसे भाषण ग्रादि देना बिलकूल गलत बात है। देश के दो टुकड़ों करने में ऐसे लोगों पर इसकी जवाबदारी है जिन्होंने उस वक्त ऐसे उत्तेजनात्मक भाषण दिये और लेख ग्रादि निकाले । इसी प्रवृत्ति के बढ़ने के परिणामस्वरूप गांधी जी का खुन हुआ ग्रौर मेरी प्रार्थना है कि देश का हित इसी में है कि ऐसे प्रवृत्ति को हम देशवासियों में पनपने न दें और उसको निकाल बाहर करें ।

दूसरी बात उन्होंने वह शिव सेना की कही तो मेरा कहना है कि यह बात हर जगह है पर फिर चाहे वह शिव सेना हो या श्रौर कोई सेना हो, ऐसी सब चीजों को, प्रवृत्तियों को, हमें सबको मिलकर निकालने की कोशिश करनी है। [श्री तुलसी दास जाधा]

इस तरह की जहां भी खतरनाक प्रवृ-तियां काम कर रही हों चाहे वह उनके अनुकूल हों या प्रतिकूल, इसका खयाल किये वगैर वह खुद उन्हें हटाने के लिए चले जांग उसके वास्ते जोखिम उठायें और यहां कहने के बजाय उसे खत्म करने में स्वयं जुट जांय और उस काम को करने में खत्म हो जायं। याज हम सभी लोगों में बजाय यहां पर स्पोर्चेज देने के इप तरह की एक भावना काम करने की और ग्रच्छे काम के बास्ते जोखिम उठाने की आंगो चाहिए तभी देश में जान्ति, समृद्धि प्रायेगे। खाली एक दूसरे पर दोषारोपण करने और प्रपनी जिम्मेदारी से बचते रहने से देश का कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है।

SRRI MANOHARAN (Madras North): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I want to submit our reactions on what has happened in the State of Assam on 26th January. My hon. friend, Shri Madhu Limaye, has explained everything that has been happening in Assam. In the course of his speech, he has mentioned about the extent of damage done, that women have been molested, that properties have been destroyed and that everything has happened in the State of Assam. While all that happened, the Chief Minister of Assam was not in Gauhati. I am told that on January 24, in anticipation of events that may arise, he left Gauhati and reached one of the villages in Assam for a holiday.

Sir, the general impression in the whole State of Assam was that in collision with the Chief Minister of Assam, the whole episode, all the drama, was enacted. I do not know how far it is true. But the general impression in the whole State of Assam was this. The minority communities have been singled out and these people have been attacked by those people who claim themselves to

be the members of Lachet Sena or something like that. I can understand the regional feelings of the people of a particular State. But I cannot understand this sort of a thing. If the regional feeling is allowed unchecked, I am sure, it will generate into regional perversion. What we are witnessing today in Assam is the regional perversion. The blessing has been given by the Chief Minister of Assam and some other officers who connected with that. It is really a tragedy that this kind of thing has been tolerated by the Central Government. The Governor is there and he could have submitted a report, to the Central Government. Perhaps he might have submitted a report; I do not know. But Shri Y. B. Chavan himself has confessed as follows. I would like to quote what he himself said here yesterday. This was what he said:

"The main question is to find out exactly what led to these disturbances. Then what the responsibility of the Administration is in this is also a major question. I have personally expressed my own view that that day the local administration completely failed. It is is a matter of shame for us. I do not want to conceal that fact. I do not propose to give protection to anybody."

This is the exact confession or admission on the part of the Home Minister. I want to point out that mere confession and admission is not enough. We would like to know what he is going to do in the present situation. Biharis, Bengalis, Marathis, and Sindhis etc. have been singled out and attacked, and as I have said already, cars have been selected and demolished and thrown into the canals.

My hon. friend Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah while he was speaking on the motion on the President's Address was naturally expressing his apprehension about the minority communities in the State of Madras. For his information I want to say only this much. Perhaps he may have been told like this by somebody; I do not question his bona fides; probably he would not have meant what he said. For his information I may tell him that during the peak of the anti-Hindi agitation, the minority communities have been protected by the people of Madras State. In the State of Madras we have Marathi, Gujaratis, Rajasthanis, Sindhis and also the Sikh community

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal): On a point of personal explanation...

SHRI MANOHARAN: I do not mistake his intention.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I did not mention the context of these anti-Hindi disturbances: I was speaking about linguistic minorities generally and I said that they should be provided with more facilities. It was in that context only that I was speaking.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA (Gurdaspur): I was in Madras during the last week of December, and I went to that area of Madras where the Rajasthanis and the Telugu people live, and they said that they were under fire when that language controversy took place.

SHRI MANOHARAN: Very recently, each and every minority community's association has invited the Chief Minister of Madras and they have expressed their complete satisfaction regarding the law and order situation in that part of the country. I hope the Home Minister here would have received thousands and thousands of telegrams from these minority communities stating that they were safe and that their position was secure.

I would like particularly to mention here that I belong to a minority community myself. The very fact that I am here as a Member of Parliament representing a particular party is itself positive proof that the minority community is well established and secure. So, Madras has the unique opportunity to have a dynamic leadership in the person of my Chicf Minister Shri Annadurai. So, there is no question of the liquidation of minority communities or the minority communities being put to difficulties.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I hope I would get another chance to speak. I shall reply to these points.

SHRI MANOHARAN: He may nope for the best.

In the whole of Bombay, communities like the South Indian community, Bengalis, Gujaratis etc. were molested and manhandled by the Shiv Sena. Then, the press reporters went to our Deputy Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai. They asked him 'Are you going to be a passive spectator of the hooliganism let loose by the Shiv Sena?'. and shamelessly, the Deputy Prime Minister said without any sense of responsibility. Don't you know that there is the DMK party in the South?. He had the guts enough to equate the DMK with the Shiv Sena. On the contrary, I would say that we have been responsible for maintaining the law and order situation in our State.

Another thing. While the Shiv Sena was creating havoc....

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI MORARJI DESAI): May I rise on a point of explanation? The hon. Member cannot make an allegation and then say that I will not have a chance to explain.

What I said had been torn out of context in a very shamless manner

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SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade): What is that context? It has appeared in all the newspapers.

श्री मधु लिमये : शेमलैस मैनर शब्द कहना मोरारजी भाई को शोभा नहीं देता हैं । उनको उनको यह नहीं कहना चाहिये था।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai): Let him say what it is.

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR: He was keeping mum all the while.

SHRI E. K. NAYANAR (Palghat): Does he deny the press report?

SHRI MONOHARAN: I expected some decensy from him. I am sorry I am disappointed.

SHRI SONAVANE (Pandharpur): The hon. Member said something shamelessly. So he need not feel sorry.

SHRI MONOHARAN: When the Shiv Sena activities were going on the Bombay State, my Chief Minister was asked by pressmen, 'What is your reaction?' I will quote what he said. When Shri Karni Singhji was talking about the dearth of leadership in this country, I was thinking about my Chief Minister. He said: **What** is required today is not Lachit Sena or Shiv Sena. What is required today is a Seva Sena'. That is the leadership that is required in the country today. That is the leader whem we want.

I would request the Home Minister to consider this thing which is gradually developing. Right under the very nose of the Delhi Government, a scandalous collapse of law and order was witnessed by the people of this country on New Year Eve at Connaught Place. Certain young individants having drunk came out in the open and tried to molest ladies. even the wives of diplomats. What happened hereafter? What action has been taken by the Government of India is not known.

Assam (A.M.)

So it is going on. Who is responsible for this? I do not like to put the blame on anybody. But facts are facts and have to be faced. The villain of the whole tragedy in the country is none other than the Congress Party.

So I request the Home Minister to study this problme without any poli-tical bias, because the question of minority rights has to be taken into consideration. Democracy might be majority rule, but the preservation of minority rights must be the quintessense of democracy. So I request him to consider this matter. Having confessed that the law and order situation is out of control it is a clear case of complete failure of the constitutional machinery. I want to ask Shri Chavan: Why should he not have asked the Governor to submit a report? Or what prevented the Governor from submitting a report to the President recommending dismissal of the Ministry? Had it been a non-Congress Ministry, that Ministry would have been to pled or dismissed by now.

So the whole problem should be viewed through the democratic way of solving it, not through any political angle. I request the Home Minister to find an immediate solution to this problem. Otherwise, as previous speakers have said, the integration of this country will be a will-o-the-wisp.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta North East): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the deeply disturbing events which have taken place in Assam are evidence of what I consider to be the disgrace abounding which prevails today in our country, and that is on account of the bankrupt leadership at the Centre, a leadership which has neither administrative acumen nor political insight, which is busy with its petty self-interested preoccupations about clinging some how to power. The result has been that we see in Assam a wery dismal way in which the decline and fall of the Congress is being emerted.

In Assam, the putrid picture of petitical dog-fight is really so melanchely that one hesitates to describe it.

35 hrs.

We know very well how the administration is weakened on account of the Congress Party there being riven by dissensions. There are groups led by the Chief Minister Mr. Chaliha, there is Dev Kant Barooah, there is Mahendra Mohan Choudhury, and there is another person who was a member of this House a long time ago, Debesvar Serma. I do not know what the Minister of Industrial Development does these days, I hope he is kept busy with problems of industrial development, but he may also have a finger in the dirty pie which is cooking all the time in that extremely helpless state.

So, this is what is happening, and the Government of India is showing its eggregious incapacity just as in the case of Maharashtra. The Shiva Sena has been mentioned. It is a slander on the name of the great Shivaji, and yet Mr. Chavan is here unable to do a thing about it. Now there is a Lachit Sena. Lachit Barphookan was a local here of Assam who resisted the Wogbuls. His name is being abused and slandered in jobs which are of euch a terribly disgraceful character.

I am sorry that today in the course of the debate my hon. friend Mr. Madhok referred to the Muslims having been exonerated from the trouble there, and he made certain insinuations. I wish he had not made those insinuations.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: Whatever I said was based on facts, and 1 challenge anybody to disprove my facts.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati): I accept the challenge.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE: A little while ago my hon. friend Shri Kalita gave me the information that at least he could, out of his own personal knowledge, say that there is the case of a Muslim gentleman of the name of Muhammed Sufi whose house in Gauhati was burnt. But I do not want any kind of discriminating referece made to members of the minority, religious, linguistic or others, in the course of a discussion in which we want to develop and strengthen the forces of national integration. In the context of so many riots having taken place where the Muslims have suffered grievously, the intervention of Mr. Madhok was utterly unworthy and his reference to Kashmir. which is a knotty enough issue without our having to dirty the waters over and over again, was also completely gratuitous.

I refer then to what has already been mentioned by so many of my friends here, that is, the responsibility of the Centre when the inefficiency and failure of the local Government was patent to everybody. I have here a Bengali weekly called Compass, run by a revolutionary who had spent about 30 years in British jails which has a report, and it says, it refers to chapter and verse, that everybody had known about the deliberate preparations being made for what was going to happen in Assam, but neither the State Government nor the Central Goverment did anything about it.

Mr. Kalita, our colleague in this House, has total me this, that on the morning of the 26th the National Flag [Shri H. N. Mukerjee] ·

hoisted at the Communist Party Office was hauled down. The National Alags hoisted in the Communist Party Office, Gauhati, and the P.S.P. office, Gauhati, were both hauled down by hooligans. The number of the taxi in which the hooligans came in order to do the hauling down was communicated to the police, but not a step was taken about it.

I can give so many other instances which are mentioned in this article, but you will not give me time, but I would refer to at least some matters where Mr. Chavan is said to have been involved. Here are reports which say that when Mr. Chavan went there, he did make some fairly good statements, I must give him credit for that, but when was there and Mr. Chaliha was present, at a particular point of time the Chief Minister had been asked, "Did you not know which press had printed these leaflets of a dangerous and mischievous character?", and Mr. Chaliha is reported to have answered-I am giving a rough translation-"I know everything, but what can I do? If I have to arrest the people concerned, then many big leaders, very distinguished people would have to be arrested, and perhaps at the very end, we shall discover that except for you and me, nobody would be left here". This is what is put in the mouth of Mr. Chaliha.

It is said also that on the 28th January in the morning at the Circuit House there was a meeting of political leaders, I do not know, I am quoting from a report printed in a very reputable journal, this is not a sensational weekly, a paper called Compass The political leaders asked Mr. Chaliha: why did you not arrest the well-known anti-socia' figures whom, you know, were behind this business? Mr. Chaliha answered very frankly: what would have happened if I had made that trial? Ultimately, I would have been driven out." These are the

words which are put in the mouth of Mr. Chaliha. I know Mr. Chaliha; he has been a Member here and I have a soft corner for him. I know he wanted to bring about some reconciliation between the disparate elements inhabiting Assam and I know that he has been a victim of political factionalism which is going on in that State. That is why heaven knows what mischivous elements are behind this partithing which has cular kind of happened in Assam. We have to think as to what exactly we ought to do in regard to Assam.

The Prime Minister and her colleagues are unable to make up their long-term any minds about problem of the of the solution talk 🙇 of Assam peoples and different voices from time to time. They say one thing to the hill people; and another thing to the people of the valley and all kinds of things to all kinds of people. The result is that nobody takes the word 🛋 this Government seriously. Then confronting the hill people, the Prime Minister or her representative says something in order to placate them but while confronting the plains people she says something different. She gives statements. She did come out with one statement which offered unnecessary provocation to certain elements of the youth of Assam. If she had any notion of statesmanship she would not have behaved in this fashion.

Besides you have to remember that Assam after all is strategically sialso one of those tuated. Assam is States which can say that it is not being assisted to stand on its OWR feet. Why do people form facist combinations like the Siva Sena or Lachit Sena? It is because opportunities of industrial development which would are bring them employment being to them. During the denied last twenty years of planning, only 5,000 employment opportunities had hean created. That is the report which circulates in that State. It is the largest oil producing State but the second refinery is denied to them. A petrochemical complex is not being put up there but in Barauni. Not a metre of broad-gauge railway is in Assam. There is no second bridge on the Brahmaputra and economically Assam is kept behind. If there is that kind of economic deprivation, it causes frustration and cynicism and despair and that is the breeding ground for fascist movements and they become the play things of certain factional elements in Assam. God help us and the country. This is exactly what is happening. Therefore, we have to be extremely careful about these things. We have also to remember that when revealations of the CIA's activities came to be made, a man called John Smith had written a pamphlet which had been circulated. It mentions how the CIA money had been spent rightly or wrongly-for the purpose of bringing about literature on United Bengal, United North-Eastern State and all sorts of bunkum notions which go against the country and endanger security in our part of the country. Therefore, we have to be very careful. There has been a complete failure on the part of both the State and the Central Government and the most egregious imaginable default on the part of the Congress Party which rules at the Centre and in Assam and therefore this adjournment motion is one which should commend itself to the House.

 से पहले यह गौहाटी पहुंच गए । इसका मतलब यह है कि जो तड़प हमें इस बात की थी कि वहां पंत्राव के या दिल्ली के हरयाना के या राजस्थान के लोगों के हरयाना के या राजस्थान के लोगों के होम मिनिस्टर साहब की थी । प्रभी प्रोफेसर साहब ने कुछ जिक किया मैं कहना चाहता हूं चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब जब जवाब दे रहे थे तो मैं वहां बैठा था, जो एम०पी० बैठे थे उनके साथ मैं भी था यह सब बातें गलत हैं बिलकुल गलत हैं......

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai): These are all facts.

भी रणबीर सिंहः मैं कहता हूं कि यह बिलकुल गलत हैं मैं ही केवल नहीं था बहां। मधोक साहब भी वहां बैठे थे। यह बात कि चीफ मिनिस्टर ग्रासाम ने यह बात कही यह सरासर गलत है। बाकी एक बात मैं जरूर कहना चाहंगा कि जो होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने स्टेटमेंट किया वह स्टेटमेंट इतना जोरदार इतना सख्त स्टेटमेंट था कि मेरे ख्याल में मघोक साहब का और दूसरे एम० पीज० का भी उतना जोरदार नहीं था। लिहाजा एक ही डंडे से सबको हांकना ग्रौर यह कहना कि यह तो मरकजी सरकार का कसूर है यह तो घोड़े के ग्रागे बग्धी टेकना है। यह गलत बात है। इससे मैं कभी इत्तफाक नहीं कर सकता । लेकिन एक बात जरूर है। कोई भादमी सो रहाथा। सोते सोते उस ग्रादमी के ऊपर से एक मांप गुजर गया । उसने उसको काटा नहीं । उस आदमी को जब पता लगा तो बह रोने लगा। किसी ने पूछा कि भले आदमी रोतेक्यों हो ? तो उसने कहा कि रोता यों हूं कि सांप तो गजर गया उसने काटा तो नहीं मगर रास्ता तो पड़ गया। मेरी छाती पर से सांप गजरता रहेगा । [श्री रणधीर सिह]

तो बात यह है। होम मिनिस्टर साहब का · खास ध्यान में इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता ह ्इस वास्ते नहीं कि हरयाने के लोग कमजोर है या पंजाब कें कमजोर लोग हैं या दूसरे को कमजोर लोग हैं, मगर वहां एक एक गज के ऊपर पंजाब की सेना, हरयाना की सेना, दिल्ली की सेना श्रौर राजस्थान की सेना खडी है। वह सिपाही लोग क्या सोचते होंगे जब उनके भाइयों की दुकान लूटी जाती है और रिश्ते-दारों की दुकान लूटी जाती है। यह फौज माले उस समय क्या सोचते होंगे ? उस में कोई राजस्यान का है, कोई पंजाब का है, कोई महाराष्ट्र का है तो यह बड़ा गलत कदम है.... (कावचान) जो बात मेरे दिल में है वह में जरूर कहंगा। में यह बात कहना चाहता हूं कि भासाम जल रहा है, उसकी तरफ देखना पड़ेग यों नहीं कि कोई बात जोश में मा कर यहां अन्ह दें, इस से काम नहीं बनेगा। वहां माग सूलग रही है। ग्रखबार में कल भी पढा ग्रापने ग्रीर परसों भी पढ़ा होगा कि बहां लंगों के दिल में एक खौफ यह है कि झभी तो जायदाद ही लूटी गई, कल को कभी ऐसा न हो कि कोई दूसरी बात हो । मैं आप का म्यान खास तौर से इस तरह दिलाना चाहंगा कि वह जो लचेत सेना है वह ग्रौर ही कुछ है, वह जो पोस्टर्स वहां दिखाए गए वह यह हैं कि हमें तो होली खेलनी है हिन्दुस्तानी खन के साथ. . (व्यवधान). . .वह पोस्टर मेरे पास मौजूद हैं, ग्राप देखना चाहें तो मैं दिखला दूं। उस में दिखलाया गया है कि हिन्दुस्तानी खून के साथ होली खेलना है। तो यह जो दिमाग है, यह जो एहसास है, जो फीलिंग है यह कितनी देश के साथ खात्मे की फीलिंग है ? 希 यह कहना चाहता था कि उस बात को खत्म करना है ग्रोर यह कोई पार्टी के जजबे के साथ बात करने की नीज नहीं है, इस के लिए इस तरह से ऐडजर्नमेंन्ट लाने की जरूरत नहीं थी। यह ऐसी चीज है जो देश से

ताल्लुक रखती है, जो कौमियत से ताल्लुक रखती है स्रौर हम सब को सब पार्टीज को मिल कर इस के ऊपर सोचना चाहिए । ख्वामख्वाह होम मिनिस्टर को या दूसरे किसी को इस के लिए जिम्मेदार ठहराना उचित नहीं है। झाप ज्यादा जिम्मेदार हैं इस के लिए. . . (व्यवधान). . . . झाप सब जिम्मेदार हैं. . . (व्यवचान). . . **ग्रपोजिशन वाले ज्यादा जिम्मेदार हैं इन** की पार्टी ने वहां भासाम फार ग्रसमियां के नारे लगाए हैं। इस के लिए यह जिम्मेदार हैं जो चीनियों से हमदर्दी करते हैं। सब से ज्यादा यह जिम्मेदार हैं। बड़ी मीठी माठी बातें यह करते हैं। इन की मीठी बातों से लगता होगा कि यह बड़े भच्छे ग्रादमी हैं। लेकिन जो यह गड़बड़ करते हैं झासाम में, सब से ज्यादा गड़बड़ करने वाले वह चीनी एजेंट हैं जिन्होंने एक्साइट किया है भासामी सेन्टीमेंट को ग्रौर साथसाथ प्रो-पाक सेंटीमेंट को । लेकिन तबेले की बला बन्दर के सिर वहजो जिम्मेदार थे उन को तो पकड़ा नहीं, पकड़ लिया बेचारे गजरातियों को, पकड़ लिया बिचारे बिहारियों को । वहां बेचारे गरीब रिक्सा वाले सब बिहारी हैं। मैं ने ग्रपनी ग्रांखों देखा वहां गरीब रिक्सा वाले बंचारे बिहारी रहते थे, उन का पूरे का पूरा सब जला दिया है । मेरे कहने का ग्रसली मतलब यह है कि वहां कोई गरीब ग्रौर ग्रमीर का सवाल नहीं है। वहां तो पन्द्रह बीस दिन पहले से मकानों पर निशान लगा दिए गए थे कि यह यह मकान जलाने हैं. . . (व्यवधान) . . . मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि यह प्री-प्लान्ड था ग्रौर होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो बात कही है मैं उस की तारीफ़ करता हूं। मैं साफ बात कहना चाहता हं, डी० सी० वहां का हमारा पंजाबी है, बड़ा ग्रण्छा डी० सी० है, वह ऎडमिनिस्ट्रेणन करना चाहता था लेकिन उम की बात कप्तान पुलिस ने नहीं मानी। बहबेचाराक्याकरता? मुझे उस जगह

ने जाया गया जहां पुलिस के सिपाही खड़े ये ग्रौर लुट हो रही थी, दुकानें लुट रही थीं एक झादमी ने कहा कि जनाबचाला, मेरी दुकान लूट रही है, लाखों का कपड़ा है, सिपाही कहता है कि हां, हां, मौका है इस वक्ता ग्रौर केवल यही बात नहीं है । ग्रादमियों से चन्दा लिया गया, सौ सौ रुपया और कहा कि चन्दा सारा हमारा है। यह हालत है वहां । वह जो कांस्टीटयुशन से बात पढी कर्णी सिंह जी ने वह बड़ा वजन रखती है। यह एक फंडामेंटल राइट है हमारा प्रापर्टी बनाने का जहां हम जायं ग्रौर जहां हम वसें लेकिन यह सारा कास्टीट्यूशन के साथ खिल-वाड़ किया जा रहा है। मैं होम मिनिस्टर से कहना च हता हूं कि इस मामले में आप ने बड़ी काबलियत का सबुत दिया है, बडी संजीदगी का सबत दिया है कि जहां पालिया-मेन्ट के मेम्बर नहीं पहुंचे, ग्रपोजिशन के मेम्बर नहीं पहुंचे वहां ग्राप पहले गए लेकिन एक शिकायत यह मुझको है कि दस करोड रुपये का माल जहां लूटा गया वहां झाई जी० से जब पूछा गया कि रिकवर कितना हम्रा तो बताया गया कि 24 डिब्बे सिगरेट के रिकबर इए । यह क्या मतलब है इस का मैं झाप से बास तौर से कहना चाहता हूं कि जो की पोस्ट्स हें आई० जी० बगैरह की उन का भी इस मामले में हाथ था। यह सारी चीज झाप को देखनी है। इंटलिजेंस की रिपोर्ट ग्राप के पास है। इंटैलिजेंस वहां का वीक है। उसको मजबूत कीजिए ग्रौर यह वही सांप थाली बात है। यह मामला ग्रभी खत्म नहीं हुआ । आगे यह मामला न बढ़ जाय इस के लिए आप को कान्फिडेंस देना है। वहां जो बिहार का बादमी है, गुजरात का बादमी है, हरयाणा का ग्रादमी है, दिल्ली का **ग्रादमी है उस को ग्राप को कांफिडेंस देना है** सवाल यह नहीं है कि जायदाद खत्म हई है। सभी तो जायदाद का सवाल है ग्रागे ग्रौर भी बात हो सकती है। मैं इतनी बात कहना **चाहता हूं। मुझे पता है कि होम मिनिस्टर** साहब इस मामले में पूरे संजीदा हैं, ग्रगर वह भी इस को नहीं कर सकते तो फिर इस देश का क्या होगा(व्यवधान). . . मैं नहीं मानता ग्राप की इस बात को. . . (ब्यववान) . . . केवल हूं हूं करना भाप को आता है। जनाब, मैं खत्म कर रहा हुं। में यही कहें र्विाहता हूं कि सेंट्रल गवर्गमेंट ने पूरी जिम्मेदारी दिखलायी है इस मामले में ग्रौर थोड़ी बहुत एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की तरफ से कोई चीज हई है तो उस को माप कोन अप करें जिस में यह चीज रिपीट न हो ।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Maudrai): Sir, I do not want to go into details of the incidents that have taken place. Enough has been said about them. Listening to the speech of my friend, Mr. Madhok, I find he has got one panacea for all these things. He says if we have unitary form of government ant if all powers are concentrated in the centre, all these troubles would not arise. What else have we got today? It is a federation only in name. Where is provincial autonomy? Is it not a fact that all the troubles in this country arise fundamentally because of lack of powers in the hands of the States and concentration of powers at the centre? After all, WP want unity of this country. But let us also realise that when we talk about unity, that unity must be found in diversity. We are not people of the same type. We are people who speak different languages, who inhabit different territories, who have inherited different customs and different cultures. These are facts of life. Why is it that a Maharashtrian feels that he is a Maharashtrian or а Tamilian feels that he is a Tamilian? Is it wrong to have that feeling? **T** do not think it is wrong. On the other hand, we have to find unity in the midst of this feeling. That is the only way this country can go forward. In the countries of Europe, where such things exist, where people speaking the same language inhabit a particular territory, single-nation States have been formed. In this country we

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do not want such a thing. We want all these things to be formed into a single State. At the same time we should recognise the aspirations of these people, recognise their equality and the feelings they have. Unless we make provision for all that all this talk of unity will be just a mantram and the country will go to dogs.

Let us take the question of Assam. My hon. friend Shri Manubhai Patel was saying that nobody gave him the reason for bringing forward this motion, nobody gave any argument for this motion. I suppose I will be able to convince him that the Central Government has been wobbling on this question. If I am able to convince him I hope Shri Manubhai Patel will vote with me and not with the Government. After all, we should realise that in this sensitive spot, just like other people in this country, there are what are called Tribal people who have been living there. They have their own separate customs and manners. Unfortunately, during the British period they have been extremely backward. Now with the dawn of freedom those people also have got their political aspiration and they want to be equal with the other people of this country. Under these conditions, is it wrong for them to think that if, for example, the Assamese speaking people can have a separate State, if the Tamil-speaking people can have their own Tamilnad. if the Punjabi-speaking people can have punjab simply because they are more advanced culturally, politically and economically, because the Tribal people are backward they are not able to have their own State within fhe Indian Union. It is a simply a demand that these people are raising.

Unfortunately, in Assam there was a conglomeration of these people and the majority happened to be from the plains. I am not saying that the common Assam people want to dominate over them. They are not, the people who are exploited. Unfortunately, there are elements in the upper strata of the people from the plains who want to dominate, who think that these Tribal people or hill people can be utilised for purposes of exploitation. This thing has been going on. Therefore, when the demand arose, what happened? On the 13th January, 1967-there was not the present Home Minister but his predecessor Shri Nanda was the Home Minister-

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I was the Home Minister and I take full esponsibility for all that is said there.

SHRI. P. RAMAMURTI: I am sorry This is the statement made by the Government of India.

"The Prime Minister and the Home Minister have held detailed discussions with the leaders of the All Party Hill Leaders Conference. The Government appreciates the political aspirations of the people of the hill areas of Assam and has decided to reorganise the State of Assam."...

This is the first part of the statement and I approve it fully. Then they go on to say:"....bearing in mind the geography and the imperative need of security and co-ordinated development of this region". Then they said:

"The Home Minister discussed with the APCC leaders the proposal for a full scheme based on federating units having equal status not subordinate to one another should provide the basis for this reorganisation."

It is not a mere proposal. Later on the Government tried to escape saying that this is a mere proposal. I want to point out that from the wording of the communique nobody can come to the conclusion that it is a proposal. It is a definite commitment on the part of the Government of India. Later on it says.

"In this arrangement a limited number of essential subjects of common interest would be assigned to the Federation leaving the rest of the State function to the federating units which will have 'heir own council of 'ministers, legislatures etc. etc."

It did not say that the Government of India was putting forward this proposal to the various parties in Assam. On the other hand, the last and concluding paragraph of that statement was:

"Details of the scheme including the subjects to be allocated to the regional federation would be worked out within six months by a committee..."

It was not after those people accepted it, even before they have said this.

"committee at which all concerned interests could be represented."

This was a definite commitment made by the Government of India. After all, if language means anything, when they say that within a period of six months details of this Federation will be worked out, it is a definite commitment. Otherwise, the Government could have said that they were making this proposal to those leaders and they can come to a conclusion. Subsequently what happened was that the various parties of Assam and the foremost among them, the Congress Party, had discussions with Mr. Chaliha at that time before making the statement. But later on Mr. Chaliha found opposition in his own party. The state of the Congress Party was very well described by my hon. friend. Prof. Mukerjee. Therefore, immediately Mr. Chaliha turned against it, there was terrific opposition to it from the leaders of the

plains. What happened then? The Congress Party was in the forefront. Then, the whole thing was given up. They said, "We will have another committee, Asoka Mehta Committee." They promised to work out this thing within six months. They kept quiet for six months and just towards the end of it, they appointed Asoka Mehta Committee which completely scuttled the whole idea of federation. Naturally, there is turmoil and a feeling of distrust among the hill people.

During the last session, in November, the Government came out with a proposal that the whole thing will go to the national forum. At that time, we saw that Mr. Chaliha had come here to lobby with the members of various parties and he had brought with him a number of students who were housed in a vacant house of the Chairman, House Committee, here, which is not an honour given to the ordinary people, for the purpose of going and meeting various people. Later on, we know that the Assam Congress Party itself said that they would get out of the All-India Congress Party if this federation is accepted. This was the particular position in which the Government of India was finding itself. We know that, before the 26th January-I am not going into the question of Lachet Sena and all that because I have not got time to do that-open propaganda was made in Assam that unless a big upsurge takes place, unless we show that we can create disorder of a very bad sort, the Government of India will impose federation and, therefore, we shall show that we can also create a tremendous amount of upsurge. That is what was openly preached.

My hon, friend, Shri Patodia, from the Swatantra Party, pointed out that the Home Minister, the Government of India, had received an intimation from the State Government saying that the situation will go out of hand if the Government of India does not change its policy. What is the policy that they wanted to change? The State Government wanted the Gov-

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ernment of India not to have anything to do with the idea of federation. They wanted that the Government of India must give up this idea of federation and that, if it is not done, the situation will get out of control. Here is the proof that the State Government was a party to this whole thing because they wanted to scuttle the whole idea of federation. It is not the common people of Assam but I know certain interested people at the top level who want to utilise the discontent of the common people against the conditions that are prevailing there. They want to divert it and they have this particular diverted it for they and created purpose have this whole disorder.

That is why I say the Government of India not pursuing a firm policy of this question of reorganisation but retracting from the position that had taken place from time to time is directly responsible for the situation that has been created in Assam. That is why I say I want to place the responsibility squarely on the head of the Central Government. I hope Shri Manubhai Patel will at least now see the reasons why exactly the Government of India is responsible for that.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL: I am not convinced with the arguments given by him and, therefore, I am not going to vote for the motion.

SHRI F. RAMAMURTI: I cannet help people who do not want to see the facts. But these are the facts of the situation. That is why I say that the Central Government is responsible for this. If they want the unity of this country, we have to think in terms of winning the feelings of those people and not only those people but all the people inhabiting this country, speaking different languages and all that. It is only on the basis of the willingness of the people that the unity of the country can be preserved, not at the cost of the danda, not by showing the danda. The Jana Sangh may talk of the unitary form of Govern-ment. Well, that is exactly the thing that will create apprehensions among the non-Hindi speaking people because the Hindi-speaking people happen to be in a big majority. That will be the thing that will create the feeling of distrust among the people of the country and will undo the unity of the country? Therefore, if you want to undo the unity of the country. you can have that. But we are not going to tolerate that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, Shri Hem Barua.

थॉ। शिवनगरायरा (वस्ती)ः उआध्यक्ष महोंदेय, क्या मुझे ग्राप इस पर ब लने कः चान्स नहीं देंगें ? ग्राखिर यह क्या बात हं ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have called Shri Hem Barua. Shri Sheo Narain may resume his seat.

SHRI HEM BARUA: (Mangaldai): The causes and nature of the devastation caused at Gauhati on the Republic Day are too well known to be recounted, and most Members have given a vivid account of these disturbances; although I know that some Members have given an exaggerated picture, I do not want to waste my time on the narration of these events. But this is also a fact that although the devastation is limited to a particular locality in Gauhati, the devastation was too deep in dimension. there is no doubt about it. This is of the same pattern all over India; from Coimbatore and Meerut to Ranchi it is the same pattern of destructive and divisive forces raging together for the destruction of the country. I think you know that the Central Government are responsible 10 8 very large extent because they have given a fillip to this sort of divisive psychology in the country.

18.31 hrs.

[SHRI G. S. DHILLON in the Chair]

We say that Kashmir is an integral part of India. But then why is it that Indians from the rest of the country are not allowed to go to Kashmir and buy land there? If NEFA is part of India, which NEFA is, why is it that we do not allow Indians from other parts of the country to go to NEFA without a permit? So, it is the Central Government which is responsible for creating a psychology of division in the minds of the people of this country and that is paying them dividends today.

What pains me most is this, Shri Nath Pai was very right the other day when he said that there were Assamese, Bengalis, Punjabis, Marathis and Gujarati but there were no Indians; he was very right when he said like that. That dynamo of social transformation has to be generated. After the achievement of freedom, no attempt has been made either by the party in power or by the other political parties in this country to generate the dynamo of social transformation in this country and that is why these divisive forces are gaining ground. Whatever that might be. what has pained me most is the disrespect shown to the national flag at Gauhati on the 26th January. That is the most painful thing. I cannot tolerate disrespect shown to the national flag anywhere in part of this country because it is a national flag for the achievement of which millions of India from Gandhiji and Netaji down to poor people like us have shed our blood. If this national flag is to be insulted like that and dishonoured like that and descreated like that, God protect the nation. That is what I would like to say.

As to what happened at Gauhati on the 26th, the Home Minister knows it. I am very thankful to him that he came down to Gauhati immediately. What happened on the 26th at Gauhati was this. The flag that was unfurled on the mast of a particular police thana of Gauhati at Bharalamukh was pulled down, and the State policemen who were there in the police station looked at the sickening spectacle with merriment and did nothing to prevent the goondas from pulling down the flag. Again, what happened when the flag was pulled down from the medical college at Pan Bazar which is within a few yards of the main police station at Gauhati? What did the policemen do then? They looked on merrily at this sickening spectacle and did nothing to prevent the people from pulling down the national flag. This has pained me most, and I think this has pained Shri Y. B. Chavan also most. This was a deliberate and organised disrespect shown to the national flag.

It has been said that there is deepseated frustration among the youthsof the State over the question of employment. It is a fact that there is such deep-seated frustration over the question of employment in the State. There are the Central Government installations in the State, particlarly the installations under Shri Asoka May I ask him Mehta's charge. how many local youths have heen. employed in his installations? He has done nothing in this regard. For this, I hold the State Government also responsible. I welcomed Dr. B. C. Roy's statement when he was the Chief Minister of Bengal that ลทช job carrying a monthly salary of Rs. 250 or below should go to nobody except the sons of the soil. The State-Government has not prepared any manpower budget in that way. That Government should have looked into the problem of the youths of the-State which it has not done. This is a very painful thing.

This is a question of fighting against vested interests. May I say that vested interests are the same the world over? Like Goondas they do not suffer from any caste or communal divisions. They belong to the same fraternity. What happened was that instead of trying to face these vested interests with a socialist programme, which the ruling party or the Government in the State could have done, things were allowed to drift, and the result was the holocaust there. This is a fact and the Home Minister has also admitted, that on, the 26th January, the local adminis-

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tration in Gauhati totally failed. The Deputy Commissioner on the spot was one Mr. Saigal, from the Punjab. What has happened to him, I know and you know. He was present at the Fancy Bazar where some boys were found setting fire to a certain place. He arrested the four boys and put them in a van and drove. As he put them in the van, rwelve other boys also jumped into the van. He drove all of them to the police thana and when he got down, he did not know which were the four boys he had arrested. So he allowed all the four plus twelve to go away. That is the type of man we had there. He deserves to be President of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, in Assam, not the Deputy Commissioner of Gauhati or any other part of the State. That is the type of administrator we had. It was an Assam Minister who teld me this story; I heard this from Mr. Mahendra Mohan Chaudhuri, Revenue Minister of Assam. Therefore, I do not have any reason to disbelieve it.

AN HON. MEMBER: He was a very bold officer.

SHRI HEM BARUA: He was very bold. I know what he did.

On 28th January, after visiting the devastated areas, when I came and met the Deputy Commissioner in the company of the Minister and so many - other leaders of Gauhati, I asked him point-blank: "Mr. Deputy Commissioner, why is it that your police force and your civil administration failed on 26th January? On the 26th night, did you order any raid on any of those houses where looted properties might be kept and have them rstored?" The Deputy Commissioner looked like a helpless man and said: 'What can I do. I issued the order on the 26th, but the police has not carried out my order.' That is the type of administrator you have there.

Shri Chavan is a bold and courageous man. He has admitted that the local administration collapsed

completely that day at Gauhati. I congratulate him on this admission. What is the type of police official we had in Gauhati? When I asked him in the presence of the Chief Minister, 'Tell me why is it that your police did not function on that day' he said, 'Look here. What to do. The police force here is inadequate.' When Mr. Chavan came over there, I had the proud privilege of meeting him. The Chief Minister was sitting near to him. I asked him: "A top police official says that the police force is inadequate. Did you ascertain from the Chief Minister if it is a fact. If it is a fact, you should rush in with your own people. I was told that the police contingent in Assam, the Central Reserve Police, is the largest in India; possibly after that comes the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Yet it did not function.

There is an organisation in Assam known as Lachit Sena. There is an attempt to compare it with the Shiv Sena. Both the organisations are reprehensible organisations, with a difference. Whereas the Shiv Sena is functioning as an open organisation with an open office, open President and open Secretary, the Lachit Sena functions secretly. The Lachit Sena in Assam functions as a secret and underground organisation. They have circulated a paper where they have said that they have already entered into a pact with the underground Nagas and share the same ideals.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA: You are making an alliance with the Shiva Sena in Bombay.

SHRI HEM BARUA: Our Chairman has condemned that.

As a matter of fact, we must not forget that Assam is a strategic State, and all the forces of destruction have combined there. The leader under whose auspicious the cycle factory was smashed, which Mr. Chavan saw

during his visit, is named Burman, and he confessed that he belongs to the Naxalbari group of Left Communists, and he also said that he would give a list of 11 other persons who were with him. These people have failed in Naxalbari. After that, they have shifted their headquarters to Gauhati, and, in collusion with the Lachit Sena which has entered into a pact with the underground Nagas, have created this holocaust there, and your Government is sleeping.

The Chief Minister said that there are certain foreign interests. I do not know who those mysterious foreign interests are, but there are no doubt certain foreign interests involved in the destruction of Assam. Besides Pakistan and China operating through the Naga hostiles, there is the Lachit Sena, and there are also six persons in Assam in the pay of the C.I.A. who get Rs. 2,000 a month.

Then, there is a dirty attempt to give a communal turn to these events. I may tell you once and for all that there is no use trying to cover up our sins. The Hindus were as much responsible, because I have a list of their names with me, as some of the members belonging to the minority community. This attempt to give it a communal colour is fraught with danger, because it may lead to communal tension, and Assam can least afford to have any more conflict or tension of that sort.

I am thankful that a judicial enquiry has been ordered into this. but at the same time anybody, however great or big he might be, who is found encouraging these fissiparous tendencies in that part of our country, or anybody who is actually engaged in these operations, must be brought under the arm of the law, and also, in order to ensure peace not only in that part of the country but also elsewhere in the country the Home Minister should summon a round table conference of all the political leaders, the leaders of different organisations also, and chalk out a

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plan and programme with a determination to work it out. I know you are in the habit of appointing committees, but committees are an occupational disease of democracy, and our Government is expert in appointing committees, and the committees submit reports, and the reports are never paid any heed to.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AF-FAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN); This debate, though we did not want itwe did not want it because the form in which and the purpose for which it was intended was not something with which we could agree-has afforded an opportunity for the diffierent sections of this hon. House to have some sort of self-criticism as citizens of this country, because what has happened in Gauhati is something in the form of a warning, not only to the Government here or to the Government in Assam, but I political think to all organised thought.

I say so because when I went there I saw two shocking things in my visit to Gauhati. One was the vast areas which were burnt down and looted. That was bad enough. But another shocking sight was this. I met all the political parties, all the leaders of political parties. I saw them in a shocked condition-all national political parties. I met representatives of the Congress, the PSP-Mr. Hem Barua himself was there-the Communist Party and the Jan Sangh. They felt shocked in this sense to realise that that they came this form of madness could sweep all rational political thinking; they could not do anything. They were rather dazed; their mental condition was They did not know how it such. happened or what they should do. That is why I say that what happened in Gauhati is a warning not only to the Government but to all political parties and their leaders and workers in this country.

The adjournment motion refers to what we did about the reorganisation

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of Assam in the last few years and I shall make a brief survey of what happened in the last few months or so. The report of the Pataskar Commission came in 1966 and a cabinet sub-committee examined the whole thing. I was a member of the committee which examined it and we discussed the proposals with different sections of the people in Assam, particularly the hill areas. When I took over this portfolio in November, 1966 this was one of the problems which I had to tackle and I must say that it was a complex problem. Possibly it will remain a complex problem for some more time to come. Some persons are in the habit of over-simplifying these problems by saying: first take a decision, clarify issues and stick to them. I wish the political problems of this country are so simple as that. The basic point to remember is that there are aspirations of the people of the hill areas which had to be considered sympathetically. But any reorganisation problem has to be solved with the maximum of understanding among the people of the concerned State. It has always been the approach of this Government and I think it will have to be the approach of any Government. Because we have seen it and I hope the leaders of all political parties will agree with me that whenever there are problems of organisation or of language, all political parties are vertically and horizontally divided . . . (An Hon. Member: Including the Congress) I have said so. It is a national problem, not a party problem. Elections were approaching I wanted to arrive at some understanding on this question. As was very rightly pointed out the north-eastern region is very important to us from the defence point of view and peace in that part of the country was the paramount consideration for us. The hill areas were in those days thinking in terms of some direct agitation. In the Mizo hills there were some disturbances and wanted to show them our sympathetic understanding of their pro-

blem. The Prime Minister visited that area and had discussions with them and then issued certain statements which amount to saying that their political aspirations would be taken into account and she said this after consulting the Chief Minister of Assam. As a follow-up action, 1 held discussions and we had very long and, if I may say so, tortuous negotiations. We came to a certain understanding of the problems and that is contained in the statement of 13th January, 1967. I take full responsibility for that. Whatever it is good, bad or indifferent-whatever it is-I cannot say. I cannot say that I did not do it: I did it. I stand by that understanding and I justify it. Now some people are saying that they are trying to interpret it legally, this way or that way. Even there, I must say one fact, which is very essential. This is a matter which was discussed because the situation had to be faced and some efforts had to be made in I discussed this particular matter. this matter with the Chief Minister of Assam and told him categorically that we must think of some formula for keeping these areas together, tecause I was thinking that it is in the national interests that we should try to keep these areas under the umbrella of one administration. That was the thinking at that time, and that is the thinking even today; if you can succeed, it is good but if you do not succeed we will have to think of alternatives also. I must say that I had suggested that we some sort of must have federal formula, where all these people can sit together. The Chief Minister did not accept it; he did not reject it either. I thought. I had his permission, and I reported the matter to the Prime Minister, and I said that on the basis of this possibly we can carry on negotiations with the people.

SHRI HEM BARUA: Did Chaliha say to you "Go ahead"?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I had said what I mentioned. I know why you are asking because you want to use it as a stick against him. Please do not do it. I have said it; he did not accept it; but he did not reject it. That was the factual position. I thought it might come, because I know and I have gone through this politics of reorganisation so often that silence sometimes is presumed as consent, and I came away. So, we had discussed this question, and I think this must be made very clear because whatever tatement was made, it is said that "I nterpret it this way." It was not nerely a question of interpretation: that was the understanding on our side: that this decision about reorganisation was taken but the form of reorganisation was to be considered and the question of regional federation was a proposal. I had said that all concerned will have to sit together and discuss these matters, if it was to be a federation, one will have to make efforts to persuade other people to agree. It is not as if I just sit in my room and make a commitment which will have to be imposed on the other people. Shri Ramamurti said that we are trying to get out of it and that the Assam Government is trying to exercise some pressure on us. It is not true.

In May, 1967, I went to Gauhati and I discussed this matter. I spent two days there and I discussed it with all the representatives of all possible public shades of opinion in Gauhati, and when I found that the opinion in the plains area was against the federation, publicly, in a public meeting at Gauhati, I said that there is no question of imposition of a regional federation on Assam. So, the question of getting out of a federation does not come now. I had made that point very clear because when the Chief Minister of Assam said that particularly the people of the plains were against the federation, there was no question of imposition of it. I made it clear not only to the leaders of the HLS but to other people also. I am

on record and there is no question of somebody trying to pressurise us now to get out to the commitment made at that time. It was in May, 1967.

भी मधु लिमये : मैं ने तो यही कहा था कि 13 जनवरी को घोषणा हुई, लेकिन जब चुनाव में वातावरण गरमाने लगा, तब म्राप के लोग मकरने लगे।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: You have said what you had to say. Now, please hear what I have to say. The point is, even if we wanted to get out of it, we could have done it at the time of the election; in May, the elections were over. I had gone there to persuade them to agree to a regional federation. I did not go there merely to announce it. I spent two days there, and I think that Shri Hem Barua can possibly stand as a witness to what I am saying. They said. "nothing doing" about this regional federation. I invited him but he had some other commitment. He sent me a message saying, "I am glad you are in Gauhati". So, there was no question of getting out of it now.

I would appeal to this House that this question of reorganisation of Assam is a very complex problem and we will have to treat it as a national issue. Therefore when we failed to arrive at some understanding, even after May, I invited all the leaders of public opinion to come to Delhi and take part in a round table conference. Even that did not produce any unanimous results. It produced of course the Asoka Mehta Report which is one of the important documents before us and which has to be considered. I do not say it is good or bad. One has yet to take a final decision about it. This is very complex problem and we have to think about it in an objective manner not from party point of view. Therefore, we made an attempt to raise the level of decision from the State to the national level. We wanted the cooperation of all the political parties. At that time, the mover of

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the resolution who is now holding the Government responsible for this and that said, "No; we have nothing to do with it. It is your funeral". That is the normal attitude they take when we consult them on national issues.

भी मर्थुलिमये : ग्राप पहले निर्णय फरते हैं मौर बाद में हम को पूछते हैं । मैंने यह बात लिखी थी म्राप ठीक बात इताइये ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: If we had taken the decision, you could have blamed us. But we were in the process of deciding a national problem and we wanted your cooperation.

श्वी मधु लिमये : 13 जनवरी के बयान से पहले क्यों नहीं पूछा ? मैंने घ्रपने पत्र में लिखा था कि ग्राप घोषणा करने ग्रौर निर्णय करने से पहले नहीं पूछते हैं । जा ग्राप तक-लीफ में पड़ जाते हैं, तब ग्राप इसकी जिम्मे-दारी दूमरों पर लादना चाहते हैं ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: He has not followed what I said. At that time, no decision had been taken. This was only a proposal put out for consideration. We wanted to consult them when we decided to raise this issue to the national level.

श्वी मण्डु लिलवे : 13 जनवरी के पहले करना चाहिये था। इस का ग्राप के पास कोई जवाब नहीं है।

भी यञ्चबन्तराव चन्हार : ग्राप से प्रछने का कोई फ़ायदा नहीं होता ।

श्वी मचु सिमये : ग्रगर फायदा नहीं तो क्यों हम से पूछा करते ये ? थ्रव थ्रागे ले कभी मत पूछना । इस तरह से परस्पर-विरोधी बातें करने से क्या फ़ायदा है ?

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: Government accepts that the opposition should be consulted. But the consultation should be at the proper time. भी एसः एमः जोशो (पूना) : मंत्री महोदय परस्पर-विरोधी बातें कह रहे हैं। एक तरफ वह कह रहे हैं कि लोग को ग्रापरेट नहों करते हैं ग्रीर दूसरी तरफ कहते हैं कि पूछने से क्या फायदा है। ग्रगर ग्राप ने नहीं पूछना है तो न पूछें। हम ग्राप के यहां नहों ग्रा रहे हैं।

श्री यशवन्तराव चआहाएा: ग्राप हमेशा कहते हैं "इट इब यूभर फ्यूनरल" । जब ग्राप का यह एटोट्यूड है तो फिर पूछने से क्या फायदा है ?

I am repeating again. When a final decision of a problem is not taken, we are consulting you and at that time you say, "It is your funeral". Now you are telling us that this is because of the reorganisation and so.

(श्वी मखुलिमये ग्राप को पहले पूछना चाहिए।)

I do not want to go further into the details of it. As the matter of reorganisation was referred to it was my duty to refer to it. As I said, this is a very difficult and complex problem. Let us not make use of it for any party purposes because that will lead to further complications.

As said in reply to some questions yesterday, maybe it is possible that this atmosphere which was created about the reorganisation problem may also be responsible for the troubles that started. But I must leave this question open because the enquiry commission is sitting and it is much better that they go into the causes and examine them.

SHRI HEM BARUA: What about the Prime Minister's reported statement in Jorhat?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: The Prime Minister's statement was published completely out of context and was incorrect. First of all, it was not a statement. As a matter of fact she made one thing clear that no final decision has been taken in this

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matter. That was, really speaking, the important thing, that no final decision about this matter had been taken. That particularly thing was not mentioned at all. Only the reference to the Ashoka Mehta Committee's report was put in such a way as if the report had been completely rejected and that put the people against us.

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SHRI HEM BARUA: Since you have said that, this is in the process of negotiation, the reorganisation of Assam and the form it would take, and since you have also mentioned the Ashoka Mehta formula and all that, we think that the Central Government has not come to a decision as yet. Since the Central Government has not come to a decision as yet, as we understand from your pronouncements, what business had the hon. Prime Minister to make a statement like that-might be a distorted one that appeared in the Press?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: She did not make a statement. That is what I am telling you about.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA: Why did she not contradict it in the Press?

THE PRIME MINISTER, MINIS-TER OF ATOMIC ENERGY, MINIS-TER OF PLANNING AND MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI-MATI INDIRA GANDHI); I did not hear what the hon. Member just now said, but I just want to clarify that I have made no statement whatsoever. Some people came to see me and they engaged in conversation. Many When they asked things were said. me about it I said just what the Home Minister has said to the House, that no final decision has been taken, we are in the process of consulting the various points of view-they had put their points of view-and all matters will be taken into consideration. Then they asked about the Ashoka Mehta Committee Report. I said that that will also be taken into consideration but that the hill people had rejected it and that view also had to be considered. That is all that I said and nothing beyond that.

SHRI HEM BARUA: The hon. Prime Minister's statement is one of the reasons for the trouble in Gauhati. If it was not correctly reported it was the business of the Prime Minister to correct it immediately. Why did she not correct it immediately?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Sir, I do not want another dialogue to start. It is better that I deal with the points raised in the speeches. This is the background about the reorganisation. This question will have to be followed further with constructive thinking. I would make an appeal to all political parties to give co-operation in these matters.

Whether the Central Government has failed particularly in this matter is the main question.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam): When you said that the administration failed and there was no administration, that was good enough reason to have President's Rule there.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I will try to deal with that. What I said there.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur): Here also reiterated that the administration failed.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I said the local administration had completely failed

SHRI NATH PAI: You did not mean the Municipal Corporation but the State Administration.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: The words I used are in record. I am repeating what I have said before. This is not the first time I have said it. I said it in Gauhati itself. I had mentioned this matter to the Chief Minister himself that the local administration, the local machinery had completely failed that the Collector wanted to enforce law and order but he could not do

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That is a fact, In the process that. of this inquiry if it is found that certain policies of the State Government were also responsible certainly the State Government has to face the music. What can I do about it? What comes as a result of the inquiry. I do not know. Nobody intends to protect anybody. At the same time, as somebody said. Mr. Chaliha is one of the finest nationalists in Assam. I must say it. He working in difficult conditions is there. We must understand his difficulties also. I must not start bona fides in this questioning his matter, questioning the bona fides of the State Government as such. They were asked immediately to start inquiries and send investigation reams. I have got information that they have appointed a special CID DSP, a Deputy Superintendent of Police. some 15 to 20 inspectors and many sub-inspectors.

SHRI NATH PAI: These are the guilty persons and they are going to carry out the investigation.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Other people have been brought in. These people who were responsible for administration in Gauhati on the 26th have been The D.I.G., the D.S.P. transferred. and the D.C. have been transferred and other officers have been brought in and they have been given the responsibility of carrying on the investigation in a proper manner. A large number of people have been arrested, some property has been found out and prosecutions are being started. The judicial inquiry has also been ordered and Justice Sen has been appointed as the Inquiry Officer there.

Now, Shri Madhu Limaye, while moving his motion made one specific charge and he said, "I charge you" that is why I am mentioning it—that we had information about this trouble of 26th January and that we did not do anything from here. That is where he is wrong. About this

question of reorganisation and the poster campaign, etc., we were aware of it and we had raised this question many times with the State Government and we had pointed out to them that this was something very serious and some of us have had discussion with the Chief Minister also on this question, once or twice. I must say that it was pointed out that possibly Gauhati city itself might be the focuss of this trouble. So, as far as the Central Government was concerned, considering their own assessment of the situation, we had warned them about the possibility of what is likely to happen. But we must also know that in this constitutional setup, when we work in such matters, the Central Government can be useful in giving them assistance, advice and many other things which we did. But about what exactly happened on 26th January, naturally, as I suggested, had no anticipation of this exact form of happening taking place there. The Central Police force, whatever, we could spare, was pesent in other If they had a proparts of Assam. they possibly could per assesment, have made use of it by sending police force there. As far as the Central Government is concerned, it will be very unfair to say that we had any prior intimation of this particular thing happening and that we did not do anything. Certainly, if we had failed. I would have come forward to say, "I have failed". I will not hesitate to come and confess if there were any shortcomings in our thinking or in our working. Therefore, this charge is completely unfounded.

Then, the fact remains how these things are happening. I would like to submit for the consideration of the House, without any excitment, without making any allegation or charges, that all of us have to sit up and make some heart-searching. Certainly there are strong views about certain matters. But we have created an atmosphere in this country that

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e can organise some explosive elenents and take those issues to the , is the Congress Party and this Gov-streets and create an atmosphere of , ernment, then I oppose the motion. streets and create an atmosphere of , violance and then do what we like. Whether it is Assam reorganisation, whether it is Hindi, whether it is anti-Hindi, whether it is anything else, we have created an atmosphere of taking issues to the streets and deciding them there. The constitution can function if there is a democratic value accepted by all concerned and the democratic value is: Think honestly, stick to the convictions and try to persuade the other man to your point of view by argument. This is the basic value on which any democratic Constitution can function. If at all anything is responsible, it is this new atmosphere that we have created in this country, the attitude of resorting to violance, taking all the issues to the streets and doing as we like. When we create this sort of a feeling in the country, naturally, the younger generation become the first target of it. When they see that the Ministers go on the streets and break the law, why should not they do so. When that sort of a feeling comes in, how can you blame them? If at all we take advantage of this grave discussion, it is this. Very issues are at stake. What is at stake is something very big for this country. Therefore we shall have to search our own hearts and think in completely different terms. We have to give priorities to things which deserve priority in our national life. National unity has the first priority; democratic value has got the first priority in this country.

I, therefore, would make this appeal to the hon. Member Shri Madhu Limaye. If it was his intention through this motion to invite the attention of the country and that of the Members of this House to this particular aspect of the problem, then he has served that purpose, but if it was his intention merely to take a negative attitude and try to find a scapegoat for everything that happens in

this country, which according to him

DR. KARNI SINGH: On a point of clarification. He has not answered my quetsion. I had asked him a very pointed question, and I would like him to answer that. There has been a very grave breakdown of law and order in Assam. I wish to ask him now, as I did in the course of my speech, whether Government propose to impose President's rule there as they did in Rajasthan on very much less grounds.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I thought he had asked another question and I was going to answer that. He had raised some other quetsion also.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: I had raised the question whether the Central Government have advised the Assam Government to give citizenship to the infiltrators from Pakistan. This was told to us by the Ministers there.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I shall answer that question also. Again this is one of the misunderstandings that is going round in the country. Somebody has also written to me about it; I think some question was also asked in Parliament and I have already answered that. What we have done is this. There is no question of asking any State Government to give national citizenship to those people who are infiltrators. There is no question about it. The only question is that there are a large number of people in this country who during the last twenty years have been allowed to stay here on a yearto-year basis on some compassionate grounds. There are a large number of people in different States who came over and who overstayed here and because of their family relations here and other human considerations, Government, after giving careful thought to the matter, have allowed some people to continue here on a

[Shri Y. B. Chavan]

year-to-year basis. It is about them that we have told the State Governments to consider their cases. The reason why we have said so is this. If we allow some people with our own permission to stay here without being citizens of this country...

SHRI RANGA: Are they lakhs and lakhs?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: . . . then they get all the advantages of citizenship but they have not the obligations of citizenship.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: Are there just a few cases or are there lakhs of such cases?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: They are not lakhs; they are just a few hundreds. It is about them that we have told the State Governments to consider this question. There was never any question of asking the Assam Government to give citizenship to those people who, against the rules of that State without any permission, entered that State. We have not given any instructions about those cases. I hope my hon. friend is now wiser about the matter.

As regards the question put by the Maharaja of Bikaner, there is no question of taking over the Government of that State under President's rule. That is absolutely a clear thing. There was no constitutional failure in that sense and, therefore, there is no question of President's rule there.

DR. KARNI SINGH: What happened in Rajasthan?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: The hon. Member had asked me another question which he has forgotten to mention. He was asking me a very funny question in the course of his speech. First of all, he referred to lack of persons and great figures with any national stature. I have no answer to that, because it is quite true that Gandhijis and Nehrus cannot be produced every ten years in this country.

DR. KARNI SINGH: We accept that.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: None of us can even dream of comparing ourselves even to one-fourth of what they were. That is the position on this side of the House, and possibly that is the truth on the other side of the House also. Nobody is born a national leader. In future times also there will be nothing like that. I do not say that I do not belong to a State. I certainly belong to a State, who does not belong to a State? Is there anybody who can say that he does not belong to a State?

DR. KARNI SINGH: I do not think that that was my question.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Is there any person who can say that he does not belong to a State or to a linguistic group? As everybody else does, we all do belong to particular States. In this country, as far as my personal assessment goes, in the years to come, there will be leaders who will have ultimately to grow out of their State politics. Nobody will be just born or dropped from the skies as a national leader. So, it is no use merely blaming each other, and saying that one is only a State figure. I belong to a State and everybody else belongs to a State. He is fortunate in being a Maharaja, because he was born a Maharaja.

DR. KARNI SINGH: On a point of clarification.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am not yielding.

DR. KARNI SINGH: This is a very unfair statement. There is no question of Maharaja here. I can 789 Disturbances in MAGHA 25, 1889 (SAKA)

also refer to him. As Shivaji the Second, but I do not.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I do not take it as an insult.

In a debate, if he is prepared to give, he must be prepared to take also. He is a sport, a great shot, an international sportsman. Where is that sportsmanship?

DR. KARNI SINGH: I think he has misunderstood my point. What I was saying was that the vacuum that has been created by the passing away of Jawaharlal Nehru has to be collectively filled up.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Thank you very much for that. When you give, you enjoy; so when you have to take, you should not whimper.

DR. KARNI SINGH: No, no.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Another thing he mentioned was about selfdefence. He was worried about what is self-defence. Self-defence is guaranteed under the Penal Code. He knows about it as much as I do. He wants all the rules of the game and about self-defence also laid down.

DR. KARNI SINGH: The situation as it exists in Assam is an extraordinary one. It is not a normal law and order situation. The citizen must know how he could protect himself.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: If he wants to resort to self-defence, he has to take all the risks of selfdefence. This is the only rule of self-defence.

DR. KARNI SINGH: What happens when the Government cannot defend the citizen? Suppose there is such a situation prevailing. I want to know what constitutes self defence and what constitutes murder?

SHRIY B. CHAVAN: On that, if he comes over to me, I would have a discussion with him. Assam (A.M.) 790

DR. KARNI SINGH: All right.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I think I have answered his question.

श्री मधु सिमये (मुंगेर) : प्रष्ठयक्ष महोदय, सबसे पहले मझे इस बात पर एतराज है कि गृह-मंत्री जी ने तिरोधी दलों के बारे में तुच्छतापूर्वक यह बात कही कि तुम लोगों से सलाह-मशविरा करके फायदा ही क्या है......

भी यञ्चव्स्तराव चह्नारगः ग्रापके बारे में कहा है, दूसरों के बारे में नहीं कहा है।

अप्रैम खुलिमये: ठीक है, मैं बिल्कुल नहीं चाहता कि ग्राप हम से सलाह-मजाविरा करें। लेकिन ग्रगर ग्राप करना चाहते हैं...

श्री यशवन्तराव चह्नारा : हम केरेना चाहते हैं।

श्री मधुसिमपे : तो निर्गय करने के पहले ग्रीर समस्याभ्रों के उलझाने से पहले किया करें, इतनाही मैं कहना चाहताहूं।

श्रो यशवन्तराव चह्नाएा : ग्रापके साथ भी करना चाहते हैं।

I am keen to discuss with him also on that problem. But there is no decision taken yet.

बी मधु लिसये : ग्राघ्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कोई प्यासा नहीं हूं । लेकिन मैं इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि ग्रागर ये सहयोग लेना चाहते हैं तो निर्णय करने के पहले ग्रीर समस्यात्रों को उलझाने के पहले करें । हमारी बातों को बह मानें या न मानें, उनको जो निर्णय करना हो वह करें, क्योंकि वह सरकार में है, लेकिन इस तरह की बात करना उनको शोभा नहीं देता ।

जब वह सुरक्षा मंत्री थे, तब भी मैं उनकी बातों को सुनता था, लेकिन ग्रब ऐसा लगत[ा] है कि दण्ड शक्ति इनके हाथ में आने के पश्चार, गट-मंत्री बनने के पश्चात इनकी बोली में [श्री मधुलिमये]

§७ फर्क जरूर झाया है। हम लोग झगर कोई गैर-जिम्मेदाराना बात या मुस्से सं कुछ कह दें तो बात समझ में झाती है; लेकिन झापके हाथ में दण्ड सक्ति है, राजदण्ड धारण करने वाले व्यक्ति को इस तरह की बात नहीं करनी चाहिये—उसको विनम्प्रता से बोलना बाहिये। यही मैं कहना चाहता हूं।

भ्रध्यक्ष महोदय, भ्रव सवाल यह है कि इन्होंने 13 जनवरी को जो वक्तव्य दिया था, क्या वह निर्णय था या केवल एक सुझाव था ? भ्रष्मक्ष महोदय, भ्रसल में ग्रसम के पुनर्गठन का मामला इधर 15 महीनों से शुरू नहीं हुआ, वह एक पुरानी चीज है । तीन अवस्थाग्रों से यह प्रश्न गुजरा है, जब संविधान बना, तो भ्रसम के पहाड़ी इलाके के लिये 6वीं अनुसूची की योजना बनी ।

बह चल नहीं पाई। राज्य पुनरंचना समिति ने भी इसको चलाने की सिफारिश की फिर भी चला नहीं पाई तो नागा प्रदेश जो ग्रसम का ही हिस्सा था उनके लिए ग्रलग राज्य बनाया गया ग्रीर बाकी पहाड़ी इलाकों के लिए भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने कहा था कि स्वायत्तता के ग्राधार पर इसका हम हल निकाल लेंगे। यह दूसरी अवस्था शुरू हई । स्वायत्तता से स्काटिश ग्रटानमि की बात निकली । पाटस्कर कमोशन बठा कोई नतीजा नहीं निकला लेकिन 13 जनवरी को तीसरी झवस्या में हम लोग झा गये जब पहली बार सरकार की म्रोर से----ग्रगर कोई विरोधी दल सुझाव देता है तो एक मतलब होता है, जब सरकारी दल, प्रधान मंत्री ग्रौर गृह-मंत्री एक सुझाव देते हैं तो एक ग्रलग बात होती है। वह इस शक्ल में देते हैं। शब्द है सुझाव (प्रोपोजल) लेकिन उसमें यह कहा गया है :

"A federal structure composed of federating units having equal status, not subordinate to one another, should provide the basis for this reorganisation."

धागे यह नहीं कहा गया है कि दूसरों के साथ बातचीत वगैरह होगी। धन्त में कहा गया है:

"Details of the scheme, including the subjects to be allocated to the regional federation, would be worked out within six months by a committee on which all concerned interests would be represented. At a later stage other administrative units in the eastern region may also join this regional federation."

मुझे यह भी पता नहीं कि मनीपुर भौर तिपुरा को उन्होंने पहले पूछा या नहीं । उन से सलाह-मझविरा किया या नहीं , झायद किया होगा, झायद नहीं किया होगा, लेकिन इनके लिये भी यह सुझाव था । हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि शुरू में चालिहा साहब ने इस बात को माना था लेकिन जब असम के मैदानी इलाकों में उन्होंने देखा उसकी बहुत तीख प्रतिक्रिया हो रही है तो धीरे धीरे खुद चालिहा साहब इसका तीब विरोध करने लगे यह मैं कहना चाहता था । बाद में प्रश्नाव था बिलकुल उसके विपरोत । पहला ही वाक्य इनका देख लीजिये :

"Federal structure should not be the basis of the reorganisation of the present State of Assam."

यह दो परस्पर विरोधी वक्तव्य इधर एक, डेढ़ साल में जब हो गये तब धक्तूबर महीने में, पिछले धक्तूबर महीने में चह्नाण साहब का न्योता हम लोगों को मिलता है। क्या कहते हैं उसमें ?

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"We feel that the matter is of national importance and that a decision should therefore, be taken after full consultations with the leaders of different parties in Parliament."

यह तीन ग्रक्तूबर को कहते हैं इसो पर मेरा एतराज था कि समस्या को उलझाने के पश्चात ग्राग लगाने के पश्चात् ग्राप लोग हमसे कहते हैं बात करेंगे । बात करने के तरीके से हमको कोई झगड़ा नहों है मतभेद नहीं है। यह भी मैं नहों कहता हं कि हमारी सलाह को मानें। उनकी अपनी पार्टी है। बातबोत करने के पश्चात जो उनको फैसला करना हो वह करें इसलिये मैं एतराज कर रहा था कि ग्रापने एक ग्रर्से से परस्पर विरोधो बयान ग्रौर सुझाव देकर समस्या को उलझाया जिसके कि फलस्वरूप ग्रसम में विस्फोटक स्थिति उत्पन्न हई । ग्रब मनुभाई पटेल शायद मानेगे मेरे प्रस्ताव में मैंने जो कहा था कि गैर-जिम्मेदाराना ग्रीर परस्पर विरोधा बयान सरकार देती रही यह बिल्कूल सहो है। यह 15 साल का सिलसिला है। वह भ्राज का नहीं है। ग्रगर इसके बारे में जुरू से हो ठीक ढंग से सोचा जता तो शायद नागा प्रदेश का ग्रलग राज्य बनाना नहीं पड़ता । ग्रभी भी मैं चाहता ह कि सरकार सोचे गृह-मंत्री जी को याद होगा कि पिछली बार जब नागा समस्या पर बहस चल रहो थी तो मैंने कहा था कि हम जानते हैं कि मैदानो क्षेत्र में भी सवर्ण कट्टरता का ऐसा मामला है जिससे पहाड़ो लोग नाराज हैं। हमने उनसे कहा था कि म्राप हिम्मत के साथ फैसला कीजिये। वह नहीं डो पाता है ।

भव सवाल रह जाता है कि यह जो उपद्रव हो गये उनके बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार को जिम्मेदारी क्या है ? एक घर्से से यह पोस्टर्स वगैरह लग रहे वे इससे यह इंकार नहीं कर सकते हैं। उन्ह्रोंने स्वीकार किया। इन पोस्टरों में खुल्लमखुल्ला ग्रावाहन किया गया बा कि गैर ग्रासामियों को कल्ल किया जाय, भगा दिया जाय, उनकी दूकानों को जला डाला जाय, लटा जाय । यह सब होते हए भो, ग्रौर मेरी जानकारी के ग्रनुसार जनवरी महोने में केन्द्रीय जांच व्यरों की इनके पास रिपोर्ट पहुंचने के बावजद कि इस तरीके के उपद्रव होने वाले हैं उन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया। उसमें यह नहीं कहा था कि क्या होगा 24 को, 26 को क्या होगा ? लेकिन जनवरी महीने में इनको सूचना मिली चो, मेरा यह कहना है कि उस सूचना के बावजद इस रपट के बावजुद जबकि दूकानों पर निशान लगाये गये थे, सफेद कागज सिंधियों को दूकानों पर, पंजाबियों की दकानों पर, बंगालियों की दूकानों पर, केन्द्रीय जांच ब्युरो ग्रीर केन्द्रीय सरकार ने क्यों कूछ कार्य-वाही नहीं की ?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन के हक में नड़ों हंन मैंने वैसा कहा है। क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति शासन हर समस्या का मैं नहीं समझता हूं कि हल है। लेकिन मैं एक बात जरूर कहंगा कि भ्रापने हरियाणा मैं चुंकि दलबदल, ग्राया राम ग्रौर गया राम का मामला था इसलिये राष्ट्रपति शासन किया । केरल में बहमत वाली कम्युनिस्ट सरकार को इससे भो बहुत कम चोजें वहां पर हो गयी थीं इसका ग्रसम के साथ मुकाबला हो नहीं हो सकता तूलना हो नहों हो सकती फिर भी कम्युनिस्ट सरकार को आपने खत्म कर दिया । श्रभी ग्रभी राजस्थान में, पिछले साल की बात है जयपुर में, मोड़ा बहुत कुछ हुआ। आप विरोधी दलों की सरकार को बनने नहीं देना चाहते थे इसलिये राष्ट्रपति शासन को लागू कर दिया। यहो बात मैं पूछ रहा हूं। मैं समर्थन नहीं करता हूं लेकिन मैं इनके ऊपर घारोप करता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति शासन इनका गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकारों के लिए हमेशा हल रहा है। मगर यह प्रसम के लिए हल नहीं है तो राजस्यान के लिए भी नहीं, हरियाणा के लिए भी नहीं भौर केरल के लिए भी नहीं था। फिर दोहरा मापदंड इनका क्यों है ? यह सवाल जरूर

[श्री मधुलिमये]

रह जाता है इसलिए इनको निन्दा करने का हमको ग्रधिकार है ।

राष्ट्रपति शासन के प्रलावा भी संविधान में 256 घारा है श्रोर सरकार को यह श्रधि-कार है :

"The executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to a State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose."

यहां कानून वगैरह की रक्षा के लिए 355 धारा भी है जिसमें कहा गया है कि हर राज्य की सरकार संविधान ग्रीर कानुनों के ग्रनसार चले । तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हं कि क्या इन्होंने इस तरीके का निदेश दिया था ग्रौर ग्रगर भविष्य में देंगे तो लोगों के मन में तसल्लो होगी कि राष्ट्रपति शासन का मंतिम उपाय जरूरी नहीं है । लेकिन अगर वह काम केन्द्रीय सरकार करती है तो लोग मानेंगे । यह आप कर रहे हैं ? मुझे कहना है इन्होंने किया नहीं और इनको जानकारी होते हए भी जान ग्रीर माल की रक्षा इन्होंने को नहीं। यह कोई ग्रसम में नई घटना नहीं हई है। 1960 का उदाहरण इनके सामने था। फिर एक, डेढ़ साल पहले दूसरी घटनाएं हई थी यह तीसरी बार हो रही है। इसलिए मैं इनको इस मामले में क्षमा करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हं । उन्होंने कहा कि मैं प्रस्ताव को वापिस ल्ं। ग्रगर केन्द्रीय सरकार ग्रपनी गलती को कबुल करती ग्रोर कहतो कि संविधान की ग्रोर,कानून की ग्रोर ग्रौर नागरिकों के कानूनों को रक्ता करने के लिए हम कदम बढ़ायेंगे तो मैं मानता । प्रादेशिक ग्राकांखाग्रों के मैं खिलाफ नहीं हं लेकिन प्रादेशिक आकांक्षाओं का हरगिज यह मतलब नहीं है कि केवल मैदानी या सिर्फ पहाड़ी लोगों की श्राकांक्षा। प्रादेशिक ग्राकांक्षा का यह मतलब नहीं कि दूसरों को कत्ल करो । इसलिए ग्रन्त में मैं कहंगा कि इन सारी समस्याओं का सरकार ने कोई हल नहीं निकाला। विदेशी हस्तक्षेथ के वाे में मैंने जो कहा उस का जवाब नहीं दिया गया। यह ऐम्प्यूरा धौर स्प्रेन्स कहां से आई धौर यह फेंच मारके राकैट्स कहां से उस इलाके में आये ? किसी का भी इनके पास जवाब नहीं हैं। इसलिए में अथना प्रस्ताव वाधिस चेने में असमधं हूं। मैं चाहता हूं कि सदन मेरे प्रस्ताव का समधंन करे धौर इसको निकाल दें।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That the House do now adjourn" Those in favour may say 'Aye'.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Aye.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Those against may say 'No'.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think the Noes have it. The Noes have it.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIA-MENTARY AFFAIRS AND COMMU-NICATIONS (DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH): Sir, we want the votes to be recorded.

भी मधु सिमये ः वे मांग नहीं कर सकते हैं, उनको अधिकार नहीं है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You do not want a division?

भी मधुलिमये: उनको जरा नियम समझाइये।

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): When the decision is not challenged, why division?

भी मचुलिमयेः यह कोई प्रेसीचर नहीं है। हमारे यहां पर कोई ऐसी प्रकिया नहीं है। सदन का समय ख्वा मख्वाह खराब कर रहे है।

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai): Are they challenging it?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: They have not challenged it. They demand the recording of the vote.

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श्वी मध् लिमये : किस नियम के अन्दर:?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: So, he is raising a point of order.

भी मघुलिमये : रिकार्डिंग किस नियम के ग्रन्दर ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I think they have demanded a recording of the vote. They have not challenged my decision.

थी मचुलिमयेः न, न ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: They have a right to challenge: they demand the recording of the vote.

SHRI UMANATH: Under which rule?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I had announced the decision; I stick to it. I hey have a right to demand a recording of the vote. That is all.

श्वी मचु लिमये : यह न कीजिये । ग्रवि-श्वास का प्रस्ताव लाना पड़ेगा । ग्राप के ऊपर ग्रविश्वास का प्रस्ताव लाना पडेगा ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is a difference, Mr. Limaye. Please listen to me. It is not a question of noconfidence. They have demanded a recording of the voting.

SHRI RANGA: Sir, this is not the first time that we are being defeated. We are not afraid of finding ourselves in a hopeless minority. But then the point is, we must be able to understand each other properly. (Interruption). Are you hearing me or are you making silent comments?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am listening.

SHRI RANGA: You can enjoy your self...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I said I am listening.

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SHRI RANGA: My point is this. This is not the first time that we are being defeated in this House. We are not afraid of finding ourselves in a hopeless minority. (Interruption) The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs wants to enjoy this as a big joke. But the point is, we must be able to understand the position. I have been here in this House for a much longer and than some of my friends on that side. What we have understood is only this: when we do not challenge your decision-""The Ayes have it" or "The Noes have it"-then we understand that there is to be no formal division. If, in spite of it, you want to create a precedent here, I have no objection; it will go down to your credit.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The decision of the vote has already been announced; it was a voice vote. There was a demand for recording the votes. You have already admitted that you are in hopeless minority. (Interruption). So, the motion is lost.

19.34 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS-contd.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House will now resume the debate on the President's Address.

डा॰ गोविन्द दास (जबलपुर): उपाध्यक्ष जी, राष्ट्रपति के समिभाषण के संबंध में जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव साया है उसका समर्थन करने के लिए मैं खडा हम्रा हं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member may continue tomorrow.

19.35 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, February 15, 1968/Magha 26, 1889 (Saka).