

16.19 Hours

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE: CONTINUANCE OF PROCLAMATION IN RESPECT OF ASSAM—contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, we take up further discussion of the Statutory Resolution regarding continuance of the Proclamation in respect of Assam.

Mr. Y. B. Chavan.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): Sir, before we resume the discussion of this Statutory Resolution on Assam, I would like to point out that the time left is only about one hour. It is not enough because so many Parties have to speak and the Minister has also to reply. Therefore, I would request the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs through you to extend the time for this Resolution by two more hours.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Is the House prepared to sit for more time? If the House is prepared, we may give some more time for this.

Mr. Y. B. Chavan.

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN (Satara): We are discussing the statutory resolution brought forward by the government to extend the President's rule in Assam for another term of six months. I think this is a formality with which I agree. Standing here I support that motion.

But, incidentally, we are not merely discussing the formality. We are discussing in depth the Assam question. What is the Assam problem? What is its face? How it should be dealt with and in what manner? These are the problems before, I think, every political party in the country and I would say, before every patriotic citizen in this country.

When this movement started, at that time I had an occasion to deal with it in the previous government. At that time the demand was that the elections should be given up and as a result the elections could not be held in many parts of Assam. Nobody should even for very good purposes try to block the democratic process of holding elec-

tions in the country when the national parliament was going to be constituted—naturally, I had tried my best in meeting the students delegations, political parties delegations and in one of the trips to Gauhati, even after staying there for a couple of days, these efforts could not produce any results because I knew that the problem is not amendable to a simplistic solution. There are deep fears, suspicions and anger involved in this. This present feeling is that and at the moment it is based on the feeling that there are large numbers of foreigners staying in Assam as a result of which the people of Assam feel that economically and culturally they are overwhelmed and, therefore, they should be deported. (Interruptions). Quite right. As you say, they want that they should be deleted from the voters' list. First of all they did not want elections and now they want the voters' lists should be purified and these names deleted and they should be purified according to their concept of purification. I personally feel that there is a deep contradiction in Assam's life because this problem is a very complex problem—the problem of the so-called foreigners. It is a complex problem and in a way it is an accumulated problem because in the course of 10 to 20 years this question has been raised many times. I remember having dealt with it as the Home Minister and I then agreed to appoint tribunals to look into the cases of suspected foreigners. I do not know how those tribunals came to be discontinued. Personally I am not aware of it. I persuaded them to have the tribunals so that there may be some machinery which can help to remove the suspicions in their minds.

Now the point is that very extreme positions have been taken. The people who are the sponsors of the movement feel that there are more than fifty to sixty lakhs of people who are foreigners. Of course, some of us and I think all the parties—I am sure about it—agreed to one thing that this question will have to be solved through negotiations and when we say that this problem should be negotiated, it presumes

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that there are some foreigners. There are some foreigners and that section of foreigners should be dealt with. The question is: how it should be dealt with, and dealt with through what machinery, dealt with on what principles and criteria, etc. Really speaking, these are the questions and I think in that matter the Prime Minister has given a call for the withdrawal of this movement and I, on behalf of my Party, support that call for withdrawal because unless there is withdrawal of the movement, there would not be any proper negotiations or proper discussions as to on what principles this should be discussed because what we are discussing in Assam is not an academic problem, it is a very serious political reality. What is at stake there today is not Assam only but what is at stake there is the entire north-east India. Therefore, I think any patriotic person must take care to safeguard the integrity and unity of this country. That is the first priority today. There is no doubt about that. Negotiations will have to be started for that. When Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi took over, she started well. She called the people; she called some of us, all the party leaders, and discussed the matter with us. I think while some of us said that we may take 1971 as the cut off year while some others said that we may take 1961 as the cut off year. A majority of them said that we may take 1971 as the cut off year. But, later on, it was found out during the course of negotiations that the theory of taking any year as cut off year was not workable because it would not create conditions to start negotiations. It was only for that reason that it was said that this was not workable. Therefore, nobody is emphasising now on that at least, on the Government side. As much as I could understand the Government's policy, I would say that they are not interested in any particular year as the cut off year. We will have to start negotiations. But, when you start negotiations, you will have to do that on certain principles. On what basis can we start that? First of all, we

must make an appeal to them to come there, sit with us and with leaders of the country. It is not a question between Government and government and Assam leaders in that movement. It is a question between India and one of its parts. It is an internal matter wherein certainly by negotiations we can find a solution.

Therefore, it was suggested that negotiations must be started. I must make one position clear. I endorse what Mr. Indrajit Gupta said yesterday. When the Ordinance was promulgated declaring that area as a disturbed one, I myself was very much distressed to hear that news. I wrote to Prime Minister saying that I am one of those who are interested in national solution. I am not for this type of dealing with the problem. This sort of repressive law is only counterproductive where feelings of million of people are involved and where masses are involved. I do not want to deny or support that there is not a foreign hand. So far as Government is concerned, there is no news about that. But, I am quite sure from my general experience that whenever such a trouble starts in India, foreign hands are always there. It has to be presumed. There is no necessity of having any specific evidence on that.

My main point is that this sort of repressive measure is not the way to deal with the problem. Of course, there is one exception that I must make clear here. When it is a question of protection of minorities, whether it be linguistic or religious minorities, certainly, Government will have to be firm about that. There may be Bengali Muslims or Bengali Hindus or there may be Biharis. They may completely be disturbed. They may get killed. Some figures were mentioned yesterday. I do not want to go into those figures. Even if one person is killed in an organised manner, it is the responsibility of the Central Government to use all possible force to suppose it. There is no other way; there is no other solution for this particular matter.

So, my main point is that as a general solution we should not think in terms of army and police to solve this problem. Here are our people, rightly or wrongly, led to believe that there is such a situation. There is an apprehension as I said that the social life of the people in Assam is being disturbed. There is a feeling that they are being overwhelmed. Psychologically they feel that they are convinced on that. Every official or non-official is involved in that movement. At the same time, there are some minorities who are living in fear there. This is the basic contradiction in Assam's life to-day. This is not something very complimentary to the Assam situation. I would say this that at least in the Indian context that Government will be democratic government which guarantees the protection to the minorities. This is the first condition for any democratic government that is functioning. Therefore, I would say that while dealing with these things, Government will keep in its mind that this question cannot be solved with repressive measures, Army's use or by bullets. Emphasis will have to be only on negotiations. Of course, in order to persuade those people to come to the negotiating table, we will have to wait for some time. We will have to think of another method, namely, to make use of political parties in this matter. I would suggest that it is not only that the Government should try they should also make use of the other political parties and, I think, political parties are prepared to give cooperation. I would request the Prime Minister in this matter not to criticise the Opposition by saying that they are not giving cooperation because everyone knows when she called the very first meeting of the leaders of the Opposition, they endorsed her suggestion that this question is a major question and we will give all possible cooperation to find a solution. Therefore, this sort of criticism of the Opposition parties unnecessarily is proving to be provocative and then it leads to unnecessary criticism, unnecessary non-cooperation and unnecessary indifference.

Now, Sir, the other aspect I would like to touch upon is this. I do not say

that before starting negotiations one should lay down the principles. As Mr. Frank Anthony said, certain basic constitutional provisions will have to be taken into considerations. Certain international understandings will also have to be taken into consideration. It cannot be forgotten that there were between our leaders and the leaders of the neighbouring countries certain understandings. I do not want to restrict the scope of negotiations. My intention is not to do that. But this fact will have to be kept in mind and for that matter Assamese leaders of agitation will have to give thought about it. If they take a negative position, it will not be useful for them or for Assam or for India.

Sir, I again repeat my proposition that this is a mass-movement based on certain pre-conceptions or may be certain mis-conceptions. One cannot deny there are foreigners. I think there are foreigners and they will have to be identified and this process of identification is more difficult. The negotiations are becoming difficult because identifying the foreigners in Assam is the most difficult task because there are people who came there over the last thirty years and they have had their children born here.

AN HON'BLE MEMBER: Should they be treated as foreigners?

SHRI YESHWANTRAO CHAVAN
How can they be treated as foreigners? They are as good Indians as you and we are. So the basic position is that it will take some time. Sir, I would like to think aloud because I have dealt with this problem in some manner. There is not going to be some fixed solution or there is not going to be some simplistic solution. It will take time. One will have to show patience. Government will have to show patience and never give up their efforts to negotiate because these questions can be solved only through reconciliation with the people and in no other way. So, this one proposition should be kept in mind and I would like to say that this is our general approach to the problem. I am representing my party here and putting

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its approach to the problem. We want to give cooperation to the people of Assam and also to the Government of India to find a solution in this matter and, I hope, in the interest of India ultimately we will succeed in solving the problem through negotiations.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW (Jullundur): Sir, the situation in Assam, as has already been given out by various Members of the House, is indeed very serious and complicated. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister and the Government officials have tried their best on the negotiation table with the agitators and allied people inclusive of the opposition leaders as also the Government Benches. Sir, they have done their best and still they are doing their best and a solution shall have to be found because of the seriousness of this particular case.

Sir, I don't think at any time previously internally in India there ever had to be such a serious case as has appeared now, slowly, cumulatively, coming up to this particular stage.

As I visualise, Sir, there are three main factors which one has to pin one's eyes only with the idea of trying to understand the problem properly so that it may help us to deal with it satisfactorily as also to derive proper type of lessons out of that, so that we can deal with such problems effectively. There are three main factors, in my view, which have to be looked into. There are international implications as also possible repercussions which are fraught with all types of other consequences. Then, in regard to the internal situation, its deteriorating possibilities have to be kept in view. Thirdly of course there is the economic distress which already is being felt so very seriously all round the country, which has to be watched very carefully.

Sir, regarding the international implications, various members in the House have touched on these points in bits and pieces. What has been happening historically all along is that the super-powers and some other powers have formed a habit of putting

their finger into other people's affairs to their own advantage. That is why we have got to be careful. I have no doubt whatsoever that there is this hidden hand.—possibly more than one hand,—masquarding and moving about freely, getting money from outside. And this is normal *modus operandi* of such powers of the present day age.

Various countries have suffered as a result and we all know about it. It is possibly not necessary for me to reiterate what has been happening to the various countries. There has been also the same hidden hand of foreign powers which all along has been trying to cut our national size short. Even at the time of India's partition, this thing happened. We had to lose a portion of India in the form of Pakistan. This was principally done by the foreign hand—there is no doubt about that. It went on like that. Sir, we had to also lose one-third of Jammu and Kashmir due to foreign intervention, they were giving help by way of arms and ammunition and other types of aid. And at one time, we very nearly lost Kashmir itself, it was through the timely thought, help and action by the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that we managed to save that chunk of India. And it went on and on like this, we lost some bit in Aksai Chin area and we also lost something in the Rann of Kutch. We also lost our sphere of influence in Tibet; we also lost certain other small territory here and there—and that again, if I may put it so, through the manoeuvring and working of foreign hands right at the UNO and Security Council level. These happenings can form a nice, little book from where we can draw many lessons. So, I would first submit to the House that we have to be pretty careful and awakened to the fact that what is happening to-day in Assam is happening, with the connivance of the super-type of powers from outside. Why do they do it? Why are they worried about it? No super power on earth would wish to see India, which is a potential power, come up as a super

power. To-day India is a potential super power and in some cases, we are actually the 4th super power on the surface of the globe. And they would not wish us to be so. They would small. That has been happening every- wish us to be vivisected and seen where. As I pointed out the other day, such things happen here and there. You may recall what happened in Kampuchea, Laos, Congo, Katanga, Nigeria Biafra, Uganda and Ethiopia. And something happened in Chile also. Such powers create confusion and difficulties and thereafter, countries like India suffer.

I am very glad that the majority of the Opposition leaders also feel that we have to work collectively, to deal with this difficult problem. This sign during this particular discussion is most welcome.

To-day I read about spies having been caught. We have to be very watchful about these things. Intelligence, counter-intelligence and counter-counter-intelligence—that angle of it has to be watched very carefully. (Interruptions). I read in the newspapers about 5 spies being caught in the Jammu area. Details will be given. You know the previous cases of some Armed Forces personnel also having been found sabotaging and spying etc. These are all due to foreign hands and foreign money. Incidentally, it happens in all the countries. For these reasons, we have to button up our own intelligence system, so that we improve our knowledge and do not get ensnared in other people's nets.

That was one aspect of it. The second aspect is about the internal problem. It is a very serious one. Since it has been thrashed out so very well earlier by my friends, I will be very brief. If something happens in Assam to-day and we give in, or try to placate everybody and do not keep our aims straight, we will suffer. We have to have a nationalist approach in this matter, because it is a national question and if we start going into

little problems of regionalism, culture etc., the same thing can start elsewhere also. It can start in Punjab, in Bengal, in other States to the detriment and to the difficulties of India as a whole. So, one has to be very correct, sympathetic, also negotiating yet I think also firm.

The last point is about the economic angle of it. But before I touch on that I like to say a word about the cultural side, because usually it is said and spoken, people have spoken about it, that the culture of a State has to be maintained, the language has to be maintained. But the point is about the bigger culture. Every State has got its own language and culture and so on and so forth. We have certain common things which are of concern to the whole of India. We have our holidays, we have our Holi, we have our Dusehra, we have Id-ul-Fitr, we have Christmas and so on and so forth. They are all very common to our civilization and culture from old days to date; and for that reason that is of prime importance to us. In the Armed Forces in Assam, we have the Assam Rifles. In the Army, we have never this type of regionalism. We speak as Indians, we talk as Indians, we consider ourselves as being Indians first. After that we can become Sikhs or Christians or anything else or belong to any such region. Therefore, this cultural angle of it cannot be played up to the tune that you miss the bigger angle of what you are confronted against. So, this is one part of it which we have to watch.

Economic angle is very simple to understand. Figures have already been given by other speakers. For its day-to-day working and control Rs. 3 crores have been spent and the loss in diesel runs to the tune of about 1,30,000 tonnes in a month. So, these figures are disturbing. If they try to stop the outflow of these commodities from this State to others it will become chaotic. Suppose Bengal says, we do not send out jute for one reason or the other or Punjab or Haryana

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say, we do not send out grains under one pretext or the other or Madhya Pradesh says, we do not send out manganese and tungsten for one reason or the other, the situation can become chaotic and the economic angle of it will flop and crash. Well, with these words, I thank you.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA (Bombay North): Mr. Chairman, the hon. Home Minister has moved for approval for the continuance of President's Rule in the State of Assam for another six months. It is most unfortunate and regrettable that since elections to the Lok Sabha could not be held in most of the constituencies in Assam, there is no member here from a vast area of the State about which we are discussing. Six months ago, the hon. Home Minister asked the House to approve the President's proclamation. At that time too, the suggestion was that the Assembly should be kept in suspended animation. There was no proposal to dissolve the House, there was no proposal to hold election. Even now, it appears that a decision has been taken that the House should be kept in suspended animation. This is reflective of the stalemate that exists in the there is widespread discontent, dis-only in the House, the Assembly, where no party or no group of parties is in a position to state a claim to form a government, but also a stalemate as far as the electorate is concerned, a stalemate created by the fact that there is wide spread discontent, disillusionment with the electorate rolls as they exist, and a near universal demand is that the electorate rolls should be revised to ensure that foreign nationals do not exercise rights that belong to the citizens of a country. Six months ago, when this House voted the resolution of the hon. Home Minister, there were hopes raised on two counts, firstly, that since the Centre was taking over responsibility for the administration of the state, there would be expeditious efforts made to deal with the problem that had created the situation, that

steps would be taken to detect foreign nationals, to delete their names and to revise the rolls so that elections could be held, since the centre itself was taking over the reins of the government and since there would be unity of command and expeditious implementation, elections could be held early. In the same way, there was the other hope that since the Centre was taking over the responsibility for administration of this area, attention would be paid to the crying economic problems of the area which have festered over the last decades. I regret to say that for some reason or the other, inspite of efforts that have been made, both these hopes have been belied.

What is the position today? The agitation has gone on, as the hon. Home Minister himself has said, for the last nine months. Life has come to a standstill. Educational institutions do not function, administrative offices do not function. I do not want to take the time of the House to describe the situation, but it is clear that life has come to a standstill. It has been proved that the agitation enjoys the support of the vast masses of the state. If this were not the case—my hon. friend Mr. Anthony said yesterday that a handful of people were behind the agitation, we have heard this phraseology before—it would have been possible for the government to deal with the situation and ensure that President's rule was removed and elections were held. It does need a peculiar kind of courage for someone to say that the last nine months have not proved that there is vast popular support for the movement in Assam; perhaps an ostrich can do so in the desert.

On the other hand, you see that the government has had to invoke the Assam Disturbed Areas Act, the Preventive Detention Ordinance, the Armed Forces Special Powers Act and the Essential Services Ordinance. They have had to induct the CRP, the BSF, military and paramilitary personnel; many areas are under curfew. Even officers have had to be inducted from

outside. It is a grave situation by all counts. I relate this situation not merely to attack or criticise anybody, it is incumbent on the House to take note of the gravity of the situation and deal with the problem as a national problem.

I was therefore glad that the hon. Home Minister said yesterday that the government feels that this is a national problem, and that the problem has to be settled through negotiations. A national problem, if it is to be settled through negotiations and consultations, can be settled only through the evolution of a consensus.

He spoke yesterday about the commitment of the government to the preservation of the unity of the country and the protection of the minorities. My party is absolutely behind him in both these respects, but let no one think that anybody has got the monopoly of loyalty to the unity of this country. All of us are loyal to the unity of the country. We want the unity of the country to be preserved at all costs, but that unity is not a unity which depends upon decimation, unity has to be created by the live units of the country. The road to a consensus does not lie through calculated calumny of those whose cooperation and consensus you seek.

The hon. Minister for Home Affairs referred yesterday to the visit he and the Prime Minister paid to the state of Assam. It is true that high hopes were raised when they visited the state; their visit was welcomed by all quarters. But unfortunately the negotiations, the discussions did not succeed. When the Home Minister returned, he, it seems, made a discovery. Some of his statements made me remember what I have read in *Alice in Wonderland* 'or' *Through the Looking glass*. He said that there was no reason for the agitation. The agitation was being carried on for the sake of agitation,— which at least proved that the hon. Home Minister did not know what the agitation was about. However, yesterday he made a further commen-

tary and he said that those who were behind the agitation were willing to come to terms but others were preventing them from coming to an agreement. Foreign hands were behind this, and foreign influences were responsible for the prevention of the evolution of a solution. If this is so, it is indeed very grave. But I shall come back to this later.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: My party has a certain amount of time and I propose to use it. Others spoke for 45 minutes, 30 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Only 8 minutes are available to you.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: It is not so. Yesterday other parties who had 10 minutes were allowed 45 minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am cautioning you. You may have a little more time.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: If it had been ignored earlier, it can be ignored now too.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have not given a bell. I am cautioning you that you have a limited time.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: We are putting forward a point of view which is somewhat different and the House should listen to our point of view, and it will be most unfortunate if we are not given an opportunity.

Sir, let me not take further time in all this discussion with you.

The Prime Minister's response to the situation has been expectedly more refined. It has been more subtle. She made it almost the main election issue. Wherever she went during the election, she blamed the Opposition for what was happening in Assam. I do not say that she indulged in monotonous repetition. In most cases she, with the characteristic subtlety of a maestro oriented what she had to say to the wavelength of the constituency. If I had the time, would

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have read out the statements that were made in Maharashtra, Bhubaneswar, Nagpur, Rampur and Moradabad. These are not the same. That is why I do not accuse her of monotony. I only say that with the characteristic subtlety of a maestro she showed that her statements were oriented to the wavelength of the constituency. It was a classic pattern blaming the opposition, deny that the movement had popular support, questioning and misrepresenting the objectives of the movement; suggesting that there were ulterior motives behind the movement, blaming the movement as the work of agents provocateur attempting to divide the supporters of the movement and depending on the use of force. This is characteristic pattern of dealing with a popular movement that this country has seen in the early decades of this century. I do not want to say more because of lack of time.

It is a national problem. Why is it a national problem? It is a national problem because it deals with foreign nationals. No one can deny that foreign nationals have infiltrated into the area. It is not a figment of the opposition's imagination. This issue was not invented by the Opposition. I wish to remind the House that as early as 1950 when the hon. friend sitting here was a Member of the House, the House adopted a Bill which became an Act called the Immigration (expulsion from Assam) Act, 1950. If my Party had the time, I would have liked to read to you the characterisation of the infiltrant foreign nationals, the machinery that was visualised for detection, the authority that the Government were given to deport them and determine routes of deportation etc. This has been on the statute book from the year 1950. If the problem was not a real problem and if the rulers of our country, great men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel who was then the Home Minister, were not aware of the problem, why was it put on the Statute Book? If it has not been implemented for the

last 30 years, is the opposition responsible for it? It is easy to blame the opposition. But what is the crux of the problem?

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AN HON. MEMBER: They repealed it in 1957.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: The crux of the problem has nothing to do with religion. The crux of the problem has nothing to do with language. It is purely a question of foreign nationals, and the status and sights of a foreigner. If it is parochial for an Assamese-speaking man to say that non-Assamese people should not find a place in Assam, it is equally parochial and equally chauvinistic for anyone to say that just because a foreigner speaks the language I speak or professes the religion I profess, he should be treated on a different footing. It is equally chauvinistic; I do not want to say more. The question is purely one of the status of a foreigner. I am entirely in agreement with those who say—Shri Indrajit Gupta said it—that there must be a machinery which is objective, impartial and judicial, which can command the confidence of all, to determine who is a foreigner. There is no doubt on that score. There also can be no doubt that the minorities, in the country whether they are linguistic or religious minorities, should get absolute protection, and if necessary all kinds of force at the command of the State should be used to ensure their rights. But to say that is not to say that foreign nationals should not be detected and denied of the right that citizens alone can have in the country. (Interruptions). Sir, I have no time for a running debate with him.

Unfortunately, there has been a deliberate attempt to misrepresent the objectives of the movement. As far as this question of detecting foreign nationals, deleting their names from the electoral rolls and dealing with them in such a manner that they do not have access to the levers of power are

concerned, I am one with the movement and this has been stated earlier as well.

THE MINISTER OF COMMUNICATION (SHRI C. M. STEPHEN): Whatabout the cut-off year?

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I will come to the cut-off year and the base year and the ambiguity and fluidity that you display in your thinking to suit the occasion. Sometimes you say, there is a cut-off year. Sometimes you say there is a base year. Sometimes you say let us not talk of either, because you want to fish in ambiguity. This is the way your Government functions. (Interruptions). I am not yielding. The Prime Minister has gone round the country calling this movement an out and out anti-national movement. If you use such phrases, if you use such a characterisation, how will you evolve a consensus?

If I had the time, I would also have liked to refer to the incidents that were referred to about what happened in some places after the All Assam Minority Students Union was formed. Allegations have been made that this organisation was formed with patronage from certain quarters, the Congress-I. I say, allegations have been made. I am not making that allegation. But there are reports in newspapers like the Hindustan Times which are very revealing. The correspondent says, he saw the procession, and he asked some bearded gentlemen who were on the border of old age whether they were students. And, they said, "We are not students. But we have been told that the Prime Minister is our leader and the Prime Minister has said that this is the only way of protecting our rights" I can read out this quotation, which has gone uncontradicted. Whether it is true or not, I do not want to say anything for lack of time. If anyone wants to give this movement a communal colour by going round the country and saying that the minorities are living in "mortal fear"—it is a quotation I will say that this is a dangerous game. We have seen this

game in this country before. Rulers in this country who wanted to crush a popular movement have used these very tactics. This is playing with fire; this is playing with the unity of the country. My hon. friend yesterday also raised this question, and he gave a certain number, but it turned out from what he himself said that the number of Assamese who have been killed was more than the number of Bengalis. I do not want to enter this question for the reason that whether it is a Bengali or an Assamese or a man who speaks any other language, it makes no difference. Hindus have been killed; Muslims have been killed; Bengalis have been killed; Assamese have been killed. There are refugees who are Assamese, there are refugees who are Bengalis. They have been indiscriminate victims of violence. We condemn this violence from whatever quarter it is as come.

(Interruptions)

Sir, I am not intimidated by this interruption, but I am intimidated by your bell.

Yesterday, my hon. friend, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, referred to this question and he said that the need is to find a solution. We want a solution. All of us are unanimous in the view that a solution can be found only through negotiation and not through incitement to violence or through the use of force or terror by any side including the Government. Therefore, a negotiated settlement is the only settlement, as my hon. friend, Mr. Chavan, said. Reconciliation and the quest for consensus is the only way in which the cohesion of the nation can be maintained and a solution to this problem can be found.

Yesterday, my hon. friend, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, made a very eloquent speech, as he always does.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I must correct the records. He should not misquote me. (Interruption)

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I am sorry if I have mis-quoted my friend. (Interruption).

My hon. friend said that the solution should be based on certain principles. My hon. friend, Mr Chavan, repeated the necessity to find a solution based on certain principles. What are those principles? Those principles have been clearly stated. It has been said that a solution must be found within the four corners of the Constitution and according to the laws that exist in this country governing the question of citizenship. Therefore, the principles are clear. Now, one can say that the evolution a consensus through negotiation is not a matter that can be achieved by any single party. But the leadership, the initiative in this case has to be taken by the Government, and a climate conducive to negotiation has to be created so that a national consensus can be evolved for the solution of this national problem.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Manjeri): It is very unfortunate that the question of foreigners in Assam has assumed very dangerous dimensions. During the last so many months the situation in Assam has been very very explosive. Now, we all know that Assam is burning. Today, Assam is completely in turmoil. There the administration has gone completely partial. Police is hand in glove with agitators. The law and order situation has completely collapsed. Life is at standstill. The minority live in terror and are facing atrocities. If we do not tackle this situation tactfully and expeditiously at national level it will go out of our hands. It will not only harm our economy and communal harmony seriously but will shatter the integrity of the country completely. It is suspected that there is a conspiracy of the foreign powers behind this movement to shatter the integrity of India.

Sir, I must tell you and I am conscious of this fact that the agitators are

holding the country to ransom for the last so many months. The economy of the country is under heavy strain and by the blockade of refinery we are losing Rs. 9 crores a day. The Home Minister and others speakers have said that foreign powers are involved. There are also trends of secession which are very much evident and all these things are no doubt dangerous. Now, it is said that it is a question of detecting foreigners and nothing more, just to belittle the whole dangerous movement and take away the poison from it. I have to emphasise here. Today that all the minorities are in perpetual danger of their life, honour and their properties. And some want to say that in the agitation only foreigners question is involved and nothing more than that. That is a mockery of the entire situation. The minorities, religious minorities, ethnic minorities, linguistic minorities, and all of them live under perpetual danger to life and their properties. They have been subjected to the worst type of atrocities. They live in terror today. The supply of essential commodities has been stopped to areas inhabited by the minorities. I make this charge. Let the Home Minister inquire. I say also that the communications have been cut off to minority areas. And still it is said the situation is nothing more than a foreigners issue. It is wrong, absurd, completely baseless.

Again the impression is sought to be created that in Assam the agitation is a mass movement and also that it is completely non-violent. This is also wrong and baseless. What exactly is the fact has to be understood. It is not a mass movement. Might be that 40 to 50 per cent people are with the agitator. But the advantage they have is complete collaboration from the local administration. Papers are with them, even radio is with them. The police is completely partisan. On the other side, Bengalees suffer, Biharis suffer, Nepalese suffer, plantation labourers suffer, tribals suffer, and all the Muslims in Assam suffer sup-

pression and humiliation. This is the situation. It is not only the no-Assam Muslims who are suffering but I say today the suffering is of all Assam Muslims. They are made the target. All these minorities were not able to speak out because they fear torture at the hands of agitators. They are really more than 50 per cent there. And these are the people who have been living in Assam not for decades, but for more than half a century. Actually it is the forefathers of some that had gone there. They developed Assam. They cleared the forest, they started cultivation, they developed plantation, and today all of them are sought to be pushed out. That should not be allowed. As the meeting of the leaders of all political parties both from Assam and national level the consensus was to have 1971 as cut out date. This is a national consensus. It has to be adhered to. Any going back will be brutal and disastrous.

Here I would refer to a photostat copy of a statement made by local administrative officers. It is in Assamese language from which it is clear that when the minorities wanted to demonstrate peacefully on 26th of May they were denied this right and were subjected to firing, killing hundreds of people. In this statement the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Kamala Charan Gosain has said:

"There is no office of any kind on the soil of Assam where the minorities can make a representation. Today, on 26th May 1980 I say that A.A.M.S.U. will not be allowed to enter Government office in Assam. Minorities will not be entitled to launch any kind of movement, even constitutional, in future."

This is the translation of the statement in Assamese language into English whose photostat copy I have here, with me. All this establishes that the movement is not nonviolent, it is completely violent.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): I want to know what that paper is?

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: This is a photostat copy of an officer's statement in Assamese language, not a newspaper.

Yesterday M. Biju Patnaik was asking why the military was sent. 'What a wonderful grasp of the situation! The country is facing the danger of disintegration, there is collapse of law and order situation and foreign involvement is alleged, the minorities are suffering atrocities of worst type and the local police has gone completely partisan, and he asks why the military is sent. Must people die? What does he want?

I regret to say that on the 26th and 27th the military was there. but were they empowered to act? No. They were under the civil authority. They had no power. They were not called out. It was the Assam police that was killing the peaceful demonstration of AAMSU and burning their houses.

The Home Minister is very eloquent saying that he will protect the minorities, and the leaders of the opposition also say that it is not the monopoly of the Government, they also desire protection of the minorities, but what action have you taken to protect them, that is what I want to know. The military was there on 26th May but not in action, it was not called out. The religious and linguistic minorities were shot at, and then you here you will protect the minorities. We have seen how you are protecting them. It is your action that counts, not your words.

I will give you an example of the atrocities committed. One Mizan-ur-Rahman was shot at. He was taken to the hospital and a bullet was removed from his leg; he was recovering. Next day the AASU and the Ganga Sangram Parishad followers dragged him out and extracted his eyes. His bones were broken to pieces, and he died. You say there is no violence, it is a peaceful agitation. Is this the non-violent agitation?

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait]

I understand there should not be fresh elections, but when there is such a dangerous situation existing, the minorities should be protected. We must settle the issue through negotiation, I agree. But the agitators are adamant. They are intransigent. A national consensus on 1971 as the cut-off date was arrived at by all the party leaders, Assam leaders, and national leaders, and so many appeals have been made to the agitators. Was there response from the agitators? No. But, on the other hand they declare that agitation will be intensified.

Government is also following a weak-kneed policy. Suddenly the Governor, who is also a partisan man, declares we can start with 1967. Now, Government says we can start with 1971. But do you want to go backwards or for wards from 1971? That is the question. Such weakness should be avoided. The Government must act firmly. You must not compromise on principles and objectives should not be sacrificed. The agitators must be made to see reason. At the same minorities there, the ethnic and linguistic minorities. The question of withdrawing military cannot be considered at all. Then you must be prepared for negotiations, and on the condition that the agitators will not be adamant and will withdraw the agitation. For negotiation, there should be a calm atmosphere. The whole situation has to be defused. Then alone, can we sit together and negotiate. It has been said that three lakhs have already been deported by 1969. How many more are there, we do not know. We must evolve an acceptable machinery and have a judicial process to find out who is a foreign national and who is not? How are we to deal with them has to be considered? Are you going to send them to foreign countries? Is it possible? The Home Minister said that we shall distribute them to other provinces. Which province will accept them?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is over. I am calling Mr. Jethmalani. He will speak: only for five minutes.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Bombay North-west): That means, the whole party against which insinuations are being made will get only five minutes. I am the only speaker for my party. It is very unfair. If that be the case, I do not want to avail of the opportunity and you can keep it for yourself. You can have the whole party speak just for five minutes. In the Speaker's room, the other day, we decided that the ruling party would sacrifice and that they will not take so much time because it is ultimately the Oppositions' point of view which is to be heard. If they are willing to make sacrifice, for the cause of democracy and freedom of speech, five minutes being allotted for a party is ridiculous.

I would rather not speak for just five minutes. You please give it to somebody else.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude your speech, Mr. Sait.

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT: The Government should not budge on principles, the situation has got to be controlled and a negotiated settlement should be reached. All actions should be taken to protect the minorities of this country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jethmalani, a lawyer like you will be able to sum up your points in five minutes.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: We are prepared to sit till 8 O'clock. You must give us more time. When you say it is a national issue and when allegations are being made against my party, I must be heard.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can take a little more time.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: There was an implicit agreement in the room of the Hon. Speaker....

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is already done. When five minutes are allotted, people have taken ten minutes.

.Yes, Mr. Jethmalani, you can start your speech.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, though it is obvious that I am not a great admirer of the Treasury benches, yet, I cannot fail recording my appreciation of the speech, a very short and admirable speech which the House that able speech which the hon. Home Minister made yesterday. I am glad that he told this House that this is a national question on which he is seeking the assistance and advice of the Opposition. I am glad he promised that he is going to be receptive to our criticisms however pungent and I am glad that he said that he will carefully ponder over the advice, however unpalatable given by the Opposition. It is in this spirit that I rise to make my observations. But while recording this word of appreciation for him, let me also find fault with him. My party has, as far back as at least a month ago, publicly announced its solution of the Assam impasse. It is a matter of deep regret to me that so many leaders and so many members of this House have spoken and I have just heard a very impassioned speech by the great and sole representative of the minorities of this country and yet nobody has thought it fit to advert to the sensible solution which has been publicly preferred by my party. I have only heard veiled, insinuations and innuendoes being made not only against my party, but against my distinguished leader, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. I must condemn in no unmistakable terms, a section of this House, which this morning when the causes of Assam were talked about, asked Mr. Vajpayee: "Who started it?", ask him "Look at the gentleman who is sitting behind you." If this is the kind of attitude which the Members of this House adopt and

those Members of the House. I do not wish to identify them they will identify themselves and the Home Minister will identify them,— then I must speak up my mind.

But first let me speak about the solution which my party has offered. My party believes that there is only one solution of this problem. The Assam problem can only be solved by a combination and a judicious combination of the obligations which arise from the Constitution of India, from the Citizenship law of this country, from the Foreigners' Act on one side, and the obligations, on the other side, which arise out of the traditions of hospitality of this country, the traditions which arise out of the religious tolerance which this country has practised through the ages and, above all, the obligations which you Mr. Chairman will particularly appreciate, the obligations which arise out of civilised international law in the matter of granting political asylum to those who escape from tyranny and persecution in the country of their birth.

This is not a problem between Assamese and the rest of India. Those who want to give that colour to this problem are indulging in a game which is mischievous, which is unpatriotic, which is anti-national and I condemn it in no unmistakable terms. This is not a problem between Hindus and Muslims. Those who wish to give that colour to this problem are playing a dangerous game, a game which shall recoil upon those who have embarked upon this game. This is not a problem of majority vs. minority....

AN HON. MEMBER: You give a solution.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: You have had this problem for the last 30 years on your hand. And you expect me to explain the solution to you in a minute. I thought the solutions were publicly offered to you by

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

my party. We believe that whoever is a genuine national of this country, whether he is a money-lender from Gujarat or he is a Muslim from Bombay or he is a Bengali or he is a Bihari, from what ever part of the country he comes from, if he is an Indian national, my party will respect the right of the Indian national guaranteed to him under article 19 of the Constitution, that he has the right of free movement and the right to settle down in any part of the country.

Today, it is said that these youngmen of AASU, these men, women and children and old men of the Gana Sangram Parishad who are fighting this battle of survival in their own State want the entire non-Assamese population to get out. I speak with authority which arises out of having spoken to the representatives of these people, not only to them but also to their lawyers—one of their lawyers was the distinguished Advocate-General of Assam—and also to their leaders and I can state in no unmistakable terms and I brook no contradiction on this that all these youngmen and all these people who are involved in the Assam movement do not want any genuine Indian national to be thrown out of Assam, whether that genuine Indian national is a Muslim or Christian or a Sikh or a Parsi.

The next question is: Who is a genuine Indian national whose rights shall be protected? The courts of this country daily resolve these problems. My hon. friend, Mr. Frank Anthony, yesterday told you and everybody clapped when he said that he has been conducting nationality cases and only the other day he won a case on behalf of a Muslim. The courts and the judicial tribunals are in a position to perform this delicate task. But I regret to say that this Government in which my distinguished friend for whom I have got

great respect happens to be the Law Minister went to the Supreme Court and asked for the transfer of cases from the Gauhati High Court. He said outwardly, "We cast no reflection on the Gauhati High Court." But what he intended—let nobody have any doubt about his intention—and thought was that even the judges would favour detenus in Gauhati.

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKAR): The Supreme Court agreed to the transfer of cases.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: But the thing remains, whether the Delhi High Court performs the task or the Gauhati High Court performs the task, there is a clear admission that the judges of this country, when equipped with proper legal assistance, can solve the problem of finding out who is an Indian national and who is not.

Yesterday, Mr. Frank Anthony said that anybody born in this country after the 26th January, 1950 is an Indian national. I agree with him. But neither my party nor those youngmen and old men who are participating in the movement in Assam want anybody who is born on the soil of India after the 26th January, 1950 to be turned out. What they want is that those people alone shall go who have got into this country with the objective of changing the demographic character of Assam and those who have got into this country with a view to share the meagre resources of Assam and have entered contrary to our laws must be turned out.

Sir, an insinuation was made that the RSS is behind this. (Interruptions).

Another insinuation which was made yesterday was that it is the CIA which is involved in this. I want to deal with this.

When the Government, which has greater sources of information and which has greater sources of knowledge and investigation, was asked this question: "Are any foreigners involved" they gave an answer which again redounds to their credit and redounds to the credit of the gallant Sikh—I know he will never sell, 'this country'—and he made a responsible statement that there is no evidence that any foreigners were involved. Yesterday my over-heated colleague Shri Samar Mukherjee brought a document, as if this document lends greater credence to his oral statement. It is a document published by the Marxist Party in Bengal from this document, he read the photostat of another and he read not only the contents but the caption at the foot of it. According to him this document is a CIA document published by the CIA, circulated by the CIA. Why? My friend very frankly argued on the face of it; it says 'Publicity Department, USA East 8980' and therefore this must be a document of USA. That is the speech he made yesterday. If a schoolboy had read this document, he would have seen that the contents of the document say that U.S.A. means the United States of Assam. That is the over-heated imagination of my friend Samar Mukherjee. This is the kind of untruth, this is the kind of lies this House is treated to. USA means United States of America; nobody cares to read the body of the document.

Let us talk for two minutes about the RSS and its role. I want to appeal to the Home Minister, 'if you want to solve this problem, please get rid of the bogeys, get rid of the imaginary goblins you have conjured up. These will not help you to solve the problem; they will completely alienate you from reality'.

In 1950, when the august Parliament of the country passed a Bill for the expulsion of aliens from Assam, the RSS did not dominate the Par-

liament. It was the distinguished father of the present Prime Minister who dominated this House; it was under his tutelage that the Parliament passed this law. It is unfortunate that, for some political reasons, for seven years the Act was not only not enforced, but ultimately it was repealed.

In 1963 the Government—once again a Government presided over by the great Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru—went into the whole problem of displacement of populations across the East Pakistan border and came to the astounding conclusion that the figures on both sides neatly tallied. On the East Bengal side or in the East Pakistan districts there was a diminution of population and there was a corresponding increase in the border districts of Assam. The same increase, exactly, had been registered, providing conclusive evidence of the sources of infiltration.

The other day when the Home Minister made a speech publicly—he made it first in Punjab and then repeated it in Rajasthan—he said 'I have solved the problem of Assam now. How has he solved the problem? I have already detected three lakh ten thousand infiltrators.' He first said that he had detected them but 'I am unable to send them out because the countries to which they belong are refusing to take them'. Then, 17 days thereafter, he made a further speech wherein he not only said that three lakhs have been detected but said 'I have sent them, and the agitation is being carried on for the sake of agitation'.

I want to ask this question which I wish to address to my friend Mr. Frank Anthony who yesterday talked glibly of treason and declaration of war. According to me, those persons are guilty of treason who allowed three lakhs and more to come into this country. Your Mr. Sarin has gone to Assam and he promised the people of this country 'I have sealed

[Shri Ram Jethmalani]

the borders.' Those are criminals who failed to seal the borders for the last thirty years. And who are those criminals—except those who wielded political power in the country?

Today, you have said, that you have put six mechanised boats in the Brahmaputra to seal off the river routes of entry into Assam. The criminals and those who are guilty of treason are those who did not put these mechanized boats earlier. These mechanized boats ought to have been put there since 1950. And they are the persons who have sold the country's interests for the last 30 years, and they have sold the interests of the country for two motives. The motives have been their fake secularism and the dividends this fake secularism has provided—go on capturing the minority votes, go on selling India's interests, go on allowing the foreigners to come in; shut your eyes to this widespread breach of Indian Constitution, to the widespread breach of the criminal laws of the country; shut your eyes, take people into Assam and convert Assam, which was a Hindu majority province, into a Muslim majority province. . . . (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jethmalani, now you should have no objection if I request you to conclude.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Mr. Shakhdar, the Chief Election Commissioner, in 1978, made a statement in which he said:

"Another disturbing factor in this regard is the demand made by the political parties for the inclusion in the electoral rolls of the names of such migrants who are not Indian citizens, without even questioning and properly determining their citizenship status. This is a serious state of affairs. The gravity of the situation therefore

calls for drastic and effective measures."

The RSS was not looking for votes. The RSS was not trying to get the electoral rolls in Assam prepared to suit their purposes. It is these gentlemen who wanted the electoral rolls to be prepared for their own purposes—to get political dividends; sell the country to foreigners and then say, 'We are trying to protect the minorities'. One subdivision in Goalpara district, which is the constituency of the Begum of our last Rashtrapati—*the figures indicate*—has been converted into a Muslim-majority area. You know what its demographic character was once upon a time, and what is its demographic character now. If the Muslim minorities want protection, the Muslim minorities will be protected. We shall keep them on our eyes; we shall keep them on our laps. But we shall not allow Muslim infiltrators to come from Bangladesh and overturn the demographic character of this State and share the meagre resources of the poor people of Assam and subvert their culture and civilization. It is not a question of minorities. Indian minorities will be protected. Genuine Indian Muslims will be protected, but not those who have come here as spies for the nefarious purpose of giving political support to the party in power.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Assam is in a deep crisis today. Assam is the tragedy of India. The nine-month old agitation led by AASU and Gana Sangram Parishad has posed a grave threat to the basic concept of Indian unity in diversity. Whatever might have been said by my learned friend, Mr. Ram Jethmalani and Mr. Ravindra Varma, the facts are clear and obvious whatever might have been at the beginning of the movement, the movement has now clearly become the movement of Assamese Hindus, basically upper

class and upper middle class. It has also to be realised at this particular period of time that it has acquired fearful overtones. It is also admitted as it says that this particular movement led by the AASU and Gana Sangram Parishad has acquired an unquestionably parochial character and communal colour and it has acquired secessionist overtones also. Therefore, that being the actual nature of the movement, I think it is in the interests of the unity and the integrity of the country that a solution is found. Sir, it is quite clear and I think the entire House will share with me that there are certain basic reasons for that. The basic reasons are that the people of Assam right for the last 30 years have felt themselves a subject of studied neglect. There has been no development and the benefits of economic development have proceeded on a snail's pace. This has created discontent, this has created disaffection and this has really created certain genuine problems for the people of Assam. But what was the way out? It was necessary that democratic movement should be developed in which the leftist and democratic parties would have a dominant role by which the policy of neglect by the centre towards the people of Assam could have been remedied and corrected. I have got a list of grievances from the people of Assam regarding their neglect under development and since you have said that the time at my disposal is short, I will only try to catalogue some of them. But at the same time, it has to be known that the leftist movement and the democratic movement in Assam is comparatively weak and taking advantage of the weakness of the leftist and the democratic movement, some vested interests have all along encouraged a parochial type of movement and foreign missionaries and foreign agencies particularly took advantage of that situation. It is known to all that these foreign agencies and foreign missionaries have been nurs-

ing secessionist movement from the year 1950 and there is eloquent evidence of this as the government itself known it. I have certain other evidence also to prove that foreign agencies and foreign missionaries are involved in this movement.

The Home Minister has gone on record to say in the Rajya Sabha that there is the US intelligence agency behind this movement and he said:

"In modern world, conquests were not made by the use of arms, but by flow of money and literature, a show of love and affection and by creating agents."

The Prime Minister was also on record to say that she thought that there was some foreign intervention in the north east but I surprisingly find that she said that there is not sufficient evidence to say that there is the involvement of foreign agencies and foreign missionaries in this whole movement.

Here when the integrity of the country, when the unity of the country is involved, when the foreign destabilisers are there, why not the government take effective steps to see that these forces which want to destabilise the unity and integrity of the country are properly dealt with? Then the government say that there is no evidence of involvement of foreign agencies or foreign powers. I have got a lot of information to share with the House regarding the involvement of foreign agencies in this movement that since there is no time, I will refrain from doing so. But, at the same time, let us come to the crux of the problem. The problem is the minorities are to be protected and in order to protect the minorities and in order to see that the unity and integrity of the country is preserved certain basic things are to be formulated.

[Shri Chitta Basu]

It is a matter of satisfaction that in the last meeting of the political parties, a certain basic approach was formulated and certain points of view had been exchanged and a consensus arrived at.

It has been generally accepted that the whole problem should be understood and solved on the basis of the following four principles:

1. Unity and integrity should be safeguarded at all costs;
2. Protection of minorities should be the special responsibility of the Central Government;
3. Identification of the foreigners should be done through a machinery enjoying the confidence of all concerned
4. Identification should be made on the basis of guidelines agreed upon by all.

Therefore, it has also to be realised that the problem has to be solved not by confrontation but it has to be solved through conciliation for this purpose, these four principles have to be thoroughly adhered to. If these four principles are to be adhered to, there should be an approach or an attempt to start negotiations. An overwhelming majority of the parties are in favour of having the problems solved through negotiations. The only thing that remains is that the leaders of the agitation have not yet considered it wise to come to the negotiating table. What is needed is to create a national consensus, to create public opinion all over the country and to see that the recalcitrant leadership of the agitation can see the path of reason and come to the negotiating table. It is understood that although at the earlier stage, there was support of the people, now, there has been also a feeling that this movement is self-defeating. Therefore, if a proper attempt is made, a situation can be so created that the problem can be solved in a satisfactory

way and peacefully. At the same time, Government should not take this sort of repressive measure. Taking repressive measure is one thing and protection of minority is another thing. Protection of minorities should be the special consideration of the Central Government. As a matter of fact, the linguistic and religious minorities in Assam to-day are feeling insecure. They live in terror. Therefore something should be done to remove this feeling.

Unless strict administrative measures are taken to deal with the movement in Assam, the minorities there, both religious as well as ethnic, cannot feel secure. Therefore, a fresh approach should be made to see that the problem is solved by starting negotiation in a satisfactory manner.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The time which was utilised for this discussion will be the extended time of the House. We will take up the remaining items on the agenda and complete those items.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI BHISMA NARAIN SINGH): Vote on Account on Assam has to be completed.

SHRI CHANDRAJEET YADAV: That is not agreed to.

I think the time has been extended for this debate only.

MR. CHAIRMAN: One hour was allotted.

SHRI CHANDRAJEET YADAV: One hour was allotted for this budget!

MR. CHAIRMAN: That was only for this discussion. We have given one hour and forty-five minutes.

SHRI CHANDRAJEET YADAV: It does not mean that the House can go on by extending the time. The rest of the items can be taken up tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now the hon. Minister.

यूज वंजी (श्री जैल सिंह) : माननीय सभा-पति जी, हाऊस के सामने जो मैंने संकल्प रखा था कि आसाम में राष्ट्रपति हासन की अध्यक्षता को और छः महीने के लिए बढ़ाया जाए, उस सिलसिले में हाऊस के मेम्बरान को एक मौका मिला कि वे आसाम की जो गंभीर समस्या है, उस पर अपनी राय दे सकें। मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि कौमों के इतिहास में कभी कभी ऐसी बात आती है, जिस पर हर ब्याल के, हर विचार के नुमायन्दगान को अपनी राय देने का मौका मिले।

17.50 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

भारत सरकार ने यह शुरू में ही कहा था कि असम की समस्या को हल करने के लिए पार्टी ही नहीं, सरकार ही नहीं बल्कि इसको नेशनल सवाल समझ कर सबकी राय से, मशिवरे से हल करना चाहिये, हल तलाश करना चाहिये। इसीलिए आपको मालूम है कि दो तीन बार आल-पार्टीज मीटिंग भी हुई हैं और नेगोशिएशंस भी कई बार हो चुकी है। लेकिन आज, वे हद से आगे निकल गए हैं। मैं महसूस करता था कि पार्लियामेंट का सेशन आने वाला है और पार्लियामेंट के सामने यह सारा मामला रखा जाए और उसकी राय के बाद ही और कदम उठाया जाए। मुझे खुशी है इस बात की कि आलमोस्ट आल पार्टी लीडर्ज ने एक तरह से सरकार की इस नीति का समर्थन किया है चूँकि गवर्नमेंट ने जो आफ फोर्स तो किया लेकिन यूज आफ फोर्स नहीं किया और अब तक असम के एजीटेडर्ज के साथ गवर्नमेंट परेंटली फाइट करती रही है और उनके साथ प्यार और मुहब्बत से काम लेती रही है, उनको समझाने बुझाने की कोशिश करती रही है। वह कोशिश करती रही है। कि वे रास्ते पर आ जाएं। अब यह बात हृदय से ज्यादा निकल चुकी है। मैं यह भी कह दूँ कि स्टुडेंट्स के ऊपर मुझे कोई शक नहीं है, कोई डाउट नहीं है लेकिन न तो उनके हाथ में लिट्रचर प्रोब्ल्यूस करना है और न प्लानिंग है और न उनके हाथ में कोई फीसला करना है। वे केवल एजीटेटर रह गए हैं पिकिटिंग के लिए, जलूस निकालने के लिए, स्लोगन निकालने के लिए। हम इंतहाई खोज के बाद जानकारी कि

बाद इस जगह पर पहुँचे हैं कि यह मूवमेंट न तो नान वायोलेंट है और न कौमी है। यह मूवमेंट बहुत बरारती अफसरों के हाथ में आ गई है और इस मूवमेंट के पीछे अफिरका-दाराना ताकतों भी हैं और विदेशी ताकतों का भी छिपा हुआ हाथ है। मुझे श्री बीजू पटनायक जी की.....

SHRI CHANDRAJEET YADAV: Mr. Home minister, you keep on making general vague observations all the time. It is a serious matter. Please, be specific and name those foreign forces.

श्री जैल सिंह : मेम्बर साहिबान ने जो आपके सामने विचार रखे हैं उनको सुनने के बाद और देखने के बाद जो आपका डाउट रह गया है वह मैं दूर करूँगा। मैं आपकी जानकारी के लिये ही कह रहा हूँ और मैं तो आपका इतना भयब करता हूँ कि आप बैठे बोलते हैं और मैं खड़ा होकर बोलता हूँ.....

श्री चन्द्रजीत यादव : मैं आपका अनादर नहीं करता हूँ। अगर आप चाहते हैं तो मैं खड़ा होकर बोलता हूँ।

श्री जैल सिंह : मुझे बीजू पटनायक जी के साथ बहुत हमदर्दी है। मैं सोचता हूँ कि वह जो बात कर रहे थे वह दिलो दिमाग से कर रहे थे या किसी मजबूरी में कर रहे थे। उन्होंने यह कहा कि यह बताया जाए कि वहाँ पर फोर्स क्यों भेज दी गई? उन्होंने कहा कि चालीस लाख के करीब वहाँ पर विदेशी लोग हैं। दूसरी बार उन्होंने कहा कि प्रांच मिलियन है। यह भी उन्होंने कह दिया कि उनको वे आफ बंगाल में बसाया जाए। इसका मतलब है कि उनको समुद्र में गिरा दिया जाय। उन्होंने यह भी सिद्ध किया कि जो एजीटेटर हैं वे दुरुस्त हैं। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि 1951 से नेशनल रजिस्टर को लेकर क्यों शुरू नहीं करते हो? मुझे इस बात की हैरानी हुई कि सब कुछ जानते हुये भी कि यह समस्या इस तरह से नहीं सुलझ सकती उन्होंने ऐसे सुझाव रखे जिनका कोई बजूद नहीं बन सकता। और फिर उसके बाद यह भी नहीं कहा कि इस समस्या का हल कैसे निकाला जाये। मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बहुत बढ़ा-बढ़ाकर कहा

[श्री वेंस सिंह]

जानकारी से पहले यह तो मैं नहीं कह सकता कि किलने विदेशी लोग वहाँ हैं। विदेशी लोग वहाँ हैं, उनकी निकालना भी चाहिये। असामियों की वह जो चिन्ता है कि वह माइनोरिटी में हो जायेंगे, उस बात का भी हमको जरूरी तौर पर ध्यान रख कर कोई रास्ता निकालना है, लेकिन यह कहना कि वह 50 लाख के करीब हैं, तो मैं तो यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि 50 लाख अगर विदेशी वहाँ रहते हैं तो आपकी सरकार पिछले 3 साल क्या करती रही और उससे पहले की सरकार क्या करती रही? जैसे 50 लाख को निकालेंगे, वह कोई बात है? मुझे उनके साथ हमदर्दी है, वह सदन में नहीं है, अगर होते तो अपने आप को धमक कर लेते।

आपके सामने हमारे दूसरे मेम्बर साहेबान ने कुछ विचार रखे हैं, जिनमें हमारे सी० पी० आई० के नेता श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त व श्री मुखर्जी हैं। हमारे देस के एमीनेट लॉयर श्री एन्वनी जी हैं, उन्होंने भी अपने विचार रखे हैं। मैं जल्दी खतम करना चाहता हूँ, समझप करते हुये मैं कहना चाहता था कि हमारे जेटमलानी जी ने शुरूआत में बड़ी बेलेन्ड स्वीच की। उनके लफ्जों से, उनकी अदायगी से सुप्रीम कोर्ट और हाई कोर्ट के जज भी प्रभावित होते हैं। इतने लायक लायर को जब मैंने आज पहली बार इस पार्लियामेंट में सुना तो मुझे इस बात का ध्यान आया कि वह इस तरह से कह रहे थे जैसे किसी मंजरिम को छुड़वाना होता है। क्योंकि वकील का धर्म है कि वह अपने सायल की बात कहे, चाहे उसका सायल गुनाहगार है या नहीं। उनका तो फर्ज है कि वह अपने सायल की मखब करे और बड़ी खूबी से उन्होंने मदद की है, इस बात की मुझे खुशी है।

अब मैं उन दोस्तों से कहना चाहता हूँ, जिनका यह ध्यान था कि असम में फॉसज क्यों भजी गई, सेंट्रल रिजर्व पुलिस को क्यों भेजा गया। इन फॉसज को इसलिये नहीं भेजा गया है कि असामियों को कुचला जाये, बल्कि इसलिये भेजा है कि उनके जानो-माल की रक्षा की जाये। जब एक भाई दूसरे भाई का गला काटने के लिये तैयार हो जाये और समझा-बुझाकर दुरुस्त रास्ते पर नहीं लाया जा सके, तो सरकार का पहला फर्ज होता है कि वह उस पर अंदोल करे और मजबूत हाथों से करे। फिर भी हमने कोशिश की है कि उस ताकत को, जो एकट बनाया गया है, उनका इस्तेमाल न किया जाये और उनके लिये हमदर्दी प्रकट की जाये।

आपके सामने हमारे मुस्लिम लीग के नेता ने जो तकरीर की है, मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि हमारे सी० पी० (एम०) के और सी० पी० आई० के नेताओं ने जो तकरीरें की हैं उन्होंने बिल्कुल दिलेरी से और सही बाक्यात को हाउस के सामने रखा है।

18.00 hrs.

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने कहा कि गांडमैन को वहाँ जाने दिया। असाम में रेस्ट्रिक्शन है, वहाँ इजाजत लेकर जा सकते हैं, लेकिन कुछ एरिया ऐसा भी है, जहाँ टूरिस्ट दो हफ्ते के लिये जा सकते हैं, उनके लिये कोई रकावट नहीं है। वह चले गये हैं, और उन्होंने क्या किया, कैसे किया, हम उसकी जानकारी हासिल करेंगे, और उसके बाद जो मुनासिब एक्शन लेना चाहिये, वह हम लेंगे। लेकिन मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज की दुनिया में विदेशी ताकतें किसी मुल्क को, खास तौर पर किसी ताकतवर मुल्क को, बर्बाद होते देख कर खुश होती हैं। यह हम नहीं रोक सकते हैं। जब वे मुद्दालफत करती हैं, तो इनविजिबल हैंड से करती है, दिखाई नहीं देती हैं। मैं हाउस को इतना बता देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हमें वह हाथ दिखाई दे गया, जो विदेशी ताकतों ने वहाँ डाला है, तो सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट इस बात के लिये बचनबद्ध है कि उस हाथ को काट दिया जायेगा।

(ब्यवधान)

आप जानते हैं कि "इंसान जुल्म का मारा तो बच सकता है, यह जो मुहब्बत से मिटाते हो, गजब करते हो।" आज कल की दुनिया में विदेशी ताकतें अपना हाथ प्यार और मुहब्बत से डालती हैं। वे हमारी और गरीबों की खिदमत करने के लिये आती हैं और धीरे धीरे अपना कब्जा करनी चाहती हैं। वे ऐसे लोगों को पकड़ती है, जिनको हम पहचान नहीं सकते हैं। यह पता नहीं चलता है कि कौन लोग पकड़े गये हैं, कहाँ पकड़े गये हैं, कहाँ बात हुई है, कहाँ से रुपया और लिट्रेचर आता है, कहाँ से मैसेज पहुंचाये जा रहे हैं। इस बारे में जितनी भी जानकारी होगी, वह हम हाउस से नहीं छिपायेंगे। लेकिन मुझे उम्मीद है कि हाउस हमें इस बात की जरूर इजाजत देगा कि जो बात नेशनल इंट्रस्ट और पब्लिक इंट्रस्ट में खुले तौर पर नहीं कहनी चाहिये, वह हम न कहें।

जहां तक आर० एस० एस० का ताल्लुक है, आज से दो महीने पहले मैं इस बात को शुबह से देखता था कि इसमें आर० एस० एस० का हैड है या नहीं। लेकिन अब जानकारी करने के बाद मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुंचा हूँ कि आर० एस० एस० के लीडर जितनी बार वहाँ जाते रहे हैं, उतनी बार वहाँ वंगे होते रहे हैं, फसाद होते रहे हैं। उनके कैम्प लगते रहे हैं, जिनमें शिषा दी गई और वहाँ पर सात हजार के करीब आर० एस० एस० के वालन्टीयर तैयार किये गये हैं।

श्री हरिकेश बहादुर (गोरखपुर) : आपकी सरकार क्या करती रही ?

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त : आर० एस० एस० के कैम्प को बन्द क्यों नहीं करते ? उसको चलने क्यों देते हैं ?

श्री बैल सिंह : आप थोड़ासा धीरज रखिये । हर बात समय पर होनी चाहिये और अनुसिद्ध तरीके से होनी चाहिये । मैं कह सकता हूँ कि मेरे दोस्त इस बात का भरोसा रखें कि क्या करना है, हम यह भी जानते हैं, कब करना है, यह भी जानते हैं और कैसे करना है, यह भी जानते हैं ।

मैं खास तौर से भारतीय जनता पार्टी और आर० एम० एम० के नेताओं को बड़े धक्के के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी नीयत पर मुझे शक नहीं है । वे भारतीय संस्कृति को कायम रखना चाहते हैं ।

श्री इन्द्रजित यादव : यही आपको गलतफहमी है । वे बिल्कुल नहीं कायम रखना चाहते हैं ।

श्री बैल सिंह : हो सकता है कि न रखना चाहते हों । मेरा इम्प्रेसन है । मुझे यह भी विश्वास है कि वह चाहते नहीं कि भारत के टुकड़े हों लेकिन, वे गौर करें दोबारा और दोबारा गौर कर के यह देखें कि वह भारत एक कैसे रह सकता है ? जो रास्ता उन्होंने अख्तयार किया है उससे भारत एक नहीं रह सकता । मुझ ख्याल थाया, एक अग्रत अपने पति से बहुत तंग और दुखी थी । वह एक साधु के पास गई और कहा कि मुझे ऐसा जंत्र-तंत्र दीजिये कि मेरा पति वश में आ जाये । उन स्वामी जी ने एक ऐसा जंत्र दे दिया कि वह जब उसे पिलाया गया या उसके हाथ में रखा गया उस की मौत हो गई । ता उस औरत ने उनसे कहा कि मैंने तो यही कहा था कि मेरे वश में हो जाए, मैंने यह कब कहा था कि मैं विधवा हो जाऊँ । तो मैं यह कहना हूँ कि आर० एम० एम० के नेताओं से कि वह जो जंत्र मंत्र कर रहे हैं वह गलत कर रहे हैं, उससे हिन्दुस्तान का नुकसान होगा और वह पछतायेंगे इस बात पर । नेशन के नाम पर मैं उनसे अनील करना हूँ कि वह दोबारा गौर करें और भारतीय इतिहास और भारतीय संस्कृति को कायम रखना है तो मेरे साथ पब्लिकली बहस कर लें, मैं उन्हें बताऊंगा कि भारतीय संस्कृति कैसे कायम रह सकती है ।

हमारे भारत के नार्थ ईस्टर्न हिस्से में जो बैचैनी पैदा हुई, जो गड़बड़ी पैदा हुई सन् 79 के अक्टूबर से लेकर—पहले भी कभी कभी होती रही—लेकिन भाज की जो समस्या है, उसमें बहुत से लोग मारे गये । भाज के इस टाइम पर हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी खुद जाने वाली थीं लेकिन एक ऐसे जरूरी काम के लिये (अध्वघान)

आसाम का डेलीगेशन उनको मिला रहा है और कुछ ऐसे काम भी हैं जो इंतजार नहीं कर सकते, प्रधान मंत्री के नाते उन्हें उनको करना ही है, इसलिये वह नहीं आई । तो हम प्रधान मंत्री जी की तरफ से अपनी तरफ से, भारत की सरकार की तरफ से और इजाजत दें तो हाउस के मेम्बरों की तरफ से आसाम की इस गड़बड़ी में जितनी जिम्मेदारियाँ चली गई हैं, जितनी मौतें हुई हैं उनके परिवारों के

साथ हमदर्दी जाहिर करते हैं और उनके अफसोस के साथ हम शामिल होते हैं ।

बहुत दुख की बात है आसाम की समस्या को सुलझाने के लिये आन्दोलन मेम्बर साहबान ने कोई सुझाव दिये भी हैं, लेकिन जो क्विटसाइज करते हैं वे सुझाव नहीं देते हैं । जब सुझाव नहीं देते हैं तो हमारी ड्यूटी बन जाती है और ड्यूटी इसलिये बन जाती है कि जो सिस्टर स्टेट्स हैं, वहां की जो रियासतें हैं उनमें भी यह बीमारी फैलती जाती है । वहां भी एक दूसरे के खिलाफ नफरत पैदा हो गई । बिपुरा से अभी अभी खबर आई है कि वहां पर इतन दंगे फसाद तीन दिन में हुये हैं जिस में हजारों आदमी बेघर हो गये और सैकड़ों आदमियों की जिन्दगी चली गई । मैं अभी आज ही या कल सुबह वहां, बिपुरा जाऊंगा और आपको यह बात सुन कर बहुत दुख होगा, वहां की जो खबर आई है, अभी पूरी गिनती तो नहीं हो सकती लेकिन तीन सौ के करीब तो लोग मारे गये हैं और इस नफरत की वजह से आपस में लड़ाई हो रही है, दंगे हो रहे हैं फसाद हो रहे हैं । जब हम को खबर मिली तो हमने बी० एम० एफ० फोर्स और सेंट्रल फोर्स को वहां भेजने का इतजाम किया । लेकिन दो हवाई जहाज वहां पहुंच सके, बाकी गौहाटी में खड़े हैं क्योंकि मौसम खराब हो गया । वे वहा पहुंच नहीं पाये । ऐसी स्थिति में यह बात किसी भी पार्टी के इंटरेस्ट में नहीं है, इस को तो ही मैं बहुत गंभीरता से देखना चाहिये । आपको मालूम है कि एक साल हो गया, आसाम के स्टूडेंट्स की स्टडी बिल्कुल बन्द पड़ी है, वह नहीं हो सकी । इसी तरह से वहां पर बिल्डिंग और रोड्स वगैरह के तमाम काम भी सब बन्द पड़े हैं । यह आन्दोलन जिस के लिये हमारे आन्दोलन मेम्बर ने कहा कि वह कौमी है, यह फिरकेदाराना नहीं है, यह शान्तिमय है, मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ, क्या वह शान्तिमय है कि 26 तारीख को माइनारिटीज स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन एक मेमोरंडम देना चाहती है और उसको मेमोरंडम देने की इजाजत नहीं मिलती । जिस अफसर ने मेमोरंडम हासिल किया, उसका घेराव किया गया, उसकी बइज्जती की गई ।

इसी तरह से कल माननीय सदस्य भगत जी ने बताया था कि एक औरत जो उनके एजिटेसन में शामिल नहीं होना चाहती थी, उसकी नाक काट दी गई जिससे उसकी मृत्यु हो गई । मैं आल इंडिया न्यूजपेपर्स एडिटर्स क्राफेंस में गया, वहां उन्होंने मुझे एक रिपोर्ट दी, वह सफ़ैट की गई है और शायद आपको मिस गई होगी । सतकार्य योग्य एडिटर ने मुझे बताया कि गौहाटी में एक विधवा औरत और उसकी दो नौजवान लड़कियां थीं । आंदोलन कारियों ने जाकर उससे कहा कि लड़कियों को हमारे साथ पिकेटिंग में भेजो । उसने कहा मैं नहीं भेजती, मेरा इस एजिटेसन में विश्वास नहीं है तो उसको मारा गया, पीटा गया और घर से निकाल कर धक्का दे दिया गया और उसे अजबूर किया गया कि हमारे साथ आओ । इसलिये

[श्री जैल सिंह]

न तो हम कह सकते हैं कि यह नैशनल है और न कह सकते हैं कि यह कम्युनलिज्म से कम है। वहाँ पर इश्तहार बाटा जाता है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के साथ नहीं रहना चाहते। इस आन्दोलन के पीछे, मैंने पहले ही कहा कि स्टूडेंट्स बेचारों का कुछ कुसूर नहीं है लेकिन जो उनके पीछे तार हिलाने वाले हैं उनका इरादा क्या है? उनका इरादा है कि जो नान आसामी है, उनको वहाँ से फेंक दिया जाय। इस आन्दोलन के पीछे इतना बल नहीं है जितना बल वे कहते हैं क्योंकि वहाँ माइमारिटीज जो वहाँ 40 फीसदी के करीब है। कुछ ट्राइबल एरियाज और प्लेन ट्राइबल एरियाज के स्टूडेंट्स भी आकर मुझ से मिले और वे यहाँ पर हैं, और मिलेंगे, वे इस आन्दोलन से दुखी है। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि आप आमोश क्यों रहे तो वे कहते हैं हम इसलिये आमोश थे कि हम उनके साथ लड़ाई झगडा न करे। हम यह विश्वास रखते थे कि ये ज्युइन् फारेनर्स को बाहर निकालना चाहते हैं लेकिन अब हम इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे हैं कि इसमें फारेनर्स का सवाल नहीं है, न ये मुसलमान को चाहते हैं, न गर-आसामी को रखना चाहते हैं।

हमें इस बान पर भी इत्तफाक करना होगा कि जो जल्दी वस्तुये हैं उनको उन्होंने बाहर निकलने से रोक दिया। वहाँ जो बैन्क है, जो लकड़ी है, वहाँ की जिननी? चीजे है वह आसाम से बाहर न निकले और वहाँ की तीन रिफायनरीज पर पिकेटिंग की जाये जिससे तीन करोड़ रुपये राजाना का धाटा हो तो इसका मतलब विदेशियों के साथ क्या है? सरकार ने पिछ साल ९ हजार टन फटिलाइजर भेजा और जो फटिलाइजर वहाँ पर होता था उसको उन्होंने बन्द कर दिया। सरकार ने डम माल 16 हजार टन फटिलाइजर भेजा।

गहा पर लोगों में जबरा पैसा उगहा जाता है एम एल एज को ब्रायकाट किया हुआ है। आप यह जान कर हैगन होगे कि बहुत बड़ देशभक्तों को मजबूर किया गया कि तुम अपना ताम्र-पत्र वापिस करो। मुझे डम बान की पक्की उचला है कि वे ताम्र-पत्र नहीं देना चाहते हैं। लेकिन उनको मजबूर किया गया। उन्होंने यह मदेशा भेजा है कि सरकार फार्स को क्यों यज नहीं करती सरकार मजबूत दार्थों में हमको क्यों नहीं निपटती। उनका यह संदेश हमारे पास आया। एक प्रो० गोहून, जो गोहाटी युनिवर्सिटी में पढ़ाते थे और जिन्होंने डम आन्दोलन के मुताल्लिक मार लिखा है कि यह प्रोविशियलिज्म से भी नीचे चला गया है, यह कास्टिज्म तक पहुँच गया है। यह हिन्दुस्तान की एकता के लिए नुकसानदेह होगा और इस आन्दोलन को बन्द करना चाहिए, जबकि तमामबातों को सरकार ने मजूर कर लिया है इस आन्दोलन को जारी नहीं रखना चाहिए। इसकी सजा क्या मिली-मारा गया, पीटा गया आज वे अस्पताल में पड़े हुए हैं

जो इफोरमेंशन प्राप्त चाहेंगे, वह मैं देने के लिए तैयार हूँ। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की कौम इस बात पर जागृत हो जाए कि किसी भी मुल्क के हिस्से में अगर ऐसे हालात पया होने हैं, तो उनको गलती माननी चाहिए और सरकार को इत्ला देनी चाहिए ताकि मजबूत हाथों में उसको कुचल कर रख दिया जाए। भारत के किसी भी हिस्से में अगर ऐसी बातें होती हैं तो उसको मजबूत हाथों में निपटाना हमारी ड्यूटी है। मैं यह सोचता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की कौम के मामले हम मंह नहीं दिखा सकते अगर हिन्दुस्तान का एक भी टुकड़ा हमारे मुल्क के पास चला जाए। हमारा फर्ज बनता है और गये देशभक्ति के नाते उन दोस्तों से, जो दो दोस्त आज हमको यह राय देने के, भिवरा देन है कि फोर्स यज नहीं करनी चाहिए, नायर जेठमलानी जो जैसे एमीनेट हिन्दुस्तान के में पृथला चाहता हूँ, आप क्या मजूबा देते है? आप हमको बतायें कि यह काम करो, इस काम को इस तरह से कर लो, मैं निपटा देता हूँ। अगर आपके दायरे में है तो आप निपटा दीजिए।

भारत की प्रधान मंत्री ने यहा तक भी कह दिया कि आम्ने, आन्दोलन बन्द करो, हम काम शुरू कर दे। कट-ऑफ की बात भी छोड दो, 71 में काम शुरू करे और काम शुरू करने से हम को प्रालम्भ का पना चलेगा कि वह कितनी बड़ी प्रालम्भ है और तमाम चीजे हम बठकर सुलझा लेंगे, लेकिन वह काम-एटमोमफियर पैदा नहीं होने दंगा चाहते हैं। वे चाहत है कि बदअमनी पैदा हो, जिससे नडाइया हागी दगे हागे। मरेग हिन्दुस्तानी मरेगे और खुणी हागी तो हमारे देश के दुश्मनों को।

इसके लिए मैं हाउस के मॅम्बर आइबान को दोवारा धन्यवाद भी करता हूँ, चूंकि मेरा काम मेरे में ज्यादा हाउस के मॅम्बर साहबान ने कर दिया है और मैं उनकी तबरीरा को दोबारा दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ। एक बान जो श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता ने कह उस काम जबाब दे दूँ। उन्होंने कहा कि सरकार ने जब तमाम पार्टियों की मीटिंग में यह फैमला किया कि 71 से पीछे नहीं जायेंगे, तो वह कि गवर्नर ने 67 को क्यों कहा? बात यह है कि वहाँ बानचीत चल रही थी। स्टूडेंट्स उनको मिलन प्राणक तो स्टूडेंट्स के मिलने से पहले किसी ने जाकर उनको यह कहा कि यह मामला निपट मकना है, अगर आप 67 को मान ले।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त किराने जकर कहा?

श्री जैल सिंह: उनके किसी आदमी ने। तो मीटिंग में मिर्फ गवर्नर साहब ने कहा है कि क्या आप 67 पर आ गए हैं? अगर आप 67 पर आए हैं तो भारत सरकार को इत्ला दे दूँ कि ताकि वह इस बात पर गौर कर सके। न भारत सरकार ने 67 माना है, न गवर्नर ने

67 माना है। हम फ्लैक्स बिलिटी जरूर चाहते हैं कि यह मामला सुलझ जाए और कोई ऐसा रास्ता जरूर निकले, ताकि उनको भी नसल्ली हो जाए और माइनारिटीज को भी नसल्ली हो जाए। हमारी यह ड्यूटी है—अगर मैजॉरिटी में या माइनारिटी में ये मिस्क्रिएन्ट्स बदधमनी पैदा करना चाहते हैं, समझाने-बुझाने से नहीं मानते हैं तो उनको मजबूत हाथों से मुलबाया जाय और उनको ज्यादा बढ़ने न दिया जाय।

भारत सरकार की यह भी ड्यूटी है कि हम वहां ट्राइबल एरियाज को, वहां की भाषा को, वहां के कल्चर को बरकरार रखने की गारन्टी देने है। कोई भी ताकत उन की भाषा, उनके कल्चर, उनकी रवायत का खत्म करने की कोशिश करेगी तो नहीं करने देगे, लेकिन हम अपना परम धर्म समझते है कि माइनारिटीज को प्राटेक्शन दे और उनका जिन्दा रहने का हक दिया जाय। आज जो हमारे पाम एलामिय रिपोर्ट्स आ रही है उनसे जाहिर होता है कि माइनारिटी वाले बहुत भयभीत हो रहे हैं। उनके भयभीत होने का कारण अभी मुलेमान सेंट माहब ने बनलाया है—मैं उनको दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूं।

आज चूंकि भारत की अखंडता के लिये, वहां पर शान्ति का वायु-मंडल पैदा करने के लिये हमसे इतिफाक रखत है—इस लिये मैं कुछ ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूं। हालांकि कुछ दोस्तों की तत्ररीरों का हवाला जवाब देने के लिये मैंने अपने पास रखा था, लेकिन अब मैं उनको दोहराने में आप का वक्त नहीं लूंगा। मैं, स्पीकर माहब, आप से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि मैंने जो संकल्प रखा है कि 6 महीने की अवधि बढ़ाई जाय, उसको तमाम हाउस इतिफाक राय से पास करे।

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation, dated the 12th December, 1979,

in respect of Assam, issued under article 356 of the Constitution by the President for a further period of six months with effect from 12th June, 1980."

The motion was adopted.

18.23 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON ACCOUNT (ASSAM), 1980-81

MR. SPEAKER: We shall now take up Demands for Grants on Account, 1980-81 in respect of Assam. It will take only a few minutes. Let us pass it.

SOME HON MEMBERS: Tomorrow.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: (Rajapur): The impact of the Home Minister's speech will be spoiled if we take up the next item.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): There is nothing in it. It will take just five minutes. The List of Demands for Grants on Account in respect of the Budget for the State of Assam for 1980-81 is before the House. I request that it may be accepted.

MR SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the Third Column of the Order Paper, be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of the State of Assam, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1981 in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands No. 1, 3 to 16, 19 to 77, 80 and 82."