

under Rule 377 I want to make a mention of an urgent matter of public importance.

The announcement of paddy price by the Agricultural Prices Commission for this year as Rs. 95 per cent per quintal of coarse grain is causing much concern to the paddy producers throughout the country.

The Government is well aware that the cost of labour went high and there is going to be a rise of Rs. 25 per cent of chemical fertiliser per bag which is going to raise the cost of production very much.

It has been assured by the Government that in calculating the price of agricultural commodities, the investment and the supervising charges, the rise in cost of living of the producers will also be included.

But in fixing the supporting price of paddy these things were not taken into consideration.

The Andhra Pradesh Government has already recommended Rs. 125 as the support price for a quintal of paddy. I suppose that the Tamil Nadu and Karnataka and other Governments also recommended a higher price than the price fixed by the A.P.C.

I, therefore, appeal to the Government to review the situation and revise the support price as desired by the A.P. Government and paddy producers.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled, after Lunch, at six minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]
DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON
ACCOUNT (ASSAM) 1980-81—contd.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Chandrajit Yadav.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir: This is the second time that this House is considering the Vote on Account for Assam. I think this provides an opportunity for this august House to consider the serious problems which Assam to-day is facing. Assam and the neighbouring States in that part of our country have been able to get the attention of the entire nation. People feel a lot of concern. The political situation today has become very complicated and very complex.

One of the reasons why people are dissatisfied and becoming impatient, is that this State is one of the most backward States of the country. If you see the *per capita* income of Assam, it is the lowest, but for Orissa. Also, the expenditure incurred in this State during the first four 5-year plans is one of the lowest. To give an example, Assam's *per capita* expenditure in the first 4 plans is Rs. 34 as against Rs. 121.60 in Madhya Pradesh, Rs. 91-90 in Bihar, Rs. 69-60 in Tamil Nadu, Rs. 105-90 in West Bengal and Rs. 43-70 in Kerala. It is very unfortunate that the people in Assam have a feeling that they are being neglected by the Central authorities in Delhi, and that a due share in the matter of development is not being given to them. Rather, it is being denied to them; and, therefore, they had a very serious grouse against the attitude of the Central Government.

There are certain points to prove this: e.g. Assam's share in the total crude oil produced in this country is one-third. At the rate of Rs. 42 per tonne royalty which Assam is being given, they get about Rs. 22 crores. They say Assam, which is producing oil, gets only Rs. 22 crores as revenue, while against that, the royalty given to Barauni on the Assam crude oil is

Rs. 60 crores. They have a very serious grouse about it. Assam is one of the best tea producing States in the country and it produces almost 2/3rd of the tea produced in the entire country. But most of the companies which produce tea in Assam have their headquarters in Calcutta. Out of 756 companies, almost 700 have their headquarters in Calcutta with the result that Assam is losing revenue. From Assam tea, West Bengal gets revenues of about Rs. 42 crores; as against that, Assam gets only Rs. 20 crores. So is the case with the plywood. Forestry is one of the important sources of income for Assam. The yearly income from plywood is about Rs. 80 crores for the whole country. The revenue from plywood is about Rs. 6 crores for Central Government as against that, Assam gets only Rs. 35 lakhs.

Assam has another genuine case. Perhaps Gauhati is the only State Capital—after 33 years of independence which is linked only by metre-gauge with Delhi. This is the only State capital in the whole of the country which has not yet been connected by a broad-gauge railway. This is rightly one of the most important grievances of the people of Assam. Mr. Madhu Dandavate is saying that they started converting it into a broad-gauge line, but unfortunately they also could not do it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): We broad-gauged the railway and we were reduced to narrow-gauge.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: These are certain very important grouses of the people of Assam. Therefore, it is time that when this House is considering the Assam Budget, we should not only go into its technicality—because the Assembly is suspended we should pass the Budget and get out of our national responsibility—but the House should also see that the pro-

blems which have been there in this part of the country which are much larger and bigger problems should be solved. The entire region today has a feeling that the Centre is out of touch with the reality, the Centre does not give a sympathetic consideration to their problems. Only spending some money for some developmental purposes does not go with the general feeling of the people.

I remember when these States were being carved. It was said that we want that these small States and the people living in those States must develop their own personality. Today, it is a crisis of personality. People living there have a feeling that their identity their way of life, their personality are in jeopardy. So long as this feeling of mistrust is there, people cannot live with full satisfaction. It is the most important duty of this House to consider it. It should not be left to the Government only. It is not the job of the Central Government only, because of their wrong attitude, being out of touch with the reality, because of the Central Government making a certain issue an issue of prestige, this House should consider it. Therefore, it is high time that this House should take this affair into its hand and try to find a solution to this problem.

I will suggest that this House should constitute a committee of the House and that committee should visit that part of the country and meet people there on the spot. They should try to identify their problems which are agitating the minds of the people in the north eastern zone. Otherwise, this feeling may be there that the Parliament has ignored it in spite of the fact that the people have been approaching the Members of Parliament, have been approaching political parties and the Government. I should again emphasise that one of the most important factors is the economically backwardness of the people living in

Assam and the entire North Eastern zone; removal of that has to be given top priority. Secondly, people have to be taken into confidence; they must have a feeling of involvement that their just share is being given to them; it is very natural. It is not a question of people of one state agitating against the people of another state. For a long time the states had been raising the question; on what basis should the financial allocation be made between the Centre and the States. Those states which were ignored, whose problems were not given priority at certain stages, have to be given now greater priority. Assam and the states in the North-eastern region should be given not only equal treatment; but they should be given more than that; they should be given priority in the allocation of funds and in the setting up of certain industries, of the small scale industries registered in the country, Assam has a very small or meagre share; investment in small scale industries is more than 1200 crores in the country, Assam and the entire north-eastern region, what we call seven sisters, have got only Rs. 12 crores worth of industries. These are genuine feelings and if people raise these things which are genuine, we should not say that it is politics and this is raised by a handful of people. It is not a question of handful of people. You must have read in today's paper that in one state of the north-eastern zone, there were 200 rebels and to control those 200 rebels, 15,000 Army men are being sent. Do these 200 rebels need 15,000 army men to control them? It is not a question of 200 or 300 rebels or a handful of people. It is a question which is agitating the minds of the entire people in that part of the country. People's emotions are involved. Therefore, the government must take the initiative and solve not only the immediate problems but also the basic problems which concern their economic life, their way of life, their cultural life, and their future. Therefore, I should request the hon.

Finance Minister: this question should be taken up as one of the most urgent national issues.

Lastly, I want the Prime Minister to give serious thought to this suggestion. To satisfy the feelings, the emotions of the people will the Prime Minister take up, for sometime, I am not saying for all times, say for one year and will she be in direct charge of the States? It is a question of creating a condition so that people feel confident, we have seen that at one stage one Central Minister was made in charge of a state and I am sure that at that time special attention was given to that state. We have seen here people being given special responsibility for particular states because those states had such problems. This time no Minister will be able to satisfy the feelings of the people. But if the Prime Minister herself takes this responsibility and she looks into these problems, she will be directly in charge of this; she can discuss with the Chief Ministers and others living in those states where there is mistrust. At the same time I should like to express the views that it is not a question of one community against another community; it is not a question of people living in the hill areas versus the plain areas or the people of Assam versus the rest of the country, or the Assamese versus the Bengalis or Gujaratis or Biharis. It is not that question. Everybody in principle has agreed to it that they have to think that they are a part of the whole nation. Our patriotic feelings, our national approach, our national attitude has to get priority over other things. I am sure, people living in that part of the country are as patriotic as we are. They feel a sense of pride in Indian culture, in India getting stronger and India's prestige getting higher in the world and in the international field. That feeling is there. We should see to it that we should not go on dubbing that it is a parochial thing. If there are parochial elements, they must be isolated. But the entire peo-

ple in that region cannot be dubbed as parochial, cannot be dubbed as anfinational, cannot be dubbed that they are taking a narrow attitude. will be a wrong approach.

With these words I request the Government of India to give sympathetic consideration and top priority to the economic development of the region.

श्री हरोश चन्द्र सिंह रावत (अरमोडा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं वित्त मंत्री जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत आसाम विनियोग विधेयक का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी के माध्यम से सरकार से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि आज आसाम एक प्रकार से जल रहा है, और जब तक आसाम में सामान्य स्थिति पैदा नहीं होती, जब तक वहाँ के विभिन्न कम्यूनिटिज के लोगों के बीच सौहार्द और प्रेम का वातावरण पैदा नहीं होता, तब तक सरकार इस विनियोग विधेयक के द्वारा वहाँ पर जो कुछ करना चाहती है, उसको उसमें मफतना नहीं मिल सकती है, सरकार की मंशा फनीभूत नहीं हो सकती है।

कल सदन में मैंने प्रतिपक्ष के अपने कुछ बड़े भाइयों के विचारों को सुना, और सदन से बाहर भी प्रतिपक्ष के कई नेताओं के विचारों को पढ़ा। मुझे ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि हमारे देश का प्रतिपक्ष आसाम की समस्या को उलझा कर उसका कुछ राजनैतिक फायदा उठाना चाहता है। आज आसाम की समस्या एक प्रशासनिक समस्या नहीं है। इसके साथ देश की अखंडता का सवाल जुड़ा है। वक्ता ने गारे देश और विरोधी बल के लोगों के सामने एक चुनौती रखी है कि आसाम के सदरन में राष्ट्रीय मंत्रिमन्त्रि बनाने के जो प्रयत्न श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और उनको सरकार द्वारा किये जा रहे हैं, वे उनको अपना समर्थन दें और केन्द्रीय सरकार को ताकत दें कि वह आसाम की समस्या को मुलझा सके, ताकि आसाम के लोगों की बेहतरी के लिए काम हो सके।

ससद् के मंच पर या बाहर सरकार पर तरह तरह के आरोप लगाने से वहाँ की समस्या का हल नहीं हो सकता है। मैं विशेषकर माननीय मधु जी से, जिनकी सारी मधुरता अपनी पार्टी के अगड़ों के कारण कटुता में परिणत हो चुकी है, जिनको वह बराबर हम पर निकालते रहते हैं, अटल जी और माननीय जार्ज माहब से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे हम पर आरोप लगाते हैं कि हम उन पर शक्ति बरत रहे हैं, हम वहाँ पर दमन का रवैया अपना रहे हैं। लेकिन वे इस बात को क्यों भूलते हैं कि आसाम का जो फोड़ा उनके शासन काल में पैदा

हुआ था, उसमें आज इतना मवाद और पीप भर गये हैं कि सरकार उसपर नस्तर चलाने के लिए बाध्य है? उसके बिना आसाम की समस्या नहीं सुलझ सकती है। अगर हमने इस फोड़े का आपरेशन नहीं किया, तो हो सकता है कि वह देश के सारे शरीर को अपनी आगोश में जकड़ ले—सारा देश उससे प्रभावित हो सकता है।

जिस तरह जनता पार्टी ने कई अन्य समस्यायें विरासत में हमारी सरकार को दी हैं, उसी तरह आसाम की समस्या भी उसकी देन हैं। वास्तव में आसाम की समस्या वह नहीं है जो बाहर से दिखाई देती है। यह तो एक षडयंत्र है हिन्दुस्तान को टुकड़ों में बांटने का, जो जनता पार्टी के शासन काल में शुरू हुआ।

मैं कल माननीय जेठमलानी जी की बातों को सुन रहा था। उन्होंने बहुत बेहतर तरीके से, बहुत जोर के साथ यहाँ पर भाषण किया और उसमें विदेशी हाथ आन्दोलन में न होने की वकालत की। उसको सुन कर मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ। माननीय जेठमलानी जी तो यहाँ पर नहीं हैं, लेकिन अगर उनकी पार्टी के कोई मन्बर यहाँ मौजूद हो तो उनके माध्यम से मैं अपनी बात उन तक पहुँचाना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमें और सारे राष्ट्र को इस बात का शक है कि जिस तरीके से पहले आसाम में और हमारे पूर्वांचल में मिशनरीज वहाँ की बैकवर्डनेस और गरीबी का फायदा उठा कर नाना प्रकार के षडयंत्र रचते थे उसी के नक्शे ककम पर और ०.एस०.एम० के लोगों ने भी कुछ विदेशी शक्तियों, जिन अदृश्य शक्तियों कि तरफ कल गृह मंत्री जी ने इशारा किया था, उनके इशारे पर, उन्हीं के नक्शे ककम पर आसाम में आन्दोलन को चला रहे हैं और इसे वहाँ पनपा रहे हैं : यह तथ्य इस बात से भी साफ होता है कि 1979 में 19 फरवरी को जब देवरस जी, जो आर०एम०एस० के सरसंघचालक हैं वहाँ गए, उसके बाद ही आसाम के आन्दोलन में तीव्रता पैदा हुई। आसाम का आन्दोलन जिस के माध्यम से वहाँ के कुछ लोग अपनी तकलीफों का इजहार करना चाहते थे। उसको उन्होंने एक टर्न दिया, उसको एक ऐसा झुकाव प्रदान किया जो आज देश के लिए घातक बन गया है। 1979 से पहले आर०एम०एस० का कोई सरसंघचालक तो छोड़िए, उनका कोई कार्यवाहक तक दो बार से अधिक आसाम में नहीं गया, पूर्वांचल में नहीं गया लेकिन माननीय देवरस जी 1979 में ही तीन चार बड़े लम्बे लम्बे समय तक के लिए आसाम गए और प्रोफेसर राजेन्द्र सिंह जो उनके बाद शायद नम्बर में आते हैं, अटल जी ज्यादा जानते होंगे, वह भी दो बार लम्बे लम्बे समय तक वहाँ रहे। मिस्टर सुभाष चन्द्र जो वहाँ के इंजार्ज हैं उन्होंने तो आसाम में एक प्रकार से अड़ड़ा ही जमा लिया। जिस आसाम और पूर्वांचल में आर०एम०एस० के शायद दो या तीन कैम्प तीन साल में लगे थे वहाँ नौ कैम्प आसाम में 1979 और 80 में लगे। जो वहाँ नलवारी जिले में एक कैम्प लगा था आर०एम०एस० का उस

कैम्प के बाद उस क्षेत्र में धीरे-धीरे आन्दोलन बढ़े। वहाँ पर हिन्दु और मुस्लिम के बीच में आपस में तनाव पैदा करने की कोशिश की गई और एक नया तत्व आसाम के आन्दोलन में उन्होंने पैदा किया। जो आर०एस०एस० का दो राष्ट्र का सिद्धांत है उसी को वहाँ पर भी इंट्रोड्यूस करने की कोशिश की। वहाँ बंगाल से आए हुए शरणार्थियों को जिन्होंने भारत में शरण ली थी, जिन को हमारे देश की सरकार ने, हमारे राष्ट्र ने अपनी प्राचीन मान्यताओं और परम्पराओं के अनुसार वहाँ पर जगह दी थी उन को हिन्दू और मुस्लिम के आधार पर विभक्त करने की कोशिश की गई। आर०एस०एस० का जो अखिल भारतीय कैम्प हुआ उस में एक प्रस्ताव पारित किया गया जिस में कहा गया कि बंगाल से आसाम में आए हुए जो हिन्दू हैं उनको तो वहाँ रहने दिया जाय और जो मुस्लिम आए हैं वहाँ से उन को हटा दिया जाय, उन को फारेनर कह कर बाहर निकाला जाय। उमी के परिणाम में कल जो सुलेमान सेट ने कहा कि वहाँ पर अल्पसंख्यकों का जीवन असुरक्षित हो गया है, वह एक वास्तविकता है। उस के बाद अल्पसंख्यकों में असुरक्षा की भावना पैदा हो गई।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आर०एस०एस० के लोगो में, विशेषकर जो भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लोग हैं उनके दिलो में हम राष्ट्र के प्रति यदि कुछ भी प्रेम बाकी है कोई भी राष्ट्रीय प्रेम की घडकन उन के दिल में है तो उन को आर०एस०एस० के वहा इन्वाल्वमेंट की निन्दा करनी चाहिए और जो ग्राम सहमति बनाने का प्रयास केन्द्र की सरकार की तरफ से किया जा रहा है उस में सहयोग करना चाहिए।

राष्ट्रीय छात्र परिषद का नाम लिया गया है। मैं अपने कम्यूनिस्ट भाइयों की तरफ से अपने लोकदल के भाइयों की तरफ इशारा नहीं कर रहा हूँ। उन के भी कुछ अपने वैस्टेड इटरेमेंट्स हैं। कम्यूनिस्ट मार्क्सिस्ट जो हमारा समर्थन कर रहे हैं वह केवल इस धारणा के साथ कर रहे हैं कि इस आन्दोलन को रोकने का जो प्रयास केन्द्रीय सरकार कर रहा है, उस में जो तेजी दिखा रही है यदि उस का साथ वे नहीं देते हैं तो वे जानते हैं कि बंगाल की जनता उनको माफ नहीं करेगी उनको उखाड़ कर फेंक देगी। यह उनको मजबूरी है। हमारे लोक दल के भाई एक नया मोड़ इस आन्दोलन को दे रहे हैं। यह कह कर उन की भावनाओं को भडकाने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं कि 1962 में चीन के आक्रमण के समय आसाम के जो आदिवासी लोग हैं, जो वहा के मल लोग हैं उन को छोड़ कर जो लोग वहा आए हुए हैं वे भाग कर चले जायें। वह भी आन्दोलन को भडकाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। वे भी इस मामले में बराबर के दोषी हैं।

जहाँ पर विरोध पक्ष का इस प्रकार का असहयोग का रख है वहाँ में केन्द्र की सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ और माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस आन्दोलन को हमें समझना पड़ेगा। इस आन्दोलन के मूल को हमें समझना पड़ेगा। आज हिमालयन रीजन में चाहे वह हमारा पूर्वांचल हो या और दूसरा क्षेत्र हो, वहाँ पर अपनी बैकवर्डनेस के खिलाफ आक्रोश है। लोग यह समझने लगे हैं कि हमारा पिछड़पन दूर होना चाहिए और यदि हम ने उस को दूर करने की कोशिश नहीं की, उस के लिए एक समग्र प्रयास नहीं किया तो निश्चित तौर पर विदेशी ताकतें हैं और जो ऐसी ताकतें हैं जिन को राष्ट्र से सरोकार नहीं, जो अपने स्वार्थों को मिट्ट करनी चाहती हैं, उन को खुल कर खेलेने का मौका मिलेगा।

मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से कहूँगा कि एक अवसर सरकार को मिला है कि हम आसाम के लोगो के उत्थान के लिए पूर्वांचल के लोगो के उत्थान के लिए, जितने भी पिछड़े इलाके हैं, आदिवासी इलाके हैं वहा के लोगो के उत्थान के लिए कुछ सोचें और कुछ करें। इसके लिए एक राष्ट्रीय योजना तैयार की जानी चाहिए और कुछ ठोस काम किए जाने चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ एक बार मैं फिर माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देना हूँ और उनसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि जो रीजनल इम्बेलेसेज जगह जगह खड़े हो गए हैं उनका दूर करने के लिए कुछ ठोस कार्यक्रम लागू किए जायें। धन्यवाद।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have to inform the House that Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah will make a statement regarding some arrests today after the disposal of Assam Appropriation (Second Vote on Account) Bill.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: He can do it just now.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Not now.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why not?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Let us have some respect to rules.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay, North-East): Which rule says that? Which rule prohibits the Minister from interrupting a debate and making a statement?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Not in the midst of a debate, you know it very well. (*Interruptions*). I cannot introduce anything new in the midst of a debate.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the Assam Budget in this House when there is a very explosive situation outside in the whole country, specially in the North-eastern part where the unity and integrity of the country are now at stake.

Sir, I fully agree with my good friend, Shri Chandrajit Yadav's observations that it is necessary that special attention should be paid for the economic improvement of the North-eastern zone and there should be a re-thinking on the Centre-State relations at least so far as the distribution of financial powers is concerned. As a matter of fact, we have been demanding that such a dialogue should start in a proper atmosphere, the imbalances that are now in the federal set up of our Constitution should be rectified as soon as possible and that financial resources should be made available to the State Government to function in a more coordinated manner, in a more effective manner, to improve their conditions. But, Sir, why are we discussing the Assam Budget here today? I cannot but sympathise with the genuine urges and aspirations of the people of that part of the country for their economic improvement, and we want that the whole country should share those urges and aspirations and make coordinated efforts for all-round development of those areas of our country which have remained backward in spite of 33 years of Independence. We have also felt that there have been some cases of discrimination in the distribution of material wealth: The people of the area which is producing the mineral resources are not getting the benefit. This charge is there. But why we are today discussing the Assam Budget in this House? Because

a situation has been created here as a result of which it has not been possible to run the administration through the State Government, through the Assembly, and we feel that a sinister agitation has been carried on there to break the country as a result of which the economy of Assam is today in shambles. No development activity for one year, educational institutions have been closed down and goods are not being allowed to come out. The supply of petrol, about which nobody need say anything, has been stopped. Crores and crores of rupees have been lost not only to the entire country, but particularly to that part of the country also. And now, as a result of the condition of the economy of Assam which is the direct result of the present agitation which is being carried on, the country is also held at ransom.

Therefore, the position is that today this House has to concern itself with the Budget of Assam. We find that the civil administration in Assam is very busy in committing and instigating lawless, violent activities and incidents there. The police force in Assam now provides the striking force of the agitators. The All India Radio, Gauhati centre, is acting as the mouth-piece of the AASU and the Gana Sangram Parishad. We have got copy of a letter from Prof. Hiren Guha, who was assaulted mercilessly the other day because he is against the agitation there, in which he says that the Gauhati station of All India Radio is broadcasting a drama containing scurrilous charges against his wife and family and those who are opposing the movement. The position, therefore, is very serious.

The products of Assam cannot come to the rest of the country. They are stopping them, but significantly our information is that tea has not been stopped, the movement of tea is being allowed from Assam to other parts of the country. The reason is that the tea gardens are owned by that particular community which is liberally financing this movement and activity.

If my information is wrong, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to correct me.

It is said that the movement that is going on in Assam is only for the economic emancipation of the people of that area, but that is not so. Under the garb of fighting for economic emancipation, for economic betterment, they are arrogating to themselves the power of deciding who is a foreigner and who is not. According to us, this plea of foreigners is nothing but a ruse to misguide the Assamese-speaking people who are supporting the agitation, when the real object is to launch a secessionist movement.

The front page news in today's *Hindustan Times* is very significant, and I would request all sections of the House to ponder over this matter. Are we playing with fire in this country? The whole northeastern region is now sought to be put in flames. This is what it says:

"It is reliably learnt from sources in Bangladesh that two Swedish ships have unloaded 'a sizeable quantity of sophisticated small arms' at Chittagong port. These arms were hidden under heaps of wheat.

"Sources attached to the port said these arms were obviously not meant for Bangladesh military or for any of their forces as any official import of arms need not be hidden under wheat. These sources said these small arms were meant for the extremist and secessionist elements in the Indian North-Eastern region."

"There is a jungle track linking Teliamura and Amarpur with Chittagong port and there is another known hill track linking Mizoram, South-East Tripura and South Tripura via Kachlong forest."

Then they have mentioned the route through which illegal arms are being taken inside the various States in the

Northeastern region. Mr. Chandrajit Yadav has described several incidents. We see that in the last few months co-ordinated and concerted attempts being made to destabilise that part of the country.

SHRI MAHMOOD HASAN KHAN (Bulandshahr): Has it reached Bangladesh?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Yes, that is the report.

What I wish to emphasize before the hon. Members is that as a result of what is being carried, not only is the economy in doldrums, but a serious human situation has also been created. A large number of people are being assaulted. I was very sorry, when hon. members during the earlier debate did not use even one word of condemnation against the killings that had taken place. Persons who have not committed any crime,—their only crime is that they speak a particular language, profess a particular religion,—are being harassed. Some persons are taking upon themselves the authority, which they cannot possibly possess, of deciding who is a foreigner and who is not, they are taking upon themselves the responsibility, which they cannot have under the Constitution, of deciding who should remain in this country and who should not, they are beating up the people and even those Assamese speaking people who are against the movement are being harassed and beaten up, assaulted and in some cases even killed. The people are forced to flee from Assam to save their lives. This is happening not only with regard to linguistic minorities but the other minorities as well. What is the solution to this problem? How is it to be solved?

Day before yesterday, my leader Comrade Samar Mukherjee placed that document before the House and yesterday Mr. Ram Jethmalani criticised saying that this is something fabricated and he said that USA here in this

pamphlet does not mean the United States of America, he very glibly said that it means the United States of Assam. Do some of our friends here or any person in this country want a separate independent United State of Assam? Therefore, it does not matter whether it is the United States of America or United State of Assam. Let me concede for the sake of argument that Mr. Jethmalani is right, that it is not United States of America. But is he advocating for United State of Assam? He does not mind this circular which is being issued. There are some people who are advocating for this. My submission before the House is, the whole objective behind this movement is cessationist one and today the conflagration is spreading and we find it in Tripura. It is nothing but a conspiracy hatched by a section of the vested interest, who do not want stability in that part of the country; there are also some political elements inimical to the Left Front Government there, who are openly siding, including a section, I am sorry to say, of the party belonging to the hon. Finance Minister, they are demanding President's rule without trying to solve the problems there. When all-party joint peace committees were formed, they participated for one day and now they are not attending these peace committee meetings. I would appeal to all sections of the House, please, let us not play with fire, the future of the country is at stake, the unity of the country is at stake, let us ponder over it. It is a very very serious matter. Let us not today gloat over this. A theory was propounded by Mr. Biju Patnaik that all Bengali-speaking refugees should be settled in West Bengal. We said: What did you do when the Bengali-speaking refugees from Dandakaranya came to West Bengal? He has forgotten that when he was a Minister in the Janata Ministry, the then Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai was strongly against the attempt that was being made to misguide the refugees there, who have been settled there, steps had been taken for their settlement in Danda-

karanya, who were brought to West Bengal and tried to settle there, who were cutting down the forests, a very vital resource of the country, indiscriminately, trying to sit on Government land. We would like to know whether any hon. member of this House is of the view that if a particular refugee speaks a particular language he can be settled only in that State in the country where that language is being spoken by the majority? Is this the theory, which any hon. member in this House will propound? Apart from that, already more than 80 lakhs of people, Bengali-speaking people or other people have settled down in West Bengal, who had to come away from East Pakistan, as it was then called. Even after Bangladesh got freedom, you may be aware, there have been people who have been forced to come. Now, is it the contention...

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): Now from Assam.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I am coming to that. Is it the contention that because they speak Bengali language, whatever may be the reason for their coming out—the entire country has to bear the burden—they must be put on West Bengal because the majority of people there are Bengali-speaking people? Is it the theory that is being propounded?

Today, the people from Assam are forced to come away to save their lives. They are not happily coming out. My closest relations are there for hundred years. My grandfather was the first Indian Director of Land Records in Assam. I was born in Assam. Today, I may be treated as a foreigner. My relations may be forced to come out because they may not be able to produce the certificate of birth in the year 1920. If they are forced to come away, I would like to know from the hon. Minister whose responsibility it is to look after them. I am requesting him to kindly tell us that. More than 10,000 people have come

away to West Bengal. They have to be looked after; they have to be given shelter; food has to be provided for them. From where will the money come? Will it be the special responsibility of the State Government of West Bengal? I would like to have a categorical assurance from the hon. Minister that he will provide adequate financial relief to those who have been forced to come away from Assam. Let them not drag their feet any longer.

As soon as the new Prime Minister took charge of her office, that very day, a letter was sent by the Chief Minister of West Bengal telling her of the position that is prevailing there and asking her to take adequate steps. For the last so many months, since the agitation started, our Chief Minister has been writing to the Central Government. He wrote to the Lok Dal Prime Minister also at that time, the Caretaker Prime Minister. Repeatedly, an appeal has been made to do something about what is happening in Assam. The effigies of Mr. Jyoti Basu are being burnt every day; his *shradh* ceremony is being held every day. It is written in bold letters on the wall: Foreigners (Indian dogs) go out of Assam. Not a single word of protest and condemnation we have heard here. Is this the way to have Indian unity and Indian integrity? These are very serious matters. I would request the Government not to drag their feet any longer.

The time has come for taking decisive action. Otherwise, we shall go on discussing the Assam Budget, the Assam situation, and the thing will become worse day by day. The only crime of the people there is of their having been settled there as Indian citizens. They will be treated like animals; they will be butchered and assaulted with no protection from them. Therefore, we demand in the highest assembly of this country, let this Government take appropriate steps immediately so that the situation may be saved and this problem

may be solved. We are all for a negotiated settlement. We want that the Government should take immediate action for that.

SHRI ANANDA GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY (Asansol): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Assam Budget that has been placed before the House by our Finance Minister.

The agony of the country and the agony of the Parliament has been expressed here for the last three days about the situation in north-eastern region and, particularly, about the situation in Assam. The situation as depicted here is very serious but the exact situation in Assam is far more serious. This was understood by our Leader Shrimati Indira Gandhi. So, immediately after her assumption of the office of Leader of the House she called a meeting of all the Leaders. As far as I can recollect the deliberations as published in the Press, no concrete suggestions had come up at the time from the Leaders of different groups in this House who were called. They were concerned about it and they expressed their concern.

Subsequently she met the student leaders, and in the meeting there, as you know Sir, they placed eight demands but in none of the demands was the real problem of Assam projected. The real problem of Assam is the economic problem, the economic development of the State, and the real problem of the State is that there is regional imbalance.

As regards development, what did they demand? They demanded that those persons who had come from Bangladesh—at that time Eastern Pakistan—should be pushed out and those persons who had come should not be allowed to stay in the State. At that time, no date or year was mentioned by them. I have gone through the different Press reports of that time: nowhere is it mentioned that 1951 is the cut-off point for their consideration.

They demanded another thing which has not been mentioned by any of the Members in this House that no citizenship certificate issued by West Bengal or Tripura should be honoured.

Out of their eight demands, Government of India considered six. On five of them there was consensus. About the sixth demand, it was said that the constitutional provision will have to be followed. They basically agreed on the issues, but they did not arrive at a conclusion at the meeting because they wanted that they should go back and talk to their constituents and then let the Prime Minister know about their decision in the matter.

I presume that the students who participated had a fair mind but those people here—who are doing the back-seat driving in the agitational movement in Assam—directed them in a completely different way. They never agreed to the conclusions that were arrived at the meeting. May I ask Mr. Jethmalani to come out and say what type of attitude this is of the students in Assam who had first talked with the Prime Minister and later did not agree to the conclusions arrived at? Certainly, it is known to us. We watched the movement in Assam not only in recent times we were watching the situation since 1952. As you know, it was partitioned because of political reasons and millions of people from eastern Pakistan and western Pakistan came to India. India, with an open heart, welcomed them. Is it not a fact that our friends from western Pakistan who came had a complete economic and physical settlement and those from eastern Pakistan who came to India in millions had to face the worst difficulties and are still continuing to face the worst difficulties? Million of people—Stateless people—are moving from one place to another. Have you watched the movement in Assam in 1960, 1961 and 1962? I had the opportunity to go there and to see the horror. At that time, the General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee Smt.

Sucheta Kripalani went there. As a volunteer, I accompanied her to the entire Brahmaputra valley; by boat, by bullock-cart and by other means of transport, we visited. And what had we seen? At that time, the movement was on a linguistic basis. I had seen those atrocities. In a village suppose there were 20 houses of the Bengali-speaking population. Those were marked by charcoal, and the 20 houses were burnt. Ultimately what happened? People from Goreswar—60,000 people—were driven out; people from Cachar were driven out; people from Nowgong were driven out; people from other areas were driven out and killed; ladies were molested. I am quoting a statement made at that time by the wife of a Minister, Mahendra Hazarika. She brought all of us to her house, closed the door and said, "Suchetaji these are my two daughters; please take them to Bengal or to any part of the country and put them in an orphanage; I am an Assami girl, but I do not want to mention that; I want that my children should not see all these atrocities; I want my children to be brought up without mention of the name of their father or mother". This is continuing in Assam. But at that time, the great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, took firm steps. Sometimes, Sir, it is easier to kick up a person than to kick out. Many super leaders in Assam were kicked up. Excuse my mentioning all these things. But this is a fact, this is a record, this is the history. Against those who were preaching communalism and parochialism, Panditji had to take these measures.

Coming to re-distribution of the States, may I ask you to go through the record as to what memorandum was submitted by the people of Assam? Assam is a legendary country. It is called a seven-sister States—all seven small areas combined together is Assam. Today our learned friend Mr. Frank Anthony, is hundred per cent correct when he says that linguistic chauvinism crippled

Assam's economy and divided it into seven different States with two Union Territories. Why has this happened? A group of people want to develop unwanted leadership—by means where there is no love for the nation, where there is no respect for the nation, where there is no respect for the integrity of the country; they want to wreck the whole thing.

In this House also, even today, we see the echo of the same voice in Assam. We had the privilege of hearing Mr. Biju Patnaik, a famous man. We had the privilege of hearing another young leader, Mr. Varma. We had the privilege of hearing Mr. Jethmalani. Do these people know the whole country? I ask them; what has happened to Assam today? Who are the leaders in Assam? Can they boldly say what they want to say? They are having two faces—one face here and the other face there. They are misguiding the whole people there I have heard our young friend, Mr. Sangma. According to me, he gave a real broad dimension of the whole thing there. It should be the effort of all national parties to bring them to the mainstream.

15.00 hrs.

What are our so-called national parties doing? They are trying to divide and sub-divide the country on parochial, communal, linguistic and other factors. Yes, they have the result of it. Now, they are trying to find other factors. Yes, they have the restart at least from a part of the State. Sir, I am not trying to make the atmosphere light. We have had the opportunity to see what steps were taken by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He wanted to seriously develop the economy of the entire region of these seven States and much importance was given to it. I would urge on our Finance Minister to solve the economic difficulties of the area by proper

planning. If you read the book 'Asian Drama' written by a foreigner, Gunnar Myrdal, there the problems of the entire Asiatic region have been focused and the political opportunists taking advantage of the economic difficulty and to have their political advantage, they are proceeding in this way. I would ask them not to do it. People of the country will not tolerate it. You will be thrown to the dust and you will go into oblivion and the Bay of Bengal is not very far off from there. A complete liquidation of those parties would be there. Sir, as the time at my disposal is very short, I cannot go into the details of the subject.

Sir, I urge upon the government to take firm measures. But to negotiate with whom? With a completely irresponsible body? They might say that they have got the biggest support in Assam—just like on bankrupt having a zero figure of deposit in the bank giving a blank cheque to everybody, they are giving blank cheques to everybody. We, in the trade unions, do it. In the works, if there is an agitation, that group of workers talks most loudly which has got no support. Those who have got maximum support do not talk nonsense. Government of India should find out those missionaries who are responsible for this and those missionaries who represent the people. I would also suggest two more steps. One is this; in the earlier days, region-wise, there was a committee of the Ministers and Chief Ministers—region-wise. It existed in the Eastern Region and to pay more attention to the north-east region as has been voiced by some of the Chief Ministers of different States there it should be revived. Then there should be a Central Minister to look after the economic development, cultural development and also other developments of this area. That the Centre should do. Sir, the development point, for want of time, I could not develop in a broader way.

I thank you for the opportunity you have given me and I repeat that I support the Budget.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Dr. Subramaniam Swamy.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL KOCHAK (Anantnag): For the last two days I have been trying to catch your eye to get an opportunity to speak . . .

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You belong to a small group.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL KOCHAK: That Group should have its voice heard here.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: That will be considered.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North-east): This is a vote on account of the Assam State and is being moved by Shri R. Venkataraman. Much of the issues of Assam that are being discussed here to-day are political. I do not know how long the Minister is going to last for. I have seen some posters in Tamil Nadu of the Youth Congress asking for his removal. So I do not know. But I personally hold him in high esteem. . .

AN. HON. MEMBER: That is our domestic matter.

ANOTHER HON. MEMBER: It is irrelevant here.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY. Sir, there are so many Speakers in the House. There should be only one speaker at a time. The question, therefore, is what is true and what is not . . . (Interruptions)

Again interruptions are taking place. There will be retaliation from my side too. I have asked you to maintain order.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There are interruptions only when they get up to make.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: There are so many things said which are found to be untrue later on. For example, I would say something which might not directly apply to Assam. To illustrate my point, look at the level of the debate that the country is having to-day. For example during the Assembly Elections, a constant charge was made that the gold in the country had been depleted. Particularly, the gold that was accumulated during China War and Pakistan War had been disbursed and sold away by the Janata Government.

Yesterday there was a question in Parliament. The Finance Minister said that this gold was not touched at all but it was the gold which was confiscated by the Customs which was sold. This was what he said. In the Campaign they say one thing and when you pin down the Government, they say something else. The same thing is true with regard to Assam. I would say that this does not bear the test of facts. Now why the situation brewing? The situation is brewing over a number of years. It had been brewing long before 1951 in one sense. What we have to consider to-day is how to get out of this situation. That is what the Members on the other side are now addressing themselves too. I am sorry to say that some Members are taking up the belligerent attitude towards the movement. On all account it has not received widespread support or unanimous support. The question therefore is what we do? Mr. Chatterjee says that not one word has been spoken when attacks are being made on one linguistic group, that is, the Bengalis. In Assam there are not only Bengalis but there are non-Assamese also; there are Madrasis and Beharis also in a very large group. I would ask him as to why he goes on hammering on Bengalis.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now-a-days they are not called Madrasis but are called Tamilians

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: In this part of the country, they have

been known as Madrasis. In the North they are called Madrasis. You are a new person to this part of the world. I am older here. In South of India they are known as Tamilians. In Madras you are called a Tamilian. What I say is: why Mr. Chatterjee goes on hammering on the Bengalis? Because he is not interested in the solution of the Assam problem. He is only interested in obtaining some political gain for his party which rests unfortunately on one linguistic group in that State. That is why I say we have to consider this as National framework. The Home Minister's speech yesterday was completely arrogant—arrogance for power. That we can see. It was an utter disappointment for those of us who thought that some way would be found. We see from the papers that Government thinks that the time for negotiation is over. Then what is the meaning of negotiated settlement? (*Interruptions*). This kind of attitude is taken, then what will happen to the elements who are leading the movement? They will lose that movement. That movement will go into the very hands which we wanted to prevent it from going into. (*Interruptions*) The Home Minister must correct his statement. It has appeared in all the papers to-day. The headline is 'Time for negotiation is over; Time for strong action'. That is the kind of headline which we are seeing to-day. That is why I say that the Finance Minister on behalf of the Home Minister must correct that statement and say 'we are ready for negotiation'. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): This is a wrong statement; it is a false statement. The Prime Minister has said this morning that the invitation is open. It is for them to come to the negotiating table any moment

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Bombay North-west): That is not right. She did not say that the invitation is open. She said that anybody is welcome.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: What does that mean? I also know English. What does that mean?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: If you want to come on your own you are welcome.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: I say that this is an incorrect statement. You look to the records.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I have seen the record. Perhaps he does not know.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: I know English better than you do.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Jethmalani, he is a professor and he knows better English than you.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Sir, I have been patient all the time but I cannot allow wrong statements to be made without protest.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: The whole controversy can come to an end. Let the Minister say that the invitation is open.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Dr. Subramaniam Swamy has said that he has seen only in newspapers.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Sir, I would beg of the hon. Members to listen to what I am saying. It is not what I heard the Minister say.

Sir, the question is what people of Assam are going to hear. They are not going to hear the tape-recorded version of the proceedings in the House. They are going to see what the newspapers are printing and that is what the newspapers have reported. I say that what has appeared in the newspapers is a very very dangerous philosophy. This is very dan-

gerous to the unity of this country. Therefore, it needs repetition over and over again on the part of the Home Minister to clarify the thinking of the government. It is all the more necessary for the government to repeat that they want a negotiated settlement.

Now, Sir, the question is that the negotiated settlement should be with or without pre-conditions. I would say to the Assam leaders that they cannot insist on 1951 as pre-condition. It is impossible. I say cut off date is a meaningless issue and fifty lakh foreigners is an enormous humanitarian problem. Obviously we cannot do the way they want. But at the same time we have to accept that the economy of the area has been very much disrupted. The composition of the area has been arbitrarily altered. Therefore, some *via media* has to be found and that is only through negotiations.

Unfortunately, Sir, that kind of attitude is not there. Government has also pre-conditions. They have put people in jail. They have sent the Army there.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What is your contribution?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Sir, you are not a High Court judge here. You are Deputy Speaker of the House. I am not pleading before you. As a Member of the House I am making my point.

Therefore, I would like to say that the obvious thing for both sides is to drop their pre-conditions. They should come to the table without pre-conditions. I would say that the Assam students should give up insistence on 1951 but I would also say that the Army be withdrawn and people be released.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: No. No. You cannot withdraw the Army and allow the bulls to have free play.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY: Sir, the wild charges which are being

made about CIA and RSS should not be made without being substantiated. Are we repeating here the charge made by Senator Moynihan that Mrs. Gandhi took money from CIA. The Chair should tell the hon'ble Members to have some minimum sense while trading these charges. Either they produce evidence to show that CIA or RSS were behind it or they should not say any such thing at all. So, what we have to do is that we have to get them round at the table, make them sit, argue the thing out, and argue it out till a solution is found. Mrs. Gandhi once said, I am willing to sit every day; she has not said that since then; maybe it was only in her mind. What I say is that the Government should come out saying that we are for a negotiated settlement without any sort of preconditions. It is not enough to say 'negotiated settlement' but we must say 'negotiated settlement without any pre-conditions'. That is what is required. I would also appeal to the students and the Assamese people there that they should also give up any insistence on 1951. The humanitarian problem has to be kept in mind and some solution has to be found for it. That is the only way we can solve this problem. Adopting any other kind of attitude would just be playing into the hands of extremist elements in Assam and it will only put the country's unity in danger. With these words I conclude. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri C. T. Dhandapani, you will have three minutes.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Polla-chi): Sir, my party was not called to take part in the discussion yesterday. I don't know whether it was deliberate or not...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Nothing deliberate; it would not have been done deliberately. To err is human; you know that.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Anyway, Sir, I am happy to take part in

this Debate because the Vote on Account of Assam is being discussed. The trouble which prevails now in Assam is due to the economic backwardness of that State. It is well-established that some vested interests, parties and groups have been instigating various troubles in Assam. But on the other hand we must also try to find out the socio-economic conditions of the people who are living in Assam. It has been stated that the condition of the people is poor in many ways. It has been stated inside the House as well as outside that the interests of the State have been neglected for the past so many years, their interests were not looked after either by the State Government or by the Central Government. The simple reason was this. They have been secluded for some reason or other for all these years. The present trouble has not erupted all of a sudden; it is a long process. And I must say that the Assamese people are valiant people; they faced two aggressions from the Burmese because two times the Burmese attacked Assam. Of course in 1962 the Chinese attacked Assam. The simple reason was, knowing the fertility of the Assam State, they wanted to conquer that State, to avail of the fertility of the State. Economic condition and unemployment problem has created some misunderstanding in the minds of the Assamese people against others. They have a just grievance against the Governments. There is a simple reason for it. In the matter of Railways, there is no broad gauge railway line at all. All are only metre gauge lines. There are no higher institutions for post-graduate studies in that State. In regard to the hill tribes who are living in Assam, once they come out of Assam, they are not considered as hill tribes. They cannot get any opportunity outside Assam. So far as the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people are concerned they are considered to be a privileged section. But as far as the people living in hill areas in the north-eastern sector are concerned I must say that they are not at all being considered as hill-tribe in the matter of appointments and get-

ting admissions into the educational institutions and so on.

My next point is this. Our learned Finance Minister is sitting here. The Gadgil formula is being followed. Persistently the Government has been insisting upon the implementation of the Gadgil Formula. The Gadgil formula is against the interest of smaller States, States with lesser population. This only helps the bigger States. The Central Government is following the programme of family planning in order to curb human production, but at the same time, the plan allocations and finances are being given on the basis of population. This is very unfair. Actually, this deprives the smaller States. There may, of course, be some special programmes for the hilly areas, but I would suggest that the overall allocations should be made on the basis of backwardness.

Thirdly, mention has been made here of the problems which erupted in regard to elections and other things. In one particular constituency, more than 45,000 voters were enrolled. The Assamese objected to that and elections could not take place not only in one parliamentary constituency, but in 11 more parliamentary constituencies. No Assamese Member is here to voice their grievances.

AN HON. MEMBER: Shri Laskar is here.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: He is a Minister and a silent spectator; he cannot speak.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna): Two more members are also there.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: But anyhow, this happened. I must thank the Prime Minister and the Home Minister for the initiative which they took to bring some normalcy in that region. But the leaders, who are leading the agitation in Assam are so adamant; they want that their demands should be accepted and implemented

immediately. One leader has come out saying that they want three D's; detection, deletion and deportation. They say that it is their final demand.

First, we must find out the root cause of all this problem. Our Bengali and other friends were discussing communal and linguistic problems. The question is: why did the Assamese go to this extent? What was the reason? Dr. Subramaniam Swamy has rightly said that in various States, in Delhi, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and other States, various religious and linguistic minorities are living; even in West Bengal some people belonging to minority classes are living. But why do the Assamese alone take this decision to oppose against the non-Assamese in their State? What was the real reason? The reason should be found out and placed in this House by the Government. It should be found out whether it is a grievance of the Assamese or something else, or some forces which are against the interest of the national unity and integration are behind it. The Central Government should place all these facts before the House.

We have heard also about their demand for separation. Actually, I do not think, Assamese will demand separation from India. The first party which demanded separation was our party. We wanted a separate Dravidistan consisting of four States, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. We wanted a separate State in those days, cut off from North India. But in 1962 we saw a danger to this country during the Chinese aggression. Our late lamented leader, Anna, gave up this idea and openly came out with a statement that we give up this demand of a separate Dravidistan. The simple reason was that we saw in that danger to the very integration of the country. From 1962 onwards, we never repeated that demand. Not only that, if any force in Assam or any other region raises the bogey of separation, the DMK will be second to none in opposing that demand. But at the same time, in order to solve this problem, I would suggest a formula. The

Prime Minister should constitute a committee of all political parties, including the student leaders—All Assam Students' Union and the Gana Sangram Parishad and other political parties. It seems there are 11 political parties. Their leaders should be included. A national council should be formed immediately, under the chairmanship of our Prime Minister. This council should alone look into the affairs of the Assam in future, at least for another 6 months or one year. This council should look into the grievances of the Assamese people, and at the same time consider whether minorities should be deported or not.

As far as the cut-off year is concerned, our party's view is that it is not workable; it cannot be worked out. Whether it is acceptable to Assamese people or not, my personal view is that this issue should not be raised. People who are living there, unless they are really foreigners—i.e. Nepalese etc.—should not be deported. Indians who are there already should not be sent back.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA: So many Nepalese are also Indians.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: With these words, I support the Demands for Grants. Vote on Account moved by hon. Finance Minister.

श्री कमलामिथ मधकर (मोतिहारी) उपाध्यक्ष जी, हमारी पार्टी ने असम की समस्या को जिस रूप में समझा है उस को हमारे नेता ने अपने भाषण में कहा है, मैं उस को दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूँ। मैं इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि यह समस्या अत्यन्त गम्भीर है और देश की एकता के लिये, देश की आर्थिक स्थिति के लिये एक गम्भीर खतरा है—इस बारे में कोई दो मत नहीं हैं। कुछ पार्टियाँ जल्द इस बात से अपना उल्लेखीय करण चाहती हैं, लेकिन हमारी पार्टी और हम लोग उस के खिलाफ हैं। आप सब और हम भी यह जानते हैं कि कुछ विदेशी शक्तियाँ, जिन की चर्चा सदन में भी हुई है, ये तमाम काम कर रही हैं और केवल असम में ही नहीं, दूसरी जगहों से भी हमारे पाम आ रही हैं, जिन से देश की एकता को बरबाद करने की कोशिश हो रही है, उन लोगों का प्रयास है कि ऐसी प्रवृत्ति सारे देश में बढ़े जिससे हमारा यह देश छिन्न-भिन्न हो जाय।

इस बारे में हम रूलिंग पार्टी के साथ हैं, इस सदन के साथ है कि हमारी एकता किसी भी कीमत पर भंग नहीं होनी चाहिये। लेकिन

किर भी यह जरूर समझना चाहिये कि पिछले 30 वर्षों के अन्दर ऐसी कौन सी ताकतें थी जो असम के विकास में बाधक थीं। केन्द्रीय सरकार, राज्य सरकार और कांग्रेस पार्टी की ओर से कौन से ऐसे कदम उठाये गये जिन से असम की समस्याओं को सुलझाने में मदद मिली हो? एक माननीय सचिव कह रहे थे कि असम की आर्थिक स्थिति और पिछड़ेपन का लाभ उठा कर ये तमाम शक्तियां काम कर रही हैं। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आज भी असम में क्यों 27 प्रतिशत लोग ही पढ़े-लिखे हैं, बाकी तमाम लोग निरक्षर हैं—ऐसी स्थिति कैसे पैदा हो गई? असम की आबादी का 90 प्रतिशत आज भी खेती पर निर्भर करता है और वहां की खेती भी पंजाब की खेती नहीं है, हरियाणा की खेती नहीं है, बहुत पिछड़ी अवस्था में है। खेती का विकास क्यों नहीं किया गया, ऐसी स्थिति क्यों पैदा नहीं की गई जिस से वहां की खेती में तरक्की हो सकती थी, खेती का आधुनिकीकरण जहां तक भी सम्भव हो सकता था, वह करना चाहिये था, लेकिन आज तक ऐसा क्यों नहीं हुआ? वहां की प्राकृतिक सम्पदा का बेल और चाय को छोड़ कर, उद्योगों के लगाने में सही ढंग से इस्तेमाल क्यों नहीं हुआ। अगर वहां पर उद्योग खोले जाते, तो सम्भव था कि वहां लोगों की पर-कैपिटल इन्कम में तरक्की होती और ऐसी स्थिति पैदा होती। मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा क्यों नहीं हुआ? पिछली सरकार के गृह मंत्री ने कहा है कि असम की अर्थ व्यवस्था का तीन ढंग से लूटा जाता है। एक तो यह कि वहां की जो प्राकृतिक सम्पदा है, उस की रायल्टी का सवाल है, तेल या चाय के टैक्स का सवाल है—उस को केन्द्रीय सरकार ने हल नहीं किया और उस के हल न करने से वहां के आर्थिक विकास में बाधा पैदा होती गई, जो कि आज एक मुख्य कारण बनी हुई है। इस पर क्या नहीं ध्यान दिया गया। मैं आप को बताऊँ कि आनाम के फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर जी ने वह कहा था कि हमारे यहां के जो साधन हैं, जो रिसॉर्सेज हैं, वे बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर बाहर चले जाते हैं और इस और उन्होंने केन्द्रीय सरकार को ध्यान दिलाया था। उन्होंने तेल की रायल्टी बढ़ाने के लिए कहा था और यह भी कहा था कि चाय पर मेल्ट्स टैक्स बढ़ा कर आनाम को फायदा उठाने दिया जाए। केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इन बातों पर ज्यादा ध्यान नहीं दिया और अब यह कहा जाता है कि वहां पर पृथक्तावादी शक्तियां काम कर रही हैं। इस के लिए ग्राउन्ड किम ने बनाई? आज यह कहा जाता है कि वहां पर सी० आर० ए० और प्रानन्द मार्गी काम कर रहे हैं। इस के लिए ग्राउन्ड किम ने बनने दी। हमारा कहना यह है कि सरकार की जो पूजीवादी नीति रही है, वहीं इसका कारण है। कांग्रेस सरकार हो या जनता सरकार ये पूजीवादी नीति चलाती रही और पूजीवादी विकास होने पर इस तरह की समस्याएं पैदा होती हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि हिन्दुस्तान विकास का काम नहीं हुआ है। लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि कुछ इलाकों का विकास हुआ है और कुछ इलाके

पिछड़े रह गये हैं। किसी इलाके में अधिक विकास हुआ है और किसी में कम विकास हुआ है। बहुत सारे ऐसे इलाके हैं, जिनको पिछड़ा इलाका बताया गया है लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उन के लिए आप ने क्या किया। आप खुद इस को जानते हैं। यहां पर श्री केदार पांडे खंडी भी बैठे हुए हैं। वे जानते हैं कि हमारे यहां अर्थिक को बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका माना गया है लेकिन वहां पर कोई भी उद्योग नहीं खुल रहा है। वहां अगर विद्रोह होता है तो कोई कहेंगा कि यह कम्युनिस्ट करा रहे हैं। ऐसा कहने में काम नहीं लंबेबा इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आसाम के आर्थिक विकास में जो बाधाएं हैं, उन को दूर किया जाए। अगर आसाम के पिछड़ेपन को दूर किया गया तो राजनीतिक तौर पर समस्या का हल हल नहीं हो सकता है। बिना वहां का आर्थिक विकास किए काम नहीं हो सकता है। इसी सन्दर्भ में कई बार हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री रामावतार शास्त्री ने यह कहा था कि आनन्द मार्गी और सी० आर० ए० के एजेंट देश के विभिन्न हिस्सों में जा कर काम कर रहे हैं और देश की एकता को खतरे में डाल रहे हैं लेकिन उस वक्त सरकार ने उन की बात को अनसूनी कर दिया। उस वक्त उस की बात को नहीं सुना गया और अब रोना रोना यह है कि आसाम में ये गड़बड़ी पैदा कर रहे हैं।

एक बात और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ अभी पेट्रियट अखबार में आसाम के लिए नई वार्षिक योजना के बारे में निकला है। वह बड़ी लम्बी चौड़ी योजना है लेकिन वह योजना कब प्रकाशित हुई? यह योजना तब बनाई गई जब आनाम प्राग में चल रहा है।

इसी तरह से आप यह देखें कि आसाम बाढ़ नियंत्रण की कई योजनाएं हैं लेकिन अब तक काम नहीं हुआ है। ब्रह्मपुत्र से जो बाढ़ आती है क्या उस को नियंत्रित करने के लिए कोई काम किया गया? बाढ़ों को रोकने के लिए कौन से कदम उठाये और आनाम की तरक्की के लिए क्या किया गया। जब तक उन योजनाओं को पूरा नहीं किया जाएगा और उन पर काम नहीं होगा तब तक आसाम की तरक्की नहीं होने वाली है। आनाम के इलाके में जितने बिजली के साधन हैं उन का उपयोग नहीं किया गया। वहां पर हाई-डिल पावर हो सकती है। उस के लिए आपकी ओर से कौन सी कार्यवाही की गई है? मैं तो यह कहेंगा कि जो योजना बनाई हुई है वह भी खटाई में पड़ी हुई है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी को इस बात पर ध्यान देना चाहिए कि वहां पर बिजली का जो परियोजनाएं हैं उन को लागू किया जाए। और उनको लागू किया जाएगा, तो पूरे नार्थ-इस्ट रीजन को बिजली प्राप्त हो सकती है। इसी तरह से वहां पर कोयले की खानें हैं लेकिन उन का सही इस्तेमाल नहीं हो रहा है। उन खानों की तरक्की के लिए आप योजनाएं बनाएं और आसाम में विकास के कार्यक्रमों में तेजी लाएं

कारणों के कारण जो अस्वाभाविक ढंग पर उत्पन्न हो गई है उस की मूक्ति प्राप्त नहीं है। वहाँ पर जो आर्थिक पिछड़ापन है, वहीं पूँजकतावादी शक्तियों को बन देता है और साथ ही वहाँ भाग लगी हुई है, वह फैलती जा रही है जिससे देश की एकता को खतरा पैदा हो रहा है। मेरा कहना यह है कि देश की एकता कायम रहनी चाहिए। जाति के नाम पर या धर्म के नाम पर जो एक दूसरे को कत्ल करने की योजना बन रही है, वह नहीं बननी चाहिए। आज जो खतरा आसाम में पैदा हो गया है, वह सारे देश में न फैल जाए, इस का मुझे डर है। आज यह फैलता जा रहा है, यह मंत्री जी ने कल आसाम के बारे में बोलते हुए कुछ बातों को उठाया था। कुछ हद तक हम उन से सहमत हैं लेकिन एक प्रवृत्ति, जिसके बारे में श्री राम जेटमलानी जी ने बताया था, जो पैदा हो रही है, उस प्रवृत्ति को ज़रूर कुचल देना चाहिए और जनता की राय ले कर देश की एकता को कायम रखना चाहिये। जाति के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर या इलाके के नाम पर राष्ट्रीय एकता भंग न हो। हम चाहेंगे कि वित्त मंत्री जी आसाम की आर्थिक समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए कदम उठाए और वहाँ पर उद्योगों को बढ़ाने में और बेकारी की समस्या को दूर करने में अपनी शक्ति लागू करें और आसाम का आर्थिक विकास करें। और हमारी पार्टी के लोगो और दूसरी पार्टी के लोगो को साथ लेकर अपि भागे बढ़ें। असम का खतरा सारे देश का खतरा है। असम का खतरा देश के खंडित होने का खतरा है।

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI (Bhubaneswar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, just now it was stated in the House that the Government had stated that the door to negotiation was closed. Yesterday we were present here. The Home Minister was very clear and the Prime Minister also made it clear that the mind of the Government was open for negotiations and dialogue with the leaders of the agitation in Assam. The time is such that any emotional approach to this problem will not lead to any solution. When the leaders of the AASU and Gana Sangram Parishad met the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, they put forward eight demands for the solution of the problem: (i) detection and deportation of foreign nationals (ii) deletion of the names of foreign nationals from the electoral list (iii) prevention of inclusion of names of foreign nationals in future electoral rolls (iv) protection of borders to detect

infiltration (v) identity cards with photographs for voters (vi) removal of constitutional safeguards (vii) Government of Assam should be authorised to reject certificates issued by West Bengal and Tripura Governments (viii) authority to state Government to grant citizenship.

Out of the eight demands, the Government were good enough to accept the first five demands. When there is difference in approach in any problem, everybody starts from an agreed basis. The agreed basis is the five points in the demand to which the Prime Minister had agreed. Three demands remain to be discussed. Some of the Members from the Opposition were trying to say: invite them to come and start negotiations; they will take the responsibility.

Once we start from an agreed basis—we had an agreed basis and five demands have been accepted—it will be easy to reach a solution. The problem is to define: who are foreigners? These are in Assam people from Orissa. Yesterday I got a report: the nose of a Oriya woman was cut in Dibrugarh because she did not pay money to some people who went and asked her to pay money. We should really define what is the concept of foreigners. You can divide them into three categories, once we start discussing it. People who have gone to Assam from other States, are they to be considered as foreigners? From all the states of India there are people who had gone to Assam. Secondly, at the time of partition many persons from East Bengal came and settled in Dandakaranya, in Orissa and in other places also. We do not consider them as foreigners. Many of them have settled in Assam. I hope they are not considered as foreigners. I was looking into the SRC report. It is dealt with there. People who were invited to come from East Bengal, Bangladesh refugees were there and they were told:

if you say you are Assamese speaking, we want to increase the percentage in Assam and so we shall consider you as a citizen. Those people are in the second category. The third category are people who are infiltrators from Bangla Desh. As the Government had stated, once the negotiations start on the basis of the accepted five demands, it will be easy to solve the problem. They say that there are four million foreigners. I have given the three categories of people. Difficulties will be minimised once you start negotiations. It will not be four million. There are people from other states: refugees from Bangla Desh who came from 1947 onwards and then infiltrators from Bangla Desh. Therefore, the problem will be minimised.

I will ask the entire House including the Opposition—who are siding the infiltrators, Assam students and G.S.P.! Well we are not negotiating with any foreign country. We are negotiating with others. Indian Union and Assamese are part of India. Therefore, it is better no time should be lost. It is better that AASU G.S.P. and the leaders of the parties who are supporting them should have negotiations to settle this matter

This is a very delicate and complicated problem. It is no use having any emotional outburst on such a national problem. My appeal to all the legislators is as the doors of Government are open they will see that the situation in Assam is settled amicably to the satisfaction of all.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani): The hon. Minister has approached the House for a second Vote on Account with respect to Assam. But this second vote on Account cannot be considered apart from the present turmoil and the carnage that has hit this part of our country viz., Assam. Indeed there is

the legitimate grievance about economic backwardness. The economic question is there. But it is most unfortunate that the present disturbances in Assam as the people in Assam also have to realise, are only further aggravating this economic situation. According to one calculation the country is suffering nearly Rs. 300 crores per month as a result of the present disturbances in Assam. The economy of the nation and the economy of Assam itself is suffering a considerable damage. I will appeal to the hon. Minister to let the nation know through this House the extent of damage that is being caused to the nation and also to Assam as a result of these disturbances. He should also let us know how this colossal loss that is taking place has been taken care of in the financial allocations he has now placed before the House. But it is not merely the question of the damage that is being caused to the economy that has to be considered. The present unfortunate movement has travelled far beyond the original objective of detecting the so called foreign nationals and eliminating their names from the electoral rolls. The movement has not assumed dangerous strains viz., anti-muslim, anti-minorities anti left and anti-Indian, thereby threatening the unity and integrity of our country.

In the name of detecting foreign nationals heinous crimes are being committed on the minorities, particularly the Muslims. I need hardly take up the time of the House by narrating all those instances. To give only one instance, we have a horrible account of the holocaust that descended upon the minorities, with Muslims as the principal target, in the Barpeta and the Nelbari Division.

The hon. Minister wants us to vote the allocations he has asked for under the Head of Police. But here we are pained to find the Police complicity, which is far more blatant. In

many villages, for example, scattered in the Berpeta and Nalbari Divisions, we have repeated complaints of the protected umbrella that the agitationists have under the Assam battalion. In all these Divisions we have the complaints that the police enter the villages first and threaten and intimidate the villagers and then they are followed by these so-called agitationists who commit loot, arson and other heinous crimes. The entire civil administration is so much in league with the agitators that *The Statesman*, Delhi issue, of 1st May, 1980, very correctly says:

“Never before had there been an agitation in which the local administration had got so deeply involved with officials literally taking orders from the agitators.”

I may here give only one instance. When the Government decided to introduce rationing in kerosene, the then Chief Secretary instructed his officers to visit AASU office and discuss the modalities with leaders there and take instructions from them. When such is the situation, strange demands are being made for the withdrawal of the Army. I must impress upon the Government that on the contrary there should be greater and greater involvement of the CRP, BSF and the Army in order that not only the rights, life, honour and property of all are protected but also for restoration of the normalcy in the condition in Assam.

Now, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I must here specifically refer to some false propaganda that is going on and which is giving more and more incitement and provocation to the conditions in Assam. An impression is being created that the Assamese language, the Assamese culture is in danger, of being swamped by others. What do the figures say? I request the House to consider those figures. According to the census figures of 1901, the Assamese-speaking people

were only 22 per cent but by 1971, this figure had risen to 61 per cent. We are being told about the Bengali speaking people. In 1901, the Bengali speaking people in Assam were 48 per cent. According to the 1971 census, their figure had declined to 19.88 per cent.

All sorts of propaganda is let loose. We are told that there is a threat that the area which has got the Muslim minority will be turned into a Muslim majority area. That is the poisonous and venomous propaganda that is going on. And the hon. Member, Shri Ram Jethmalani, yesterday was so eloquent about it giving all sorts of incitements and provocations. But the figures tell us a different point of view altogether.

The districts into which infiltration from Bangladesh is said to have taken place are mainly Golpara, Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong. And the census figures of 1961 and 1971, however, show a decline in the percentage of the Muslim population in these districts. In Golpara, for example, in 1961 the Muslim population was 43.32 per cent. By 1971 it declined to 42.25 per cent. In Kamrup it was 29.36 per cent in 1961, and it declined to 28.93 per cent in 1971. In Darrang, in 1961 it was 19.33 per cent and it declined to 16.19 per cent in 1971. In Nowgong the Muslim population was 41.24 per cent in 1961 and it declined, in just one decade to 24.40 per cent. In the face of such facts, we have the false propaganda that is going on fanning the fires of the agitation over there. It is rightly pointed out in this House that the unity and integrity of the country is at stake and therefore, I must appeal to the entire House for restraint and to see the facts as they are.

I have moved certain cut motions because I am not satisfied with the weak-kneed policy of the Government. One of my cut motions refers to the failure of the Government to take firm measures in this matter of agitation and I must urge upon the Government to do the same.

Sir, before I conclude, I must say that the question of economic backwardness has to be properly tackled. The socio-economic indicators and the gravity of the situation are very clear. We have already been told that the per capita income in Assam is the lowest but for Orissa. The per capita consumption of electricity in Assam is only 24 per cent while the all-India average for 1974-75 is 89.4 per cent.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE
(SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN):
Units.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: Yes. The percentage of villages electrified in Assam—look at the low percentage—is hardly 6 per cent. I do not now have the time to compare it with the percentages in other States. There are several other Socio-economic indicators. Give me some more time to place them before the House.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Better luck next time.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA: In the promise that next time again you will call upon me.

I may conclude, however, saying that there is the serious question of the economic backwardness. Tea, for example, is an important wealth of Assam. Nearly 25 to 30 per cent of the tea consumed in the world comes from Assam, but Assam does not have a single tea marketing centre. These are matters to be considered. We have to move and see for a rapid economic development of the State. At the same time, Sir, I conclude by urging upon the Government to see that every firm step is

taken in the matter of these unfortunate disturbances in order to save the unity and the integrity of our nation.

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE: There are the proceedings of the Lok Sabha wherein the Home Minister has spoken. You may check up. At page 1144 he has said, "The time for negotiation is already gone."

PROF. N. G. RANGA: But what about the Prime Minister's statement this morning? This is the latest. Why harp upon that? This is what we should accept now.

PROF. MADHU DANDEVATE: I fully agree with you, but I want to point out that the Home Minister and the Prime Minister always talk in two different voices. I do not know whether it is pre-arranged or whether it is an accident.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL KOCHAK (Anantnag): The discussion has been going on for the last two days with regard to the situation that has come up in Assam which is burning. We are discussing in this House the rights of the respective family members, when our first concern should have been to save the house rather than divide it between the partners. The issue has been projected in a form that was not warranted by the present circumstances.

Firstly I have not been able to understand the problem itself, what the Assam problem is. I do not think any Member has so far clarified it. Some speakers have said that it is a problem of a backward State, of persons who have been ignored in economic and other developments, against whom some discrimination has been made, or who have been forgotten even after independence so that they have not marched along with other Indians in achieving progress and going ahead with dignity and honour. Some friends have pointed out that it is a question of foreigners in Assam, but none has so

far identified who foreigners in Assam are. I have tried my level best to understand the problem, and I feel that each and every Member here must be facing the same difficulty in understanding it. None has able to so far convince us as to who are the foreigners in Assam, whether those are foreigners who have migrated to Assam from north-east or from other areas, during the period of partition or even before partition or even after partition or those who have settled there with the process of time. None has been able to convince us whether those persons who have to be so identified there have to be dubbed as foreigners.

There has been a chunk of population that moved down to Assam during the period when partition was effected. Immediately after partition a chunk of population migrated from East Pakistan, mostly Muslims to Assam. There were Assamese first who had migrated to Bengal. Then, due to influx and bitter situation that arose, they had to migrate back to their homeland, that is, Assam. It is thereby we find that there arose a situation as to how to deal with a chunk of population that had migrated from East Pakistan to Assam, specially of Muslims. At that time, there arose an issue between the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India which ended in what we call and term as Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact under which those persons who had migrated from East Pakistan, at that time, were accepted as Indian citizens.

Not only that. Thirty years have passed. Those are now settled as citizens of Assam even under the law of our land, even under our own Constitution. Those persons who have settled there for the last 30 years have now grand-daughters and have become grand-father. They have by the law of our land, by our own Constitution, became citizens of

India. So, there is no authority left to us to treat them as foreigners. They are there by an act of law; they are there by an act of agreement; they are there by an act of Constitution. So, if we are to call them as foreigners I do not see who is left there whom we can call an Indian. What about the persons who might have migrated from Punjab to Assam, the persons who might have migrated from Delhi to Assam? How are we to call those persons? How are those persons to be treated? So, there is an anomaly to call those persons as foreigners. If these persons are not foreigners. If somebody starts this movement, this agitation, and carries on with it, by calling these Indians as foreigners, I do not see any reasons why it should be supported. They have to be treated as enemies of the country. They are traitors who are instigating and agitating for the removal of those persons who are there by the law of our land, by our own Constitution and by the rights that are granted to them under the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact.

Secondly, the agreement that has been signed between Nehru and Liaquat Ali is not binding on Assamese alone. It is binding both on India and Pakistan. We cannot change the process of history. We cannot do away history as we cannot do away with the partition that was effected.

16.hrs

[SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL in the Chair]

They are the repercussions of partition. We accepted partition as a *fait accompli* for millions of our people and so we accepted the die-hards back. The hundreds that flowed in from Pakistan to India or from India to Pakistan were treated as Indian citizens or Pakistani citizens in their respective countries.

The second point is that those persons who are now settled in Assam are those persons

who are committing acts of treason because such action is not in any way helpful now. After the lapse of 30 years, they want to create such conditions where the whole of India will be disintegrated. This movement will spread throughout India and creat such a situation on linguistic and religious basis that, while we are talking of controlling Assam now, we will then have to see whether India exists or not. That would be the situation created—that of chaos and confusion.

I think our friends over here should seriously consider what is the problem. If it is the backwardness of Assam or the exploitation or such treatment meted out to the Assamese, we could have sat together to find solutions to the problem. But where the existence of Assam and the whole of India is at stake, what is the problem before us at the present time? We see there is bullet-shelling going on and we see that all law and order machineries are absolutely gone. Then we see that even our Police and Intelligence have become instruments in the hands of foreigners or the so-called Indian leaders who are championing the cause of Assam. They are not Indians they are equally traitors and they are equally foreigners, who are instigating lakhs of innocent people of Assam to rise, not to achieve an objective but to create a situation which Government of India would have to face, and the whole country would be burning as a result of that attempt.

Now Sir, the second point I would like to raise is that certain friends have stated here that we must make all attempts for a negotiated settlement. I fully agree, but a negotiated settlement for what? Let them show what is the problem for which we have to sit around a table. Is it a negotiated settlement to create a process of dis-integration for

India or is it a negotiated settlement to solve a problem where there is none? Now the only problem that is left at the present moment is how to create those conditions whereby we can have normalcy in Assam. Now, certain friends have said, 'why the Army?' When there is no law and order there, when the machinery has failed and everything has gone beyond our power, what else is left? I would say that the millions of Assamese are our brothers and whatever is their problem, it is our problem. But the question is that they have become instruments in the hands of external agencies, in the hands of anti-social elements, in the hands of those persons who want to exploit them politically. We want to save them first from that situation. What is the way-out? The way-out is to check, first, those elements, to remove those clouds from that area, so that we can reach the masses and take steps to remove their backwardness. But let us create an atmosphere to reach them first. That atmosphere can only be created by taking the sternest action against those elements which are instigating this movement and which are taking it to a situation which is dangerous for the integrity and solidarity of India. So, those elements which are exploiting this politically should be crushed. There should be no hesitation about that. We must be united, the House must be united, to see that the forces which are anti-Indian forces, anti-secular forces, which are very much dangerous for the integrity of the whole of India, are crushed. Then the Assam situation can be brought under control. Otherwise, it is not possible.

Many friends have said here that we should not make use of force. I am not in favour of use of force. But I am not against use of force where force is very much essential to crush those elements which are instigating and exploiting this movement.

We stand solidly behind the only secular and democratic-minded leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, for the steps she is taking to check the situation from becoming out of control; we stand solidly behind her in the *bona fide* attempts which she is making to find a solution to the problem. We would not be lagging in giving her our support, and we would only be doing justice by unveiling the faces of those who, under the garb of Indians, are enemies of India. This is my point.

SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN (Cooch-Bihar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Assam is now burning. Assam has become a slaughter house for killing the non-Assamese. I think the hon. Finance Minister will agree with me that 71 per cent of the total population in our country are living below the poverty line. In Assam, the percentage of such people living below poverty line is much more. Nobody can deny that in Assam there was/is unemployment problems. But seeing the way in which the AASU and the Gana Sangram Parishad have launched this movement, I should say that it is a sinister move, it is a reactionary move; it will divide India. They are killing not only the language minorities, they are killing the religious minorities, they are killing the Harijans, they are killing the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, they are killing the Koch, Mech, Raba, Boru, Cachari and Rajbanshis, in Goalpara and Kamrup districts, people who were the original people of that area. Sir, for argument's sake, if we trace the history back to the 18th and 19th century, the Kamrup and Goalpara districts of Assam and the area from the Dinajpur district to Gauhati, it was all Kamatapur Rajya. Who are the original people of that area? They are the Koch, Mech, Raba, Boro, Kachai and the Rajbanshis the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes people and not the Assamese. I myself belong to the Rajbansi community. Now can I say, 'You Assamese

go out from the Goalpara district, go out from the Kamrup district.' because we are the original people of that area? I should not say that. We should not say that. Sir, India is our motherland. It is my beloved motherland.

“जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी”

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is not a question of Assamese and the Bengalese. I think you know in West Bengal there are tea-gardens. Sir, where is Mr. Ravindra Verma? Once he was returned from Ranchi area. He will agree with me that 93% of the tea garden workers are from the Chota Nagpur area of Bihar. Sir, Anand Gopal Babu know that in the jute mills and in the collieries 67% of the workers are from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Where is Mr. Biju Patnaik? Let him know. He knows it very well that in Calcutta and in the cities and towns of West Bengal 60% of the hotels and restaurants are run by the Oriyas. Where is the Home Minister? Let him know that 50% of the automobile and the truck business is in the hands of the Sikhs. Where is the Bharatiya Janata Party and its leader? It is not question of big business houses. Sir, 50% of the business is in the hands of people from Rajasthan. So, can I say, 'You Biharis, you UP people, you Oriyas, you Sikhs get out of West Bengal?' No, certainly not. The West Bengal Government cannot say so.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the AASU and the Gana Sangram Parishad people are going from house to house saying 'You just show your citizenship certificate. Otherwise, you go out from Assam.' Sir, I think your name is in the voters' list. But, if I ask you, 'You please show your citizenship certificate' or if I ask all these members, 'Show your citizenship certificate or you go out of India.' how many of them will be able to produce?

Will you be able to show your citizenship certificate. As regards myself, I come from Dinajpur District of East Pakistan. From my school days I am in West Bengal. I was a member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly from 1962 to 1971 and I am in Parliament since 1977. If you ask me, 'Please show your citizenship certificate.', it is not possible. Then would you say, 'You get out of this House and go out of India.'? Then, Sir, what is going on in Assam?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pradhan, your time is over. You have made your point very cogently.

SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN: It is not a question of foreign nationals which is behind this movement. It is the foreigners who are behind this movement.

In this connection I want to quote from the *Times of India*. This is what is reported in the *Times of India* of May 27, 1980.

"A new underground organisation of rebels called 'NAMMAT', comprising Nagaland, Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura, has been formed with headquarters in northern Burma, it is learnt."

Extremist groups have established liaison with the organisation. An agreement is said to have been reached among them for setting up an independent federal state in the region."

So, Sir, the foreigners are behind all this. My appeal to the nationalist forces, the political Parties and particularly to the Bharatiya Janata Party and others is: don't forget how India was partitioned in 1947. Don't forget what was assured by Jawaharlal Nehru. Don't forget what was assured by Mahatma Gandhi at that time. Don't forget the Nehru-Liaquat pact of 1951. Don't forget the Indira-Mujib pact, Where is Vajpayeeji?

I think at that time he welcomed the Indira-Mujib pact. Therefore, it is my appeal to the House and my friends over here: let us be united against this sinister move. How can we go back to 1951 as the target date as demanded by AASU?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jethmalani you will have a very short time.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Bombay North West): I will not take a minute more than what is allotted to me. I think you have given me five minutes.

First of all, I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate in the strongest possible terms the need for a negotiated settlement of this problem. Sir, on the 31st May, the Prime Minister had called a meeting at which my party could not be present. But, on that very same day, the leader of my party received a letter from the Prime Minister containing certain explanations. My party considered that and immediately, on 3rd of June, my leader had written to the Prime Minister that we shall participate—not only the leader of the party but other representatives of the party shall participate—in any meeting which the Prime Minister wishes to have upon this problem.

Sir, more than a week has passed. We have not heard yet from the Prime Minister. We presume that she is busy with many other affairs. I do not blame her at all. But the passage of this one week coupled with what the Home Minister said yesterday has created a reasonable belief that no further negotiations are contemplated.

I wish to state on my behalf and on behalf of my party that we are willing to sit at the negotiating table and share with the Prime Minister and other parties our diagnosis and our prescription of this problem.

So far as Prof. Ranga is concerned, he is entitled to say that the Prime Minister said something different. But, we presume in all humility that the Prime Minister could not have easily thought of overruling the Home Minister's statement yesterday because the Home Minister in terms said... (Interruptions)

SHRI ANANDA GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY: Sir, I rise on a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is it?

SHRI ANANDA GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY: Has Mr. Jethmalani the right to reply? The budget has been placed by the Finance Minister. But he is dealing with a part of the speeches made yesterday.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is whether he has the right to reply or not.

SHRI ANANDA GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY: Is it his personal explanation?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not a point of order. I allow Mr. Jethmalani to continue.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Sir, the next question is about the minorities. In Assam, I have repeatedly said that yesterday and I wish to reiterate and I share the passions and all the feelings and excitement which have been exhibited by the distinguished previous speaker. Here we have stated our position times out of number. This morning's statement of the leaders of the Assam Movement should put all kinds of suspicions and misgivings and apprehensions to rest that the Assam movement is not directed against any Indian citizen of any kind but it is directed purely against the foreigners who are masquerading as Indian Citizens and are trying to infiltrate into this country even now. (Interruptions) Who are the foreigners? I concede that this movement

like the Quit India Movement (1942), gets occasionally derailed into certain activities which are foreign to the objectives of the Movement through incidents which have nothing to do with the objectives of that movement. I know that there are some members of the minority communities who, perhaps, are genuine Indian citizens and who are involved in some of the incidents which have taken place. But, Sir, I want those members who are shouting and beating their breast about the minorities to remember that I too come from a hopelessly small linguistic minority community in the country. I won't do anything which will jeopardise the interests of any minority. Secondly, we cannot forget that there are genuine Assamese grievances which have got to be looked into. I wish to say that out of the eight demands which are supposed to have been put forth by the leaders of this movement, the Government claims—the Home Minister and the Prime Minister said it publicly—that they have already accepted five demands, out of eight which have been made by the so-called agitationists. Now, if the five demands have been accepted by the government, I presume that this strong government did not act under duress or coercion. It accepted those five demands because they considered those demands to be in accordance with the national interest. Therefore, a great majority of the demands made by the so-called agitators are in accordance with the national interests, otherwise you would not have accepted those demands. You have considered those demands on their own merits and, as such, you have accepted them.

Then, Sir, the Prime Minister in the very same letter of 31st May addressed to my party leader, Shri Atal Bihari, has confessed and admitted that the results of India's overall development have unfortunately been lop-sided and have not percolated into the North Eastern region and she has promised in that letter that steps

are being taken to remove the imbalance. Therefore, if you have woken up from the great slumber of Rip Van Winkle after thirty years that you are now saying that you are looking after the economic development of the North Eastern region you should be grateful to those agitators who have brought it to your notice and you have been compelled to accept the majority of their demands. Instead of being grateful to them for having pointed out this you call the movement names and thus try to become ungrateful to the movement and... (*Interruptions*)

Lastly, Sir, the only difference between the agitationists demands and the acceptance of the government and the attitude of the government appear to be over the cut-off line. (*Interruptions*)

Sir, this disturbance was promised to be avoided and again the same thing as happened. (*Interruptions*)

Sir, the first demand out of these which has been accepted by the Government is that foreign nationals must be detected and deported from the country. Sir, the hon'ble Member on the opposite side even do not know what their Government is doing.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I am appealing to them to accept the solution which was offered many years ago by a very distinguished leader of this country on the Floor of Parliament. In 1962 a great leader of this country said that 1952 will be the correct cut-off line for the purpose of deciding this problem. Now, Sir, if they do not have respect for that leader I cannot help. That leader happened to be the great Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR (Gorakhpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, It is the economic backwardness of the north eastern region that has created this problem not only in Assam but in other parts also. This has happened

in the north eastern region because of the reason of economic backwardness. And, Sir, ever since independence of the country, nothing much has been done for the economic growth of this particular area, through successive Governments. The Government headed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru tried to do something but after that all the other Governments that came in did not do much in regard to what was expected of these Governments. The people have been suffering very much. That is why they have started this kind of a movement. This problem is being geared up by some political parties and by other vested interests and they are not trying to solve the problem but they are only aggravating the whole situation. The present Government since it came to power also did not do much in regard to what was expected of them. Since this Government came into power this problem got further aggravated. And now, Sir, a particular situation has been reached not only in Assam, but in Tripura also. We are seeing this in the newspapers. We are all seeing what is happening. Not only the State's economy but the entire country's economy has been disrupted very badly. Train services are disrupted, postal services are disrupted in Assam; refineries are not working or functioning properly. It is the Government's own data that Rs. 300 crores per month has been lost because of this reason. On top of it the ruling party has started a blockade. Congress (I) in West Bengal has started blockade. Therefore I would like to know from the Finance Minister whether they are really interested in the economic growth of this particular region. Sir, unless this economic growth takes place, this problem cannot be solved at all. Now that this point has been raised I would like to know whether they are really interested in solving this problem. You must have to look into all these aspects and you should not engineer this kind of an agitation. It has been engineered by you in West Bengal.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER (Delhi Sadar): I would like to know whether he is going to resign from the Lok Sabha because he got elected on the ruling party's ticket.

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR: You people don't have moral authority to ask for resignation from anybody because you are sitting on the shoulders of defectors in Haryana, Himachal, Karnataka, Nagaland etc. You had committed that you would bring in a Bill against defection. You did not bring it up and you did not fulfil that pledge which you made before the people. We feel that it would be a sin to sit with you and that is why we had decided to get out of your net. And have no moral authority to ask for resignation from anybody.

Sir Shri Indrajit Gupta while speaking yesterday, rightly asked—who are the foreigners? People had come from U.P., from Bihar, from Orissa, from West Bengal and so on. Are they foreigners? This problem must be considered properly. If it is considered that 1971 should be accepted as 'cut-off year', well, then what happens? Will those who have come after 1971 be sent out of Assam? If so, where will they be accommodated? Sir, I am really pained to listen to Mr. Jethamalani's speech. I had got opportunity to work with him but I have not really known that he is having such a type of idea about the minorities. He has got no sympathy with the minorities. In regard to whatever is happening in Assam both Congress(I) and R.S.S. are responsible. It is really a very shameful thing. I would like that the Congress (I) and the R.S.S. both should clarify their positions and tell us specifically whether they are really interested in solving this problem or not.

Our leader, Shir H.N. Bahuguna, wrote a letter to the Prime Minister on 30th January, 1980 urging upon her to take necessary steps to solve this problem. He clearly indicated

that if the Government was not going to solve this problem of minorities, it would be difficult to solve this later and there would be communal riots and ultimately it has happened. You did not take proper interest, otherwise this problem would have been solved.

In the end, I would urge upon the Government to take appropriate steps to solve the economic problems of this region. Only then the other problems will be solved, otherwise it would be difficult.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we had a very exhilarating debate and I am very happy to say that in the course of controversial out pourings from all sides, not even one member has opposed the Demands for Grants.

AN HON. MEMBER: I Oppose.

SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYA: Shri Banatwalla has moved some cut motions.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: That is not opposing the Demands. You are a senior Member to know that.

When I moved the first Vote on Account, I had a feeling that along with the other States, Assam would also be able to have a popular Government and I would not be put to the sorry necessity of having to present a second Vote on Account, but unfortunately, that is not to be.

The debate has naturally spread over a wide area. There are people who said that the situation in Assam has been brought about by certain economic conditions that have developed over the years. There are other who said that it has been caused by various political factors. We had a very long and interesting and even acrimonious debate yesterday with regard to the political aspects of the situation in Assam. I, therefore, propose to

confine myself only to the economic issues which have been raised in the course of this debate.

I wish only to say at the outset that the promise of the Prime Minister that she is ready to discuss this question with all the parties concerned stands and, therefore, it is upto the parties concerned to avail themselves of the opportunity and take advantage of the open mind which the Government has for arriving at a solution. It has been pointed out by my esteemed friend, Shri Chandrajit Yadav, who made a very valuable contribution, that Assam is a very backward State, its *per capita* income is the lowest and it has been neglected. While I concede the first two points, that Assam is a backward State...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: It has been exploited for the last 32 years.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: It has not been said. You would have said that, had you spoken.

So far as these three points are concerned, the first one, that Assam is a backward State, is conceded. It is on cards. The *per capita* income is not the lowest; it is among the lowest and I need not say that it is the lowest, but next to lowest; I do not want to score small debating points. But I enter a caveat on the question that it has been neglected so far by the Government. I have figures here to show what the contribution of the Centre has been to the development of Assam during all these years for over a period of decade. You will find that Assam along with other hilly States has been treated on a different footing from other States. My esteemed friend, Shri Dhandapari stated that Assam has suffered because of Gadgil formula. I want to inform him that the Gadgil formula is not applicable to Assam. In fact, Assam has been treated as one of the special category States entitled to special assistance from the Centre. The Gadgil formula roughly states

that 60 per cent of the Central assistance will go to the States according to population, 10 per cent according to backwardness, 10 per cent according to certain continuing programmes etc. This formula would adversely affect hill States and also States which have a small population. And Assam being a State in which there is low population, this formula has not been applied to it. Actually, what we have done in respect of Assam and the hill States is to give a special Central assistance. And the Central assistance given has been more than the average given to other States. I can give the figures from 1974-75. Whether they relate to the previous Congress Governments or the later Janata Government, or the current Congress Government, we have followed the same principle and there has been no deviation from it.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: You have forgotten one more Government.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: In 1976-77, the *per capita* Central assistance to Assam was Rs. 25 as against the national average of Rs. 14 in 1977-78 it was Rs. 39 as against the national average of Rs. 21. In the year 1978-79, it was Rs. 72 as against the national average of Rs. 37 in 1979-80, it was Rs. 69 against a national average of Rs. 36 and in 1980-81, we have given Rs. 83 as against a national average of Rs. 46. Therefore, Assam has been treated by the Centre as a special case. I have to point out that Assam has not been neglected by the Centre. The Centre has treated Assam as one of the States entitled to special assistance from the Centre.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: What was the position in the first 4 plans?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: I have got the list. It is more or less the same. I was saying that it was

the position all through. We have always treated Assam as a special case, in view of the fact that the population formula will be adverse to Assam. I am at pains to point this out, not because I want to controvert my friend, but because this message should be conveyed to the people by the Members, leaders and the Press: India has treated one of its limbs, viz. Assam, with great care and special attention, in view of its backwardness.

You are aware, Sir, that India was in a comparatively backward State before the British came to the entire country. Not that one State was developed and the others were backward. But after the British came, they developed certain areas for their own commercial advantages and in that process, Maharashtra, Bengal and to some extent Madras developed. And, therefore, these States had a better start when we became independent, then the other States which were more or less in the old backward state in which they were, before the independence.

During the last 30 years, we have tried to correct this imbalance; and in correcting the imbalance, one instrument we have is to give Central assistance in such a way that States which are backward get a little more of Central assistance than the States which of a little forward.

In the National Development Council, there is always a debate as to what should go to the respective States. This formula with regard to the distribution of the Central assistance has been arrived at more or less at a consensus among all the States and all the States have agreed that the backward States should be given a little higher priority, a little greater assistance than what the comparatively developed States get. Therefore, I want to correct the impression that Assam has been treated badly by the Central Government. In fact, if Assam

is backward, it is on par with many other parts of India which are backward.

I may also mention that if that is the only cause for this agitation, I wish to give this assurance in this House that my esteemed colleague, the Minister of Planning and I are prepared to go to Assam and make a special study of the problem and try to assuage the feeling and make every possible effort to give them assistance so that they may come up alongwith other parts of the country. I hope this message will also be carried to the people of Assam and they will see that there is no lack of goodwill on the part of other parts of India, that people of other parts of India are prepared to make a little sacrifice for the purpose of seeing that one part of India which is really backward comes up more or less to the same level as the other parts are. This is the most important aspect which I wanted to deal with. There are a number of other points which have been mentioned.

Mr. Somnath Chatterjee referred to the fact that the agitation is hurting the economy not only of Assam but also other parts of the country. This is a very important aspect. Actually by preventing the refining of oil in Assam, people of Assam suffer. Not only that, by preventing the flow of oil to the Barauni Refinery, the entire north India suffers. The loss would be of the order of Rs. 4 crores a day in the Barauni Refinery alone, by oil alone; and this will really tell on our national economy and on our, I am afraid, Budget. Therefore, it is in the interest of the nation to see that at least whatever be the differences, whatever be the points of view agitated by the parties, whatever be the demands of the people of Assam, they should try to keep up the economy of the country going so that both they and the rest of the country do not suffer. If they carry on the agitation to the extent of stopping the development in their own area as well as the

development in other areas, the consequence on their own economy will be so great that even if they succeed in their agitation, they will not be able to recover for a very long time to come.

I want to give one or two other facts also with regard to Assam. When I present the first Vote on Account, I mentioned to this House that the plan allocation for Assam for this current year was Rs. 160 crores. Since then we have revised this figure and increased it to Rs. 178 crores and the Central assistance has been increased. We have increased it from Rs. 115 crores to Rs. 122 crores. Again, we have made a larger allocation not keeping in view this agitation; it has not entered into our mind at all. We do want to see that the appropriation allocation goes to Assam.

Therefore, this is the thing which we have done after the first vote on account. I want this also to be taken note of. So far as distribution of funds are concerned, irrigation and flood control will get Rs. 81 crores; agriculture and allied services will get Rs. 34 crores; social and community services will get Rs. 33 crores. I am giving these in round figures. Transport and Communications will get Rs. 17 crores. In all it is going to be Rs. 178 crores. Therefore, nobody can accuse the Government of India of not having a sympathetic approach to the Assam question.

One point was made by some Members that the royalty which was paid to Assam oil was less than the royalty paid to Gujarat oil. That is also incorrect. The royalty is the same for both; there is no distinction made.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: How does it compare with your imported crude.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bosu will refrain from making such interruptions.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: The questions are not as innocent as they look. He wants to draw me out on the Budget which I am not going to do. There is no distinction; we are paying the same royalty to Assam as well as Gujarat oil. There also Assam has no cause for grievance.

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV: What about their demand for refinery?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: They have refinery already; Gauhati refinery, Bongaigaon refinery. They have three. If they want to increase the number, as I said at the beginning, whatever they want by way of economic development, we are prepared to sit across the table and discuss it with them; I said that my colleague the Minister of Planning and I are prepared to go to Assam and sit with them and talk with them on all economic issues that will help them to come up. If there is demand for more refineries, it is not a matter in which the Government of India will have any objection. In fact, if oil is produced it is better to have refinery there rather than elsewhere. Only for the purpose of distribution, Barauni was located there; Shri Yadav knows it well.

I have covered practically all the questions which were raised in respect of the economic issues. So far as political issues are concerned, they have been debated well and I only wish to reassure that the Prime Minister to meet all the people and discuss this question and find a solution. I therefore move that the demands may be passed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the motions to the vote of the House.

Cut Motion Nos. 1 and 2 were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I shall put the demands to vote, the question is:

"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 dur-

ing 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 Nos. 1, 3 to 16, 19 to 77, 80 and 82."

The motion was adopted.

Demands for Grants on Account (Assam) for 1980-81 Voted by the Lok Sabha

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on account voted by the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
1	2	3	
1	State Legislature	16,74,000	..
3	Council of Ministers	5,81,000	..
4	Discretionary Grants	17,000	..
5	Administration of Justice	5,77,000	..
6	Elections	13,36,000	..
7	Taxes on Income and Expenditure	2,24,000	..
8	Land Revenue and Land Ceiling	2,15,58,000	..
9	Stamps	2,56,000	..
10	Registration	7,68,000	..
11	State Excise	20,03,000	..
12	Sales Tax and Other Taxes	29,67,000	..
13	Transport Services	1,02,16,000	8,67,000
14	Electrical Inspectorate	2,19,000	..
15	Small Savings	82,000	..
16	Financial Inspection	66,000	..
19	Civil Secretariat and Attached Offices	94,32,000	..
20	District Administration	84,84,000	..
21	Treasury and Accounts Administration	29,24,000	..
22	Police	9,39,81,000	..
23	Jails	55,16,000	..
24	State Prisoners and Detenues	10,000	..
25	Stationery and Printing	40,76,000	..

1	2	3 /	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
26	Administrative and Functional Buildings		2,06,80,000	2,20,28,000
27	Fire Services		30,20,000	..
28	Vigilance and Special Commissions		1,93,000	..
29	Civil Defence and Home Guards		39,11,000	..
30	Pooled Transport		83,000	..
31	Guest Houses, Government Hostel , etc.		8,41,000	..
32	Administrative Training		1,77,000	..
33	Vital statistics, etc.		4,43,000	..
34	Pensions and other Retirement Benefits		1,03,10,000	..
35	Aid Materials		51,07,000	..
36	State Lotteries		11,18,000	..
37	Education		26,64,20,000	1,00,000
38	Art and Culture		24,10,000	..
39	State Archives		67,000	..
40	Medical and Public Health		12,06,11,000	47,50,000
41	Sanitation and Sewerage		2,51,000	..
42	Housing Schemes		43,05,000	10,33,000
43	Residential Buildings		77,71,000	1,11,30,000
44	Urban Development		41,36,000	2,00,000
45	Information and Publicity		17,42,000	..
46.	Labour and Employment		71,85,000	..
47.	Civil Supplies		36,79,000	..
48.	Relief and Rehabilitation.		38,000	1,67,000
49.	Welfare of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and Others.		1,33,24,000	..
50.	Social Welfare.		83,51,000	..
51.	Prohibition.		13,34,000	..
52.	Pensions to Freedom fighters, Rajya Sainik Board, etc.		13,08,000	..
53.	Natural calamities.		2,30,67,000	..
54.	Social and Community Services.		69,000	..

1	2	3	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
55.	Planning Board.		9,53,000	..
56.	Co-operation.		1,83,90,000	1,16,55,000
57.	North Eastern Council Schemes.		18,67,000	78,04,000
58.	Statistics.		32,60,000	..
59.	Weights and Measures.		9,90,000	..
60	Trade Adviser		1,57,000	..
61	Agriculture		6,15,95,000	1,00,000
62	Irrigation		1,32,13,000	7,03,03,000
63	Soil and Water Conservation		1,11,19,000	20,34,000
64	Animal Husbandry and Veterinary		2,32,87,000	..
65	Dairy Development		39,65,000	..
66	Fisheries		53,28,000	67,000
67	Forests		4,65,37,000	..
68	Community Development		2,61,44,000	..
69	Industries		78,43,000	63,67,000
70	Sericulture and Weaving		1,22,23,000	3,000
71	Cottage Industries		74,23,000	30,03,000
72	Mines and Minerals		23,82,000	12,54,70,000
73	Flood Control		1,66,06,000	4,54,67,000
74	Roadsand Bridges		6,94,78,000	4,50,72,000
75	Tourism		8,79,000	..
76	Payment of Compensation and Assignment to Local Bodies and Panchayati Raj Institution		1,28,33,000	..
77	Assam Capital Construction		..	10,83,000
80	Loans and Advances to Government Servants		..	1,60,13,000
82	Food for Work Programme		67,000	..