

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
कितनी मजदूरी कराएंगे हम लोगों से ?

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुवालिया  
(बिहार) : या तो अभी पस कर दीजिए  
या कल पस किए... (व्यवधान)

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:**  
Madam, adjourn now and assemble  
again.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
Including Mr. Gopalsamy, I have  
nine names before me. (*Interrup-*  
*tions*). Congress party already  
spoke. (*Interruptions*). I will  
adjourn the House for lunch.

**SHRI M. M. JACOB:** Madam,  
we are sitting without lunch. Please  
adjourn the House for lunch.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
Mr. Gopalsamy, you can speak after  
lunch.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** Ma-  
dam, I will finish within five mi-  
nutes.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
You can speak after lunch.

The House is adjourned for  
lunch for one hour.

The House then adjourned for  
lunch at fifty minutes past one of  
the clock.

The House reassembled after  
lunch at fifty-two minutes past two  
of the clock, The Deputy Chair-  
man in the Chair.

**RESOLUTION SEEKING AP-  
PROVAL OF PRESIDENT'S PRO-  
CLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE  
356 IN RELATION TO Assam—**  
Contd.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
May I request the hon. Members  
to be brief when I call upon them  
to speak ? You see the matter is  
being discussed though it was de-

cided not to be discussed. So please  
be brief. Mr. V. Gopalsamy.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:**  
Madam, I stated that it was on  
abominable attack against demo-  
cracy through imposition of Presi-  
dent's rule...

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
I must announce one more thing.  
At 3.30 P.M. we will have the voting.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:**  
I was listening to the speeches made  
by Members belonging to the State  
of Assam that the situation in  
Assam is very grave and it is pain-  
ful to note that the office-bearers  
are a Congress Party members.  
They are submitting their resigna-  
tions and giving advertisements in  
newspapers that they are quitting  
the Congress Party...

**SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NA-  
TARAJAN (Tamil Nadu):** How  
is that connected with the Congress  
Party?

**SHRI T. R. BALU (Tamil  
Nadu):** It is very much connected  
with that. It is happening in  
Assam.

**SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHAN-  
DRAN (Tamil Nadu):** He is talking  
in illusion. This is what they did  
during the emergency period. Most  
of these people resigned and pub-  
lished advertisements. It is quite  
a shame. It is unbecoming of  
them. They are seeing their own  
face in the mirror. They will never  
see others' face in the mirror.

...(Interruptions)...

**SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED  
SAQHY (Tamil Nadu):** They  
finished the democracy in Tam  
Nadu. Why are they interrupting  
our Members when they are speak-  
ing?

**SHRI DIPEN GHOSH:** Ma-  
dam, is there any Pavlovian reac-

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

tion that once Gopalsamy rises, that gentleman also rises?

...(Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:

Now, the trouble is...

...(Interruptions)...

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: Madam, he was saying that Congress Members are putting in advertisements and submitting their resignations. I am objecting to that...(Interruptions) I am a friend of Gopalsamy's father. We are very close friends. He cannot...(Interruptions)...sickle and hammer. (Interruptions).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:

Order (Interruptions). The whole problem is however much I am interested to know what is being discussed about Tamil Nadu, whenever discussions come up I can hardly understand a single word, because everybody speaks simultaneously. I do not know what goes on. ...(Interruptions)...Yes.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam, I am very much concerned about the health of my colleague. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:

He is all right. He will look after himself. (Interruptions).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I am sharing their agony. Not only they are giving advertisements but they are sending communications to the ULFA headquarters. (Interruptions). Madam, a spokesman of the ULFA...(Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Madam, he is alpha, we are gamma.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:

Is it alpha or ULFA? (Interruptions).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam, the spokesman of ULFA has said that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:

If it is alpha, we will have to talk about beta, gamma and pi and anything else. (Interruptions)

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: Madam, it is not alpha, it is ULFA.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The spokesman of the United Liberation Front of Assam, Madam, has stated that they did not get the popular support in the State of Assam but they have to express their thanks to the Central Government for sending the armed forces into their State and thereby committing atrocities against the people in Assam; therefore, now they have got the popular support in the State of Assam. This is the statement made by the spokesman of ULFA. Madam, I accuse the Government for putting the armed forces to disrepute and discredit. They have brought discredit to the armed forces. (Interruptions).

SHRI T. R. BALU : Madam, do not allow her to speak. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, when the D.M.K. Party members agree and get up to speak they always cast aspersions on the armed forces. (Interruptions) Every time they get up...(Interruptions) All the time they cast aspersions on the armed forces. (Interruptions) Please do not allow them to go on record. (Interruptions) They always cast aspersions on the armed forces. (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, now will you sit down? (Interruptions). Let the people know what is spoken in this House. Let the army also...(Interruptions)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: No, Madam, Please hear my points. It should not be put on record. We will not allow them to denigrate the armed forces. (*Interruptions*)... You cannot allow them to go on record. (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY): This has been the tradition of this House that the army is kept above politics and, therefore, (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please. (*Interruptions*)... Order... (*Interruptions*)... Order... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: This kind of anti-national remark should not be made against the armed forces. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Please give a ruling. (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Take your seat. Again, I say that I do not understand what is going on. But I will remind Mr. ... (*Interruptions*)... Please, one second, we never talk anything deliberately about our army. We always hold our armed forces in 3.00 P.M. great esteem. Even if there had been any grievances or excesses, we had always observed restraint in passing any comment. If Mr. Gopalsamy, you don't want to keep those traditions, it is entirely your problem. I will let it go on record so that it is published in the newspapers and the armed forces know what you have said. But we always protected the rights of the people. I always respect their rights. We should not say anything which would hurt anyone. Anyway, I would still request you to keep restraint on your own...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The dignity and honour of every citizen, the rights of every citizen, are superior

to the dignity of the armed forces. A sense of alienation is growing in the State of Assam. Therefore, elections should be held in the State of Assam along with the elections to Parliament. I expect elections to Parliament are going to be announced despite attempts by some agents...

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Tamil Nadu): Touts and agents.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: ...not to see elections in the country immediately. Therefore, elections should be held and the elections should be free and fair. The only pride we have is that we belong to the greatest democracy, that is India, in the comity of nations. The Election Commission is there to conduct, supervise and monitor free and fair poll in this country. People of supreme ability and unquestionable conduct, without any bias or prejudice, have been occupying the chair of the Chief Election Commission. But I am very sorry to say...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: No, no; not about the Chief Election Commissioner. Nothing should be allowed to be said against the Chief Election Commissioner in the House. Madam, you cannot allow every convention of the House to be broken. Every convention of the House is being broken.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I didn't say anything about the Congress Party. Why are they agitated?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gopalsamy, there are certain traditions of this House: there are certain conventions and certain rules. We don't talk against people in high offices. It is a constitutional obligation not to speak against them. Secondly, those persons who are not present over here to defend themselves, please don't talk about them. Don't say something and force me to remove it from the records. Please exercise restraint on your own.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** Unprecedented developments are taking place... (*Interruptions*)

श्रीमती सया बहिन (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
मैडम, ये वही गोपलसामी हैं जिन्होंने  
दूसरे स्वामी को जान से मारने की धमकी  
दी थी ।

उपसमाप्ति : बैठिए, आप मत बोलिए ।  
उनको अपना भाषण परा करने दीजिए ।  
No interruptions, please. I won't permit interruptions. (*Interruptions*) Order, order; no interruptions.

**SHRI V. GOPALSAMY:** We have come here, we are here, to seek justice. This is the forum where we can ventilate our grievances, our views, our points of view. The Chief Election Commissioner has no business to go to 10 Janpath. This was never done. Now everyday it is done.

**SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN:** Madam, I object to this. He is saying whatever he wants. I am rising on a point of order. Why does he have a Pavlovian reaction to 10 Janpath? Why does he keep talking about 10 Janpath? How does he know who is going there and who is not going there. Does he keep a surveillance on 10 Janpath? Is he sitting outside 10 Janpath? Why does he have a Pavlovian reaction to 10 Janpath?

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY:** (Pondicherry): It should not be allowed to go on record. (*interruptions*)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** I will look into the record. Let there be no running commentary. (*interruptions*) Please take your seats. We are passing from Tamil Nadu to Assam again. I am calling Assam Members now...

**SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN:** Whatever Mr. Gopalsamy said should not go on record.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** That is over. Gopalsamy matter is

over, closed. Now I am calling Shri Bhadreswar Buragohain. (*interruptions*) Please don't have any more running commentary. That matter is closed. I am going back again to AIADMK after this. Let us see what happens after that... (*Interruptions*)...

**SHRI BHADRESWAR BURAGOHAIN (Assam):** Madam, I rise to register my protest against extending President's Rule in Assam. After adopting this resolution in this House, we, the people of Assam will get a message from Delhi that even today Delhi treats us as a colony as the Britishers treated us. Only on 27th May, President's Rule in Assam will be ended. Why is it that this premature resolution has been brought forward by this Government? It is because you treat us as a colony. We get the message that we are not on par with the other States. This is a very bad message that will go to the people of Assam. I do not know how the people of Assam and the ULFA boys will react to it after the adoption of this resolution. Hence, I vehemently protest. This should not be adopted by the House. This should be withdrawn and should not be adopted. I will make my speech short... (*Interruptions*)... We very well remember one sentence spoken in 1962 by Jawaharlal Nehru, in 1962, when Bomdila fell into the hands of the Chinese army, the then Prime Minister bade farewell to the people of Assam with these words "My heart goes out to the people of Assam". These very words echo even today in Assam. But, now we are getting a different message. Most of you may not remember it. But, I remember it vividly. This time we are getting a different message from Delhi that they do not treat us on par with the other States. In another speech earlier, I spoke about the national mainstream. I do not want to repeat it. My submission is that a very bad message will be conveyed to the people of Assam after adopting this resolution. I do not know how the peo-

ple of Assam and the ULFA boys will react to it. My next point is-- Shri Subodh Kant Sahay is not here at the moment; I do not know whom I should address--that talks should be held with the ULFA boys. Now, I do not know to whom I should address this. Mr. Subodh Kant is not here. I do not know whether the Petroleum and Parliamentary Affairs Minister is listening to me. Anyhow, I address the Chair. As soon as possible, talks should be held with the ULFA boys by the Central Government. But there is a communication gap between the Government of India and the ULFA boys. To my knowledge, if I am not wrong, the Governor has himself made some break-through with the ULFA boys and I am told that Mr. Sahay, when he visited Shillong, had made some informal contacts with the ULFA boys. Then, why not formal talks with the ULFA boys be held so that the situation can be improved at the earliest? Mr. Kalita knows very well that they have become irrelevant. God alone knows how the people of Assam and the ULFA boys will react when they learn that the elections will not be held in Assam even after the 27th May. That is why we are demanding elections to the Assembly along with the Parliamentary elections. But, today, I saw a news item in the "Assam Tribune" quoting Shri R. P. Bhalla of the Election Commission that only Parliamentary election will be held in Assam. In that case, the situation will again deteriorate. If you can hold Parliamentary elections, why can't you hold Assembly elections?... (Interruptions)... Therefore, I say that at the earliest Assembly elections should be held along with the Parliamentary elections. But, before that, the Draconian laws like the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act and the Disturbed Areas Act should be withdrawn. These two Acts should be withdrawn immediately. We do not want to have any election as in Tripura. Some people tried to get to power in this way. We do not want to have elections as the elections held in Tripura. So, we demand that before the elections

these two black laws should be withdrawn. These black laws should be withdrawn immediately and the elections should be held at the earliest. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
 Now, Mr. G. Swaminathan.

SHRI G SWAMINATHAN:  
 Madam, within the time allotted, I want to raise only general issues. The one point that I would like to state in the beginning is that the most important thing in this country is democracy and democracy means elections. But elections, unfortunately, could not be conducted in many States. Elections could not be held in Jammu and Kashmir, elections could not be held in Punjab and now, in Assam, elections could not be held. And, even in States where elections could be conducted, we are witnessing a lot of violence and I do not know whether in the coming elections, either to the Parliament or to the Assemblies, those States will be free from violence and whether free elections can be held. This is the state of affairs that we are seeing today in many parts of the country. In Tamil Nadu also, the same thing happened... (Interruptions):...

SHRI T. R. BALU: How can you say about Tamil Nadu? ... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:  
 Madam, a lot of violence has been there in many places in the country including Tamil Nadu. In this connection, I would like to tell one thing. There is a criticism which has been made here... (Interruptions)... There has been a criticism\* here and it has been said that\* \*Again, it has been said, the same thing has been said, about the Chief Election Commissioner also.\*

All these things are codified  
 But if you go on attacking the

\* Not recorded.

[Sh. G. Swaminathan]

President or the Chief Election Commissioner, then you will only be lowering the dignity of the very office which we all hold high... (Interruptions)...

SHRI T. R. BALU: How can you say that? (Interruptions)... It is because of what he has done... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: If you do not give any respect to the office of the President, if you do not respect the dignity of the high office of President, then this very democratic institution on which the whole thing is based will crumble... (Interruptions)... If you do not respect the dignity of the high office of such dignitaries, then everything will crumble... (Interruptions)...

SHRI T. R. BALU: Why are you defending him?... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I do not want to defend any dignity because the President is capable of defending himself... (Interruptions)...

SHRI T. R. BALU: You must know that the President dismissed the Government there without even getting the Governor's report... (Interruptions)...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: The President is fettered... (Interruptions)... He is fettered by article 74 of the Constitution... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: People occupying high office should not \*... (Interruptions)... and they should not \*... (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No interruptions, please... (Interruptions)...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: What about the Chief Minister? ... (Interruptions)... The Chief Mi-

nister of a State should not indulge in anti-national activities... (Interruptions)... Can the Chief Minister of a State support the militants by giving arms and ammunition? Madam, he is now talking about the high office of President (Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is very unfortunate that whenever anything is discussed about Tamil Nadu, everybody gets so much agitated... (Interruptions)... Why should everybody get so much agitated? ... (Interruption)... Nothing can be discussed in that way... (Interruptions)... Members should speak only when their turn comes. Why should they interrupt when others are speaking... (Interruptions)... Take your seat. Let him make his point.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Madam we should behave in a responsible way. Therefore I will not accuse a Government officer and an important dignitary. Tomorrow it comes out in the papers and the dignitary may not defend himself. Before he defends himself, the whole thing will come out (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It has never... (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gopalsamy, you have already expressed your views as a citizen and as a Member of this House. Do not disturb too much... (Interruptions). Over? (Interruptions) Okay. Shri Shabbir Ahmad Salaria. Only two points.

उपसभापति: श्री सलारिया जी, बहुत संक्षेप में बोलिये ।

श्री शब्बीर अहमद सलारिया (जन्म और कश्मीर) : मोहतरमा चेयर पर्सन साहिबा, आसाम के बारे में जो कुछ कहा गया और इसी के साथ तमिलनाडु का जब जिक्र किया गया, इसके बारे में आपने फर्माया कि जब भी तमिलनाडु

का जिक्र आता है तो हाल में हंगामा क्यों होता है? हंगामा होने की वजह यह है कि तमिलनाडु वालों को पहले पहल अब मजा आ रहा है प्रेजीडेंट कूल का। वह रियासतें, वह लोग जिन्होंने चार-चार दफे पीपुलर गवर्नमेंट को गिरते हुये देखा है और चार-चार दफे उनका खून हुआ है और उनकी असेंबलियां गिरा दी गयी हैं और वहां पर इस किस्म के कानून नाफिज किये गये हैं वह अब इसके अदी हो चुके हैं। जब एक कबूतर को पकड़ा जाता है, पिंजड़े में बंद किया जाता है तो पहले वह बड़ा तड़फता और फड़फड़ाता है। यही हाल तमिलनाडु और आसम का है। इन पर नयी-नयी यह अफत गिरी है। लेकिन मुझे खुशी इस बात की है कि आज इस सदन में, आज इस पार्लियमेंट के हाऊस में लोगों की अब इस बात का अंदाजा हो गया होगा कि कश्मीर के लोग क्यों तड़फ रहे हैं और कश्मीर के हालात क्यों खराब हैं? वे लोग जिन पर 1953 में, उसके बाद 1977 में, उसके बाद 1984 में और उसके बाद 1989 में बनी बनी हुकूमतें गिरा दी गयी हैं, उन लोगों का हाल क्या हुआ होगा। लिहाजा मुल्क की सलमियत और मुल्क की मजबूती के लिये यह बात बड़ी जरूरी है कि जगह-जगह इतने कंजुशल तरीके से 356 और प्रेजीडेंट कूल का जो नाफिज कर देना है, यह जम्हूरियत के लिये कातिल है और जम्हूरियत के लिये खात्मा की वजह बनता है और जो रियासतें हैं, अब तक रियासतों में आप लोग इस किस्म का विषय पैदा नहीं करेंगे, वहां की लोकल पार्टियों को पनपने का मौका नहीं देंगे और हमारे विधान में जो कि यूनिटरी सिस्टम दाखिल किया गया है उसका नाजायज फायदा उठाना नहीं छोड़ देंगे तब तक भारत को मजबूत नहीं किया जा सकता बल्कि रोज-ब-रोज कमजोर ही होगा।

जैसा कि कहा गया कि आर्म्ड फोर्स को स्पेशल पवर्स हैं और डिस्टर्बेंस को नाफिज करने से हालात खराब

हो गये। कहते हैं दाना लोग एक दफे गिरने के बाद संभल जाते हैं लेकिन मुश्किल का मकाम यह है कि हम लोग बार-बार गिरने के बाद नहीं संभल रहे हैं। हमने देखा कि ऐसा करने से हम पंजाब के हालात को ठीक नहीं कर सके। हमने देखा कि इन डेकोनियन कानून को ले जाकर हम कश्मीर को अपने आप में एलीमेंट कर दिया। हमने देखा कि ऐसा करने से आसम के हालात ठीक नहीं हो सके तो फिर हम क्यों इस गलती में परसिस्ट करते हैं और बार-बार उन कानूनों को नाफिज करते हैं और जब कि यह देखा गया कि यह पावर्स देने के बाद जो कि अन-लिमिटेड हैं, जो आडिनरी लों को ओवर-रइड कर देती है, जो कोर्ट के अख्यारात को खत्म कर देती है, जो बुनियादी हक का कला कमा कर देती है इनके नतीजों में लोगों की तलाशी और मार डाल का सामना होता है, जब हमने यह देखा। जब यह हालात हमारे सामने हैं तो फिर हम अपनी आर्म्ड फोर्स को क्यों बढावा करते हैं इस सिस्म के कानून देकर। अंग्रेजों में कहते हैं कि अन-लिमिटेड पावर मत दो, क्योंकि पावर करंट करती है और अन-लिमिटेड पावर अन-लिमिटेड ही करंट करती है। जिस तरह से टाटा का कानून है, मैं समझता हूँ कि जब भारत में जंग आजादी चल रही थी तो अंग्रेजों में भी इस किस्म का डेकोनियन लों पास नहीं किया जैसा कि टाटा का। इसी तरीके से यह जो कर्बानिनी है, जो नाफिज किए जा रहे हैं, इन्होंने भात कर दिया है। हमारे देश के सारे लेजिस्लेशन को जो कि इसान के बुनियादी हकों के मुहाफिज हुआ करते हैं। लिहाजा मैं यह कहूंगा कि मुल्क की खैरियत अगर आप चाहते हैं और अक्वाम की खैरियत अगर आप चाहते हैं तो यह तरीका छोड़ दें। आप बाकायदा वहां पर सैन्य खाबात कराएं, अक्वाम को अपनी अंग्रेजी की सरकार चुनने का मौका दें। यही तरीका है जिससे भारत का भला हो सकता है, अक्वाम का भला हो सकता है और हमारी मजबूती और हमारा खुशमस्तकियत बढ़ता ही जाएगा है।

۱] شری شبر احمد سدریم (جن اور کشمیر): محترم چیئر پرسن صاحبہ آسام کے بارے میں جو کچھ کہا گیا اور اس کے ساتھ تل ناڈو کا جب ذکر کیا گیا اس کے بارے میں آپ نے فرمایا کہ جب بھی تل ناڈو کا ذکر آتا ہے تو ہال میں ہنگامہ کیوں ہوتا ہے۔ ہنگامہ ہونے کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ تل ناڈو والی ٹیبلٹ پہلے اب مزا آرہا ہے پریذیڈنٹ رول کا۔ وہ ریاستیں وہ لوگ جنہوں نے چار چار دفعہ پاپور گورنمنٹ کو کرتے ہوئے دیکھا ہے اور چار چار دفعہ انکا خوف ہوا ہے اور انکی اسمبلیاں گرا کر گئی ہیں اور وہاں پر اس قسم کے قانون نافذ کئے گئے ہیں وہ اب اس کے عادی ہو چکے ہیں۔ جب ایک کوئٹر کو پکڑا جاتا ہے۔ پھر سے یہ بند کیا جاتا ہے۔ تو پہلے وہ ٹرٹیا ہے اور پھر پھرتا ہے۔ یہی حال تل ناڈو اور آسام کا ہے۔ ان پر نئی نئی آفٹ کر دی ہے۔ لیکن مجھے خوشی اس بات کی ہے کہ آج اس سदन میں۔ آج اس پارلیمنٹ کے ہاؤس میں لوگوں کو اس بات کا اندازہ ہو گیا ہوگا کہ کشمیر کے لوگ

کیوں ٹرپ رہے ہیں۔ اور کشمیر کے حالات کیوں خراب ہیں۔ وہ لوگ جن پر ۱۹۵۲ میں۔ اس کے بعد ۱۹۷۷ میں۔ اس کے بعد ۱۹۸۲ میں اور اس کے بعد ۱۹۸۸ میں بنی بنائی حکومتیں گرائی گئیں ہیں۔ ان لوگوں کا حال کیا ہوگا۔ اب ان ملک کی ساقیت اور ملک کی معیشت کیلئے یہ بات شری ضروری ہے۔ کہ جلد جلد اسے کیسول طریقے سے ۲۰۵۶ اور پریذیڈنٹ رول کا جو نافذ کر دینا ہے۔ یہ جمہوریت کے لئے قائل ہے اور جمہوریت کیلئے خاتمہ کی وجہ بنتا ہے۔ اور جو ریاستیں ہیں جب تک ریاستوں میں آپ لوگ اس قسم کا وشواس پیدا نہیں کر سکتے۔ وہاں کی لوکل پارٹیوں کو چننے کا موقع نہیں دیتے اور ہمارے وہاں میں جو کہ یونیٹری سسٹم داخل کیا گیا ہے۔ اس کا ناجائز فائدہ اٹھانا نہیں چھوڑ دینے کیلئے جب تک ساقیت کو محفوظ نہیں کیا جاسکتا بلکہ روز بروز کمزوری ہوگی۔ جیسا کہ کہا گیا کہ آرٹڈ فور سیز اپیل پاورس ہیں اور ڈسٹرب اپریا اکیٹ نافذ کرنے سے حالات زیادہ خراب ہو گئے۔ کہتے ہیں دانا لوگ ایک



دفعہ کرنے کے بعد سنبھل جاتے ہیں۔  
لیکن مشکل کا مقام یہ ہے کہ ہم لوگ  
بار بار کرنے کے بعد بھی سنبھل رہے ہیں۔  
ہم نے دیکھا کہ ایسا کرنے سے ہم نچھ  
کے حالات کو مثبت نہیں کر سکتے۔ ہم نے  
دیکھا کہ ان ڈریکٹریں نالائق کو لے جا  
کر ہم کشمیر کو لے آئے ہیں ان میں ایڈیٹ  
کر دیا۔ ہم نے دیکھا کہ ایسا کرنے سے  
آسام کے حالات ٹھیک نہیں ہو سکے۔  
لوچر ہم کیوں اس غلطی کو برسرِ سرشت  
کرتے ہیں اور بار بار ان قانونی کو نافذ  
کرتے ہیں اور جب یہ دیکھا گیا کہ یہ پارٹی  
دینے کے بعد جو کہ ان ایڈیٹ ہیں۔ جو  
آرڈینری لاء کا اور آرڈر دیتے ہیں جو  
کونسل کے اختیارات کو ختم کر دیتی  
ہے۔ جو بنیادی حقوق کا تلخ قلم لکھ  
دیتی ہے اگلے پتھوں میں لوگوں کو تکلیف  
اور ایسا مل کا ساٹھا ہوا ہے۔ جب ہم  
نے یہ دیکھا جب یہ حالات ہمارے سامنے  
ہیں تو پھر ہم اپنی آرڈر فورسز کو کہیں  
نہیں کرتے ہیں اس قسم کے قانون  
دیکھو۔ آئینری میں لکھتے ہیں کہ ان ایڈیٹ  
پاور مت دو۔ کیونکہ پاور کریٹ کوئی ہے  
اور ان ایڈیٹ پاور ان ایڈیٹ ہی کریٹ کوئی

ہے جو طرح سے ٹاڈا کا قانون ہے۔  
میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ جب صدارت میں عہد  
آزادی چل رہی تھی تو انگریزوں نے بھی  
اس قسم کا ڈیکوریکوٹین لایا تھا۔  
کیا جیسا کہ ٹاڈا کا ایسا طریقہ ہے یہ  
جو قوانین ہیں۔ جو نافذ کئے جا رہے ہیں  
انہوں نے مات کر دی ہے ہمارے دل  
کے سارے لیجسلیٹو کو جو کہ انسان  
کے بنیادی حقوق کے محافظ ہوا کرتے ہیں  
لہذا میں یہ کہتا ہوں کہ ملک کی غیریت  
اگر آپ چاہتے ہیں اور عوام کی غیریت  
اگر آپ چاہتے ہیں تو یہ طریقہ چھوڑیں  
آپ باقاعدہ وٹن انتخابات کر لیں۔  
عوام کو اپنی مرضی کی سرکار چننے کا  
ہقوق دیں۔ یہ طریقہ ہے جس سے  
صداقت کا نچل ہو سکتا ہے۔ عوام کا  
بھی بھلا ہو سکتا ہے۔ اور ہماری مصوبی  
ہمارا بیوچر۔ مستقبل درخشاں ہو سکتا  
ہے۔

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Megha-  
laya): Madam, I think, it is incum-  
bent on the part of the Govern-  
ment to make the position clear.  
The other day, the Minister of State  
for Home Affairs had been to  
Assam, and he made a statement  
that the political parties in Assam  
did not want the elections, that  
the climate is not suitable for

[Sh. G.G. Swell]

elections. And just now my friend, Mr. Buragohain, quoted from the 'Assam Tribune' saying that he Chief Election Commissioner had said that only the Lok Sabha elections should be held in Assam and not the Assembly elections. I would like to understand what the position is. Now, there would be elections in Assam, there should be elections in Assam, there will be elections in Assam. But when? The basic question is whether elections in Assam today can be free and fair. I think, our friends from the AGP yesterday were all unanimous that the killings and violence in Assam had increased after the President's Rule. I think, that is what you said.

AN HON. MEMBER :  
Congress Party also said like that.

SHRI G.G. SWELL: It has increased and then we have this organisation, the ULFA setting out ultimatums, threats to all people in Assam to sever connections with the national parties by the 30th of this month. I think they had also sent a kind of threat to the AGP itself saying that 'you have to define your position *vis-a-vis* the demand of the ULFA for secession from India'. Now this deadline is there. Violence has increased. And I expect that violence will increase further after the 30th of March. And as somebody has referred, many Members belonging to the national parties have sent in their resignations and they have also advertised in papers so that everybody knows that they have sent a in their resignations. Now, in these circumstances, it is necessary to think very coolly whether elections in Assam can be free and fair. I do not know, the Government—I hope, it will be a care-taker Government, it will go on till the elections are held, whenever they are held—you still have that responsibility. If you cannot discharge that responsibility,

lity, then I do not know what is going to happen. Maybe it will be. (Time bell). for the new Government... I am speaking [sense, Madam. And I am sitting down. I am not speaking a single sentence ungrammatically or incorrectly.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is not a grammar class. This is Rajya Sabha.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: But some people talk sense; other people do not talk sense.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: He is casting aspersions on other people.

SHRI G.G. SWELL: I am not casting aspersions. This is inference, wild inference.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): Mr. Swaminathan, why do you take it seriously?

SHRI G. G. SWELL: If the cap fits you, I put the cap down in the fold. You can take it up and put in on your head. If the elections in Assam cannot be free and fair at this time, it is only necessary that we take a little time and have a good look at it. That is all I want to say.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee. I will remind the Members that I have announced the voting at 3.30 and I have two more names.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Madam, you have not accounted for the lost time which I brought to your notice.

The question is, during the lunch recess, very kindly granted by you at the instance of the Leader of the Congress(I), I had an occasion to listen that a leading lawyer of the incumbent Government of India in the other House proposed that the people's opinion may be taken as to whether there should be an election at all at this time. And

he might have proceeded further whether there should be elections at all, at any time and anywhere. In the background of what is proposed for Assam that question crops up. It is not a question of speaking ill of the army. Nobody likes to speak ill of the army. But at the same time, those who deploy army for questionable purposes should bear the responsibility if any ill-will is generated against the army or the task assigned to them. This is a very common feature nowadays all over the country and Assam is no exception. The other day my simple query to the Prime Minister was whether Disturbed Areas Act should not be withdrawn at least from a major part of Assam. His reply was, "There is no proposal", meaning proposals from the side of the bureaucracy or from the side of the Governor. Was that enough? Now when this resolution has been brought forward that President's rule be extended for another six months with effect from May 27, it comes to my mind whether the present Government is of the opinion that in this country no Government would come up by May 27. Otherwise why this resolution? There would not be any question of Parliamentary opinion. Is it their view? It was pointed out that Rajya Sabha is competent enough to pass a resolution on the extension of President's rule. Even then this has been insisted. Why this is insisted? They are showing from a negative angle that perhaps there may be elections before that time. We do not know in which way the wind is blowing from the South, meaning the Rashtrapati Bhavan. We are not expected to know anything before the nightfall whether at dead of night I cannot say. So the question is whether on such considerations extraneous consideration: Assam's interest should be jeopardised. Let us pay heed to what Mr. Bhargava was saying. What they have been feeling is that they are being

colonised. Their interest has been sacrificed by rulers in Delhi. They do not belong to ULFA. They condemned the terrorist activities. But at the same time this view is being generated when they recollect what happened in 1962 when Assam was taken as abandoned to the enemy by the highest in the land at the time of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. So let us keep in mind such reactions in the minds of the people of Assam and if you really want a solution let us not tamper with democratic rights in Assam.

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR (Nominated): The point that I would like to make is, there are many organisations which are functioning in Assam and one thing that is noticed is that the Government is using these organisations either for their benefit or for the benefit of the militants. This is one point that I would like to make.

The second point is to illustrate on 5th of December 1990 military arrested one person by the name of Mr. Razak. He was kept, the whole night in the lockup. In the morning he was brought to the village, Digboi Borgeon which is one kilometer away from the extremists base. The military officers—I am not casting any aspersions on any of the military officers—forced him to move ahead. When he said that he could not move ahead because militant would shoot him from front, the military officers suggested: "Otherwise we are going to shoot you from the back." This is the state of persons, who belong to different organisations. And this person belonged to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Students Union. If these atrocities are going to continue, I think these organisations which are neutral today, might one day side with the militants.

The other point which I would like to make is to request the Government to consider as to why our

[Shri Prakash YashwantAmbedkar]

younger generations are taking up arms in the country. For that, is it necessary to look into every aspect of life that we are living. Are they aspiring for certain new order—under the Centre and State relations which we have today. Unless and until we sit and discuss these issues, we cannot solve the problems that have cropped up not only in Assam but in other States as well. I would say, the situation in Assam is not as bad as it is in Bihar and U.P. But why are these States not coming under the President's rule? I know there are certain interested lobby which are playing. If we fall a prey to these interests, today, tomorrow we will have to face similar problems in these States which will come under the grips of younger generation. We will then have to address them in terms of the nation, as Dr. Raja Ramanna was saying.

With these few words, I would request the Government to postpone voting on this Resolution. Let the new Government which will come, decide the fate of Assam.

**SHRI DAVID LEDGER** (Assam): The Resolution seeking to extend President's rule in Assam is totally unwarranted. After three and a half months of imposition of President's rule in the State, there is no doubt in anybody's mind today that the experiment of imposing President's rule in the State has proved to be a failure, and as a matter of fact, it is counter-productive, despite the tall claims made by State administration and the Government at Delhi that situation has improved. There are still reports of excesses committed by the armed forces. Human rights are still being violated in the State. Fundamental rights, as enshrined in the Constitution of the country are still being violated and a sense of alienation among the people is still increasing.

There is no semblance of any civil administration in most parts of the State. Mr. Subodh Kant Sahay, the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs, during his recent visit to the State, made a public statement saying that in most of the districts in Upper Assam, specially in Dibrugarh district, the civil administration is thoroughly demoralised. This is an admission of the Union Minister of Home Affairs. Now, may I submit that the situation after three and a half months of President's rule today is worse than what it was three and a half months ago. During the last three and a half months, almost 50 people have been killed as against 133 killed during the last five years of AGP rule. Now, if this is the indication of the improvement in the situation, then I have nothing to say. It is a queer situation. The AGP Government was blamed for having failed to deal with the extremists. What about the 54,000 army jawans comprising 3 mountain divisions? What about the BSF and the CRPF who have failed to tackle the situation? Now, who is going to answer? Madam, as has been rightly expressed by many Members in this House, the political forces in the State are being rendered irrelevant. This tendency is fought with grave consequences. Having realised this fully well, all the political parties in the State are insisting on the holding of elections and also initiating a dialogue with the militants. Madam, if I remember correctly it was the Prime Minister himself who categorically stated in this House during the last Session that he was prepared to hold a dialogue with the members of the ULFA. He said, if I remember correctly, that only the organisation was banned and that the individuals were not banned. Since that time, the Governor of the State has been taking some efforts. The ULFA has given in writing to the Governor stating their willingness to participate in the discussion. Subsequent-

ly, the ULFA has also offered a ceasefire, a unilateral ceasefire. But, I am sorry to state that the Government has not yet taken any initiative. The Government is still keeping quiet. There has been no response from the Government. Today, the situation in Assam is worse than ever. I am constrained to say that Assam is on the verge of turning into another Punjab or Kashmir. The people of Assam do not want such a state of affairs to take place. The only course open today is to hold elections to set the political process in motion and to immediately lift the ban on the United Liberation Front of Assam and to initiate a dialogue with them.

**SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI** (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, it is no one's case that the situation in Assam is not grim. It is no one's case that elections will be easy or simple. But the question before us is whether not holding the elections would improve matters. It is the view of our party that not holding elections will worsen matters in Assam. Madam, the lessons of history not only speak to us, they scream to us, that not holding elections in Punjab and Kashmir and toppling the Governments have increased the alienation and not reduced it. The question before us... (Interruptions)

**SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH** (Maharashtra): We held the elections in Punjab. You did not hold. Look into yourself before you speak. That scream which you spoke of, hear it yourself... (Interruptions) Where were you when the children died? Where were you when the whole country was in flames?

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : उपसभापति महोदया, गांधी जी की... (व्यवधान) श्री राजमोहन गांधी के दल ने उसके समर्थन से सरकार चलाई। आज उसके बोलने का कोई हक नहीं है... (व्यवधान)। ऐसे लोगों के साथ बैठ

करके इन्होंने सरकार चलाई थी। इनको अहिंसा की बात करने का आज कोई हक नहीं है... (व्यवधान)।

**SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI:** Madam, the question before us is, do we trust the people, or, do we not? I say this because it is only with the help of the people that we can defeat insurgency. It is only with the help of the people that we can defeat violence.

श्री विश्वजित पञ्चजीत सिंह : वह जिसका लिखा हुआ था आप पढ़ रहे हैं; यह तो बल्लारो।

श्री राज मोहन गांधी : आपका लिखा हुआ नहीं है... (व्यवधान)।

श्री विश्वजित पञ्चजीत सिंह : वह मैं भी जानता हूँ।... (व्यवधान) मगर आप यह बल्लारो कि यह किसका लिखा हुआ है जो आप पढ़ रहे हैं।

**SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI :** The Government and its supporters may get a kick out of dismissing Governments. But when they do that, they kick the foundation of the unity of our country. Even the Congress Party in Assam wants elections. Therefore, I would request the Government and its supporting Party—it is still supporting—even at this stage, to change their minds on the question of elections in Assam.

Madam, thanks to the incident involving two constables... (Interruptions)

**SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH:** Madam, I am on a point of order. (Interruptions)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** All right. What is your point of order? (Interruptions)

**SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRA VARTY** (Assam): It is a point of disorder. (Interruptions)

**SHRI VIREN J. SHAH** (Maharashtra): Madam, can he cite the rule under which he is raising his point of order? (Interruptions)

**SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH:**  
I will cite the rule. (*Interruptions*)

**DR. NAGEN SAIKIA:** Mr. Vishvjit Singh, you give your explanation to the Prime Minister, if you want to. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH:**  
Two constables assassinated Ma-  
dam Indira Gandhi. (*Interruptions*)  
Here also, two constables were  
caught while snooping on the house  
of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. (*Interruptions*)  
We cannot allow this to happen.  
(*Interruptions*). It is a conspiracy.  
(*Interruptions*) It is a conspiracy  
against my leader. (*Interruptions*)

श्री शंकर बयाल सिंह (बिहार) :  
महोदय, अब मेरे लिये जरूरी हो गया  
है कि मैं भी खड़ा होकर कुछ कहूँ।  
देखिये... (व्यवधान)... जो बात सदन  
में हमारे मित्र... (व्यवधान)... लेकिन  
मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने अभी  
सुना है कि राजीव गांधी फिर राष्ट्रपति  
से मिलने गये हैं और इस बात का फिर  
घिनौना प्रयास कर रहे हैं कि उनकी  
सरकार बन जाय। ... (व्यवधान)...  
मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सरकार  
बनी और चुनाव नहीं हुए तो देश में खून  
की नदियां बह जायेंगी और जन-प्रतिनिधि  
कभी भी बहर नहीं निकल सकते।  
केवल दो वास्तवकों की अब बात नहीं  
रही... (व्यवधान)... फिर वे  
राष्ट्रपति भवन गये हैं और वह यह  
प्रयास कर रहे हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस  
सदन को इस बारे में स्पष्टीकरण दिया  
जाय। ... (व्यवधान)...

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : इनको देख  
कर इतने उत्तेजित हैं सदस्य, इनको  
बैठा दीजिये (व्यवधान) अब वोटिंग  
करा दीजिये (व्यवधान) राजीव गांधी  
से इनकी जमानत जगत हो चुकी है  
(व्यवधान)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
I have to call the voting. Please  
finish your speech. (*Interruptions*).  
Please sit down.

**SHRI S.K.T. RAMACHAN-  
DRAN:** Shri Rajiv Gandhi will  
rule the country for hundred years.  
You will be nowhere. (*Interruptions*)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : महोदय, बांधी  
के पीते हो कर कहते हैं (व्यवधान)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
Now, please conclude. Confine  
yourself to Assam. I will request  
everyone not to go beyond Assam.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Two  
constables, that will be an election  
symbol.

**SHRI VIREN J. SHAH:** Tale  
of two constables.

**SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI:**  
It is scarcely surprising that those  
who cannot hear four sentences  
here do not want elections to be  
held elsewhere. Madam, I was  
only saying that the one-point pro-  
gramme on which there was an  
agreement was चुनाव टले जाएं  
and thanks to the incident referred  
to, that programme has collapsed.  
(*Interruptions*).

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
Now you do not interrupt. I cannot  
permit you. Mr. Vishvjit Singh, I  
remind you that I have to go through  
voting and there is one more Mem-  
ber to speak. So, please do not  
interrupt. Kindly restrain your-  
self. Whatever you want to say,  
you can say when your name is  
called. I will allow you to speak  
but do not interrupt (*Interruptions*).  
Please do not interrupt.

**DR. NAGEN SAIKIA:** Be-  
cause he has a loud voice, he  
will be allowed...

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
Without my permission nobody will  
speak. (*Interruptions*). You do not  
have to repeat. Please sit  
down. (*Interruptions*). Now please  
conclude.

**SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI:**  
I am trying to conclude, if given a  
chance.

Since the plan of 'no election' has been given up, I urge that elections be held in Assam also and not just in the rest of India.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Shri Bagrodia. You are the last speaker and be very brief.

**SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA** (Rajasthan): I thank you for giving me this opportunity. As much as I know about the people in Assam, since I know them from my childhood, they are very peaceful people. But after the National Front Government of Mr. V. P. Singh came to power, in collusion with the AGP some people formed the ULFA and, in the process, they went in the wrong direction. What I am trying to say within the short time—because my time is very limited—is that we must take, whoever rules the country, a political decision. When we talk about elections, Mr. Gandhi goes to Assam. I also go to Assam. But he will not dare go to Assam because he is also scared for his life. If he cannot go there even for day-to-day work, I would like to know when he last went to Assam. I have gone there last month, I have been going there every month. But can he dare go there? No, because he is concerned about his life. And then he talks about elections!... (Interruptions)...

**SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY:** On a point of information... (Interruptions)...

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** No interruption, no information. Please sit down.

**SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA:** The point is, Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi also goes to Assam but now he will not dare go there. I am not for President's Rule anywhere, what to speak of Assam. But we must have a situation where elections can be held peacefully. Or, does he want that only people with guns should go to the polling booths and elections

should be held under their control? Can elections be held like this?

I am not going into the matter of the constables because I consider, Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi to be a very decent person, and I thought, with his MRA background he would bring his other friends on his side, within his control, and they would be MRA-oriented. But it seems, in their company he has changed himself instead of changing them. And I feel very sad about his future in this case... (Interruptions)...

I only want to say that elections should be held in Assam as soon as possible so that democracy can be established there. Thank you.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** The discussion is over. Mr. Minister, would you like to say something or shall I go ahead with the voting? ... (Interruptions)... He wants to say something.

गृह मंत्रालय ने राज्य मंत्री तथा सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय में राज्य-मंत्री (श्री सुबोध कांत सहाय) : उपसभा-पति महोदया, क्योंकि बहुत सारे संवाल उठाये गये हैं, मैं दो शब्द कहना चाहता हूँ। सारी राजनीतिक बहस के बावजूद जो लोग आसाम से वाकिफ हैं वे जानते हैं कि वहाँ क्या हालत थी और प्रेजिडेंट कल किस हालत में लगाया गया और आज क्या हालत है। उपसभापति महोदया, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमने जितना हद तक हो सकता था अभी चार दिनों के अंदर आसाम में घूमकर विभिन्न जिलों से सम्पर्क किया है। यह सही है कि वहाँ के जिला प्रशासन की लोलत खस्ता थी, बहुत ही खराब थी। लेकिन आज आम लोगों में, प्रेजिडेंट कल के बाद एक विश्वास पैदा हुआ है।

कुछ राजनीतिक स्लोगन के आधार पर अभी और पैरा मिलिट्री फोर्स को दी जाने वाली पावर्स के संबंध में लोग कह रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि ईमानदारी से सोचें, वहाँ की पुलिस और वहाँ का

[श्री सुबोधकान्त सहाय]

प्रशासन जो एकदम अग्रगण्य हो गया था उसकी कार्यवाही को पैरा मिलिट्री फोर्स वहाँ कर रही है जिसके लिए उसे विशेषाधिकार की जरूरत है।

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: By deploying the army you have made the civil administration even worse ... (Interruptions)...

श्री सुबोध कान्त सहाय: मैं माननीय सदस्य को विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि आपने जो आर्मी के बारे में कहा है, हकीकत है कि आर्मी अपना काम फेज-वाइज पूरा कर रही हैं और आर्मी का विड्राल फेजवाइज व जिला वाइज शुरू हो गया है। यह भी मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ आर्मी वहाँ कोई परमानेंट नहीं रहने वाली है। जिस आपरेशन के लिए गयी थी, उस आपरेशन को पूरा करके वह काम खत्म करेगी। आज के समय में हम जो 6 महीने की अवधि और ल रहे हैं वह इसलिए नहीं कि हम चुनाव कराना चाहते हैं, हमारी सरकार ने फैसला लेकर राष्ट्रपति के सामने दिया है और उस फैसले के तहत अगर मई महीने तक वहाँ कोई संवैधानिक सरकार यहाँ चुनकर नहीं आती है तो देश में जो संवैधानिक क्राइसिस होने वाली है उसको दबाइव करने के लिए हम 6 महीने का समय लेना चाहते हैं।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What happens to the Rajya Sabha? If the Resolution is passed in the Lok Sabha and if the Lok Sabha is dissolved, a new Lok Sabha cannot be constituted before... (Interruptions)...

श्री सुबोध कान्त सहाय: मैं बात कर रहा हूँ। बहस क्यों कर रहे हैं... (व्यवधान)

इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, मैं इतना विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि 'कल्ला' के जो लोग हैं उन लोगों ने अपना बड़ा ही पाजिटिव जेस्चर दिया है और वहाँ सीज फायर किया है।

सीज फायर के बाद वहाँ अभी तक कोई हत्या की घटना नहीं हुई है। यह एक पाजिटिव सिगनल है। मैं समझता हूँ कि तमाम राजनीतिक दलों को मिल करके इस दिशा में सोचना चाहिए, जिससे उनसे बर्ता हो।

आज की स्थिति में सरकार जो कल कही थी, उसी से अपने को पूरी तरह से प्रतिबद्ध मानती है कि हम उनके साथ वार्ता करने के लिए तैयार हैं। लेकिन उनकी तरफ से कोई कनक्रीट हमारे पास सिगनल नहीं आया है। प्रेस के माध्यम से वह अपनी बात कह रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं इससे एक पाजिटिव सिगनल मानता हूँ।

दसरा, यह सरकार जितना जल्द से जल्द हो सकता है, असम में चुनाव करा करके अगर जरूरत हुई, समस्या अच्छी रही, तो हो सकता है कि पहले भी करा सकते हो, 6 महीने की अवधि लेने के अंदर भी करवा सकते हो। इसलिए हमारी नीयत बहुत साफ है। हम वहाँ पर सामान्य स्थिति बनाने के लिए समय ले रहे हैं, जनतांत्रिक पद्धति को रोकने के लिए नहीं।

इन शब्दों के साथ यह अनुरोध करता हूँ कि सम्मानित सदस्य इसे पास कर दें।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Yesterday I raised a pointed constitutional question. I wanted the Minister to answer that, why it is that this extension has to be given now because it will expire in May and Rajya Sabha is competent to give extension. Let him answer that. (Interruptions)

SHRI M. M. JACOB: He has answered it.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): He has answered it.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, it is not answer at all. It is absolutely unjustified on the part of the Minister. It is absolutely unjustified.



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**SHRI DIPEN GHOSH:** He has not explained it. He has explained about the Lok Sabha but not about Rajya Sabha. He is repeating here the reply which he has given in the Lok Sabha. But that does not apply here. Rajya Sabha can be summoned in May even though the Lok Sabha not have been constituted by that time. *(Interruptions)* It has happened earlier. *(Interruptions)*

**SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI:**  
What is happening?

**SHRI PARVATHANENI UP-  
ENDRA:** What is that? Let us also know about it.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
We are working about the Resolution.

**SHRI PARVATHANENI UP-  
ENDRA:** At 5 o'clock we meet.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
Now it is four o'clock. Then we will have to adjourn. I have to find out. That is the thing.

4.00 P.M.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**  
Hon. Members, I shall now put the Resolution to vote.

The question is:

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 27th November, 1990, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Assam for a further period of six months with effect from the 27th May, 1991."

*The House divided.*

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:**

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NOES

Abrar Ahmed, Dr.  
Ahluwallia, Shri S.S.  
Alia, Kumari  
Alva, Shrimati Margaret  
Amla, Shri Tirath Ram  
Antony, Shri A.K.

Bagrodia, Shri Santosh  
Barongpa, Shri Sushil  
Bekal Utsahi, Shri  
Beniwal, Shrimati Vidya  
Bhardwaj, Shri Hansraj  
Bhatia, Shri Madan  
Bhatt, Shri Jitendrabhai Labhshanker  
Birla, Shri Krishna Kumar

Chaturvedi, Shri Bhuvnesh  
Chaudhary Harmohan Singh  
Chavan, Shri S.B.  
Chowdhary Ram Sewak  
Chowdhry Hari Singh

Das Shri Basant Kumar  
Desai, Shri Jagesh  
Dhawan, Shri R.K.  
Dronamraju, Shri Satyanarayana

Faguni Ram, Dr.  
Fotedar, Shri Makhan Lal

Ghufran Azam, Shri  
Gopalan, Shri R.T.  
Hanspal, Shri Harvendra Singh  
Hanumanthappa, Shri H.  
Hariprasad, Shri B.K.  
Hashmi, Shri Shamim  
Hiphei, Shri

Jacob, Shri M.M.  
Jadhav, Shri Vitthalrao Madhavrao  
Jaiswal, Shri Anant Ram  
Jani, Shri Jagadish

Kallashpati, Shrimati  
Kalita, Shri Bhubaneswar

[The Deputy Chairman]

Kalmadi, Shri Suresh  
Kesri, Shri Sitaram  
Khaparde, Miss Saroj  
Khatun, Kumari Sayceda  
Kore, Shri Prabhakar B.  
Krishnan, Shri G.Y.  
Kulkarni, Shri A.G.  
Kuthi-avattom, Shri Thomas  
Lather, Shri Mohinder Singh  
Lenka, Shri Kahnua Charan  
Lotha, Shri Khyomo  
Madni, Shri Maulana Azad  
Mahendra Prasad, Shri  
Malaviya, Shri Satya Prakash  
Masodkar, Shri Bhaskar Annaji  
Mathur, Shri Manmohan  
Meena, Shri Dhuleshwar  
Mishra, Shri Shiv Pratap  
Mohammad Yunus, Shri  
Morarka, Shri Kamal  
Naik, Shri G. Swamy  
Narayanasamy, Shri V.  
Natarajan, Shrimati Jayanthi  
Pachouri, Shri Suresh  
Palaniyandi, Shri M.  
Pande, Shri Bishambhar Nath  
Pandey, Shrimati Manorama  
Pandey, Dr. Ratnakar.  
Panwar, Shri B.L.  
Parmar, Shri Rajubhai A.  
Patel, Shri Chhotubhai  
Patel, Shri Vithalbhai M.  
Patil, Shrimati Suryakanta  
Patil, Shri Vishwasrao Ramrao  
Pragada, Kotaiah, Shri  
Puglia, Shri Naresh C.  
Rafique Alam, Shri  
Ramachandran, Shri S.K.T.  
Ranjit Singh, Shri  
Ratan Kumari, Shrimati  
Rathwa, Shri Ramsinh

Razi, Shri Syed Sibtey  
Reddy, Shri T. Chandrasekhar  
Sahu, Shri Santosh Kumar  
Sanadi, Prof. I. G.  
Sanjaya Sinh, Dr.  
Satya Bahin, Shrimati  
Sen, Shri Ashoke Kumar  
Sharma, Shri Chandan  
Sharma, Shri Satish Kumar  
Shiv Shanker, Shri P.  
Singh, Shri Digvijay  
Singh, Shri K.N.  
Singh, Shrimati Pratibha  
Singh, Dr. Rudra Pratap  
Singh, Shri Surender  
Singh, Shri Vishvjit P.  
Sinha, Shri Yashwant  
Solanki, Shri Madhavsinh  
Swaminathan, Shri G.  
Swamy, Shri Subramanian  
Swell, Shri G.G.

Thakur, Shri Rameshwar  
Thakur, Shri Surendra Singh  
Tharadevi, Shrimati D.K.  
Tiria, Kumari Sushila  
Tyagi, Shri Shanti  
Verma, Shri Ashok Nath  
Verma, Shri Kapil  
Verma, Shrimati Veena  
Vincent, Shri M.  
Yadav, Shri Ish Dutt  
Yadav, Shri Ram Naresh  
Yadava, Shri Bal Ram Singh

NOES—60

Ahmed, D. Z.A.  
Ambedkar, Shri Prakash Yashwant  
Amin, Shri Mohammed  
Baby, Shri M.A.  
Balanandan, Shri E.  
Balu, Shri T.R.  
Basu Ray, Shri Sunil

Bhattacharjee, Prof. Sourendra  
Buragohain, Shri Bhadreswar  
Chakravarty, Shrimati Bijoya  
Chaudhuri, Shri Tridib  
Chowdhury, Shrimati Renuka  
Das, Shrimati Mira  
Das, Gupta Shri Gurudas  
Gandhi, Shri Raj Mohan  
Ganesan, Shri Misa R.  
Ghosh, Shri Dipen  
Gopalsamy, Shri V.  
Goswami, Shri Dinesh  
Goswami, Shri Ramnarayan  
Gurupadaswamy, Shri M.S.  
Jethmalani, Shri Ram  
Kaldate, Dr. Bapu  
Kalvala, Shri Prabhakar Rao  
Kar, Shri Narayan  
Kiruttinan, Shri Pasumpon Tha.  
Kunjachen, Shri P.K.  
Ledger, Shri David  
Maheshwari, Shrimati Sarala  
Maheswarappa, Shri K.G.  
Md. Salim, Shri  
Menon, Prof. M.G.K.  
Mishra, Shri Chaturanan  
Mohanty, Shri Sarada  
Mukherjee, Shri Samar  
Nallasivan, Shri A.  
Padmanabham, Shri Mohntay  
Poddar, Dr. R.K.  
Rahman, Shri Mohd. Khaleelur  
Raju, Shri J.S.  
Rao, Shri Moturu Hanumantha  
Reddy, Dr. G. Vijaya Mohan  
Reddy, Dr. Narreddy Thulasi  
Saikia, Dr. Nagen  
Saqhy Shri T.A. Mohammed

Sen, Shri Ashis  
Sen, Shri Sukomal  
Singh, Shri Shankar Dayal  
Singh, Shri W. Kulabidhu  
Sinha, Shrimati Kamla  
Sivaji, Dr. Yelamanchili  
Som Pal, Shri  
Sreedharan, Shri Arangil  
Talari Manohar, Shri  
Trivedi, Shri. Dineshbhai  
Uppendra, Shri Parvathaneni  
Veerappan, Shri K.K.  
Venkatraman, Shri Tindivanam G.  
Viduthalai Virumbi, Shri S.  
Yadav, Shri Ranjan Prasad

*The motion was adopted*

# RE TAKING UP OF THE MEM- BER'S SALARIES AND AMENITIES BILL BEFORE ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE

## THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:

I would let the Members share what we were discussing. Nothing is secret. The Members' Salary and Allowances Bill is still stuck up in the Lok Sabha. Until and unless that comes here, we cannot adjourn *sine die*. We cannot deprive the other House of their perks. That is what we were discussing. The Resolution on Punjab is also there. I was discussing that after the voting we will adjourn the House and tomorrow we will meet at eleven o'clock and take those things.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UP-  
ENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Ma-  
dam, I am on a point of order on  
what you have announced. (*In-  
terruptions*) The Statutory Resolu-  
tion can be discussed simultaneously  
in both the Houses. It is not ne-  
cessary for the Lok Sabha to pass  
and send it here. The Statutory  
Resolution can be discussed simul-  
taneously. Therefore, we will take  
up simultaneously with the  
Lok Sabha.