

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुवालिया : आप जवाब देने दीजिए, उन्होंने जवाब मांगा है। . . . (व्यवधान) जवाब मिल रहा है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRISHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): He is already giving the reply.

श्री सुबोध कान्त सहाय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपकी भावना के साथ मैं गोवा पर ही हूँ और चुनाव क्यों नहीं कराए जाए, इसी साल पर मैं कह रहा हूँ कि जो हमारी स्थिति है, चाहे वह कानून और व्यवस्था की हो, चाहे सांप्रदायिकता की हो—यह लहर देश के हरेक कोने में फैली हुई है। इसीलिए यहां पर एक पोपुलर गवर्नमेंट बनी और चुनाव के मैदान में तत्काल न जाएं, इसी साल को लेकर गोवा में सरकार बनायी है और इस देश में सरकार बनायी है जिसका कि मैं गृह मंत्री होकर आपके बीच में खड़ा हूँ। इसी के साथ मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि यह सदन इस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करेगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRISHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): I shall now put the Resolution moved by Shri Subodh Kant Sahay to move:

The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 14th December, 1990, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Goa."

*The motion was adopted.*

1 RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 IN RELATION TO ASSAM; &....

2] MOTION RECOMMENDING REVOCATION OF THE PROCLAMATION

गृह मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री तथा सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सुबोध कान्त सहाय): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी अनुमति से निम्नलिखित संकल्प प्रस्तुत करता हूँ :—

"यह सभा संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अधीन असम राज्य के संबंध में राष्ट्रपति द्वारा 27 नवम्बर, 1990 को जारी की गई उद्घोषणा का अनुमोदन करती है।"

महाशय, असम के राज्यपाल की रिपोर्ट और उद्घोषणा की प्रतियां सदन के पटल पर रखी गयी हैं। असम के राज्यपाल ने भारत के राष्ट्रपति को 26 नवम्बर, 1990 की अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह बताया कि यूनाइटेड लिबरेशन फ्रंट आफ् आसाम (उल्फा) ने भारत के संविधान से आसाम को मुक्त कराने के लिए सशस्त्र संघर्ष शुरू कर दिया है तथा वे एक स्वतंत्र प्रभुत्व संपन्न राज्य की स्थापना के लिए प्रयास कर रहे हैं। अपने इस उद्देश्य को पूरा करने के लिए उसने चुने हुए व्यक्तियों को गोली मारकर हत्या कर के तथा समाज के समृद्ध वर्ग से धन ऐंठने के लिए आतंक का उपयोग कर के लोगों के बीच डर की भावना पैदा करने की दोहरी नीति अपनायी है। राज्यपाल ने बताया है कि उल्फा द्वारा 13 निर्दोष व्यक्तियों की गोली मारकर हत्या की गयी। बदला लेने के अभियान को जारी रखते हुए उल्फा कार्यकर्ताओं ने बाकायदा ऐम पुलिस अधिकारियों और राजनीतिक नेताओं की हत्या की जो उनके उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति की राह में आते थे। पिछले तीन वर्षों के दौरान 58 राजनीतिक कार्यकर्ताओं की हत्या की गई तथा 19 अधिकारियों का वध किया गया है। राज्यपाल ने यह भी उल्लेख

किया कि उल्फा द्वारा अपहरण करने और फिरौती की रकम का भुगतान होने पर छोड़ देने की कार्यप्रणाली का अक्सर सहारा लिया गया है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि धन ऐंठने की प्रक्रिया से किसी को भी नहीं बखशा गया। व्यापारियों, अधिकारियों और कंपनियों को फिरौती की राशि देने के लिए आतंकित किया गया है। किसी भी पक्ष से प्रतिरोध के अभाव में संभवतः राज्य सरकार द्वारा कार्यवाही करने में असमर्थ रहने के कारण हत्या और धन ऐंठने की घटनाओं में वृद्धि हुई है। राज्यपाल ने यह भी उल्लेख किया है कि लखीमपुर, तिनमुड़िया, डिब्रूगढ़ जिलों में उल्फा कार्यकर्ताओं ने एक सनानात्र प्रशमन स्थापित कर दिया है। कार्यकारी प्रशमनिक तथा न्यायिक कार्यों को आने निबंधन में ले लिया है। राज्यपाल ने यह भी सूचित किया है कि उल्फा ने नियमित उल्फा सेवा में लोगों को भर्ती कर के और उन्हें प्रशिक्षण प्रदान कर के भारत सरकार के खिलाफ युद्ध शुरू करने का कार्यक्रम शुरू किया है। इस उद्देश्य के अनुसरण में उल्फा ने प्रशिक्षण कैंप स्थापित किए हैं। हथियार प्राप्त कर लिए गए हैं। उल्फा के इन कार्यकलापों के बावजूद पुलिस मामलों की पूरी तरह से जांच नहीं कर रही है। गिरफ्तार किए गए अपराधियों को बिना किसी विरोध के जमानत पर रिहा किया जा रहा है। आतंकवादी और विघटनकारी कार्यकलाप अधिनियम "टाडा" के अंतर्गत बिना किसी शर्त जमानत दी जा रही है। अपराधियों की रिहाई को राज्य सरकार द्वारा उच्च न्यायालय और उच्चतम न्यायालय में चुनौती नहीं दी जा रही है आल आसाम स्टूडेंट यूनियन और उनके समर्थकों द्वारा बड़े पैमाने पर आन्दोलन आयोजित करके "उल्फा" कार्यकर्ताओं के खिलाफ किसी भी पुलिस कार्यवाई का विरोध किया जा रहा है जिससे जांच करने वाली एजेंसियों के लिए कार्य करना मुश्किल हो रहा है। व्यवसायी, व्यापारी और उद्योगपति बुरी तरह प्रभावित हुए हैं। वास्तव में राज्यपाल

ने यह सूचित किया कि राज्य में लोगों के मन में भय व्याप्त है। पुलिस अधिकारियों को निष्प्रभावी बना दिया गया है और संवैधानिक प्राधिकारी अपना कार्य-निष्पादन करने में असम हो गए हैं।

राज्यपाल ने संक्षेप में यह भी कहा है कि राज्य सरकार की मशीनरी की समर्थता और निष्ठा में इस कदर कमी हो गई है कि उल्फा, ए0एस0यू0 और ए0जी0पी0 में जो थोड़ा-बहुत भेद किसी अवस्था में विद्यमान थे, वे भी अब पूरी तरह समाप्त हो गए हैं। राज्यपाल इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते हैं कि ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है जिसमें राज्य का शासन भारत के उपबंधों के अनुसार नहीं चलाया जा सकता।

केन्द्रीय सरकार ने राज्यपाल की इस रिपोर्ट और असम की स्थिति पर विचार किया और वह इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंची कि संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अधीन अधिसूचना जारी करके राज्य विधान सभा को निलम्बित किए जाने के अलावा और कोई विकल्प नहीं है। राष्ट्रपति को इस कार्यवाई की सिफारिश की गई थी। संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अधीन राष्ट्रपति द्वारा 27 नवम्बर, 1990 को उद्घोषणा जारी की गई।

इन परिस्थितियों को ध्यान में रखते हुए, जिनका मैंने उल्लेख किया, महोदय, मैं सिफारिश करता हूँ कि असम राज्य के संबंध में संविधान के अधीन 27 नवम्बर, 1990 को जारी की गई उद्घोषणा को आदरणीय सांसद कृपया अनुमोदन प्रदान करें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Now, the Minister has moved the Resolution. Shri Dinesh Goswami will move his motion.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I move:

"That this House recommends to the President that the Proclamation issued by the President on the 27th Nov-

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ember, 1990, under article 356 of the Constitution^ in relation to the State of Assam, be revoked. "

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am aware that my motion today, to a great extent, has become academic because the Assam Assembly's term is expiring today, and even if President's rule is revoked, it has to be re-imposed because the Assembly's life will no longer be in existence. But still I have moved this motion because I am totally opposed to the President's rule in the State and I feel that President's rule in Assam only will not be able to solve the problem for which the President's rule has been sought to be imposed, but the whole effort will be counter-productive.

Sir, we must keep in mind that the President's rule had been imposed in the State when the Election Commission was fully prepared and had geared itself for the polls. President's rule had been imposed with hardly 40 days to go by before the expiry of the term of the Assembly. This has set a very dangerous precedent in the federal polity of this country. Uptill now, in the entire country, the practice we followed was the opinion of the State Government on the question of law and order was taken to be final. The Central Government never superimpose its own opinion and disturbed the periodicity of the election. I have been asked a question which I have failed to reply to the students, to the youths and to the people of Assam, and the question is, that in 1983, when the entire people of Assam in one voice said that election must not be held and efforts of election would lead to large-scale killings, election was held, and the record would show that according to the Home Ministry's own admission, 3500 people were killed in the elections; according to us, the figure was more than 7000. And when we confronted the Government and the Election Commission as to how was it that in the name of democratic election, 7000 people were killed—because after all, Constitution, "s meant for men; men are not meant for the Constitution—the answer was that oh, the question of law

and order, it was the opinion of the State Government which was final. It is also on record, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that Assam election of 1983 was held on two days. After the first day's election was over, the Election Commission wrote to the Returning Officers and the State Government that if in their view the second day's election would also lead to equal violence, to postpone the second day's election. But the election was held and the Election Commission and the Government of India expressed total helplessness by saying that in these matters, State Government's opinion was final. For the first time in the history of India, independent India, the periodicity of elections has been disturbed on the opinion of the Central Government that the law and order situation is not conducive for holding elections.

Firstly, it is against the Constitutional provision because the Constitution does not permit imposition of President's Rule disturbing the periodicity of elections on the ground of law and order. May I ask, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is it not a case that several times, in West Bengal, complaints had been made that the law and order situation was not conducive for holding elections there under the C. P. I. (M) rule? In fact, wherever there was an Opposition Government, such complaints had been there. But it is for the first time that this sort of power has been exercised by the Central Government which, I am afraid, will be followed in many subsequent cases. This sort of practice will be followed not only by the present Government but by the other Governments also, whichever Party may come to power at the Centre. If the ruling party at the Centre is not favourably poised for an electoral victory, elections will be postponed and President's Rule will be imposed.

Now, Sir, I do not want to go much into the past. Today, I am a worried man and I would like to look to the future. Let us remember that the people of Assam are nationalistic to the core of their heart. The Governor has made a very interesting statement that the difference between

be A. A. S. U. the A. A. G. S. P. and the U. L. F. A. got obliterated. Does it mean that the five Members of Parliament who stand here today have become members of the U. L. F. A. or supporters of the U. L. F. A. ? Sir, we are nationalistic to the core. We have stood by the nationalist forces. Today, every student of Assam is a member of the A. A. S. U. When you say that every student of Assam is a supporter of the U. L. F. A., you are only antagonising the students of Assam and doubting their nationalistic feelings. If you say like this, by force, they may lean towards U. L. F. A. The hon. Governor has failed to realise that a statement like this...  
(Interruptions)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Who were responsible? You were responsible. (Interruptions).

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Mr. Narayanasamy, please sit down. Let me have my say. (Interruptions).

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Bihar): You were responsible. Your Government was responsible. (Interruptions).

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRISHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Mr. Ahluwalia and Mr. Narayanasamy, please take your seats. (Interruptions). All of you, take your seats. (Interruptions).

SHRI S. VIBUTHALAI VIRUMBI: They do not have the licence to disturb like this. (Interruptions).

SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal): Sir, is it the monopoly of Mr. Narayanasamy? Why is he getting up and disturbing like this?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You take the monopoly. We do not want

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I appeal to all sides of the House, particularly, to my friends on the other side. I am speaking the Assamese mind today. You may try to obstruct and throttle my voice. But if you do not understand the situation, you will have another Punjab and Kashmir in Assam. Kindly listen to me. It may not agree, but I hope you will kindly listen to me. What I am trying to say is 646 R. S. —

this. When you put the A. A. S. U., the A. A. G. S. P. and the U. L. F. A. in the same boat, you create a dangerous situation because every Assamese student is a member of the A. A. S. U. If it is communicated to them tomorrow that according to the Governor of the State, there is no distinction between the U. L. F. A. and the A. A. S. U., the nationalistic students may well start feeling 'If we are accused like this in spite of our nationalistic feelings, where do we stand'. This is what I want to caution you about. As I said, the people of Assam are nationalistic to the core of their heart.

Sir, let us not forget that in 1962, at the time of the Chinese aggression, when the Chinese came to the border of our State, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru bade good-bye to the people of Assam at that time, the people of Assam stood like one man to defend the unity and integrity of the country. At that time, the women of Assam unhesitatingly parted with their jewels and gave it to the Jawans to defend the border of the country. In 1965, we took the brunt of the Pakistani attack. Again, in 1971, during the Bangladesh Liberation War, one million refugees crossed over to the North-Eastern region and we, the people of Assam and other North-Eastern States, together bore the burden without any murmur because we knew that we must stand by the rat in such moments of crisis.

Let us not also forget that the State has contributed to the two traditional foreign exchange earners for years and years.

Sir, the people of Assam are nationalistic to the core not only because of political unity because political unity in Assam is comparatively of recent origin. Right! upto 1826 Assam was politically not a part of India. Assam became part of India in 1826 by Treaty of Yandabo and the British annexed Assam from Burma. But Assam is a part of the total composite culture of the Indian nationalism. Let me remind the House that 500 years back when Assam was not a part of the political map of India, the Mahapurush Sri Sankar Deva, a great philosopher and saint wrote which means, glory to Kalijuga, glory to those

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who are born humans, glory to Bharat-warsh where you are born. That saint never used the word 'Assam' anywhere. Therefore, the feeling of unity is the uppermost in the minds of the people of Assam. But we are very sensitive. We have got tremendous pride in our own identity. I am proud to say that when the whole country is burning either on the Mandal or Mandir-Masjid issue, Assam is the one State which has no influence whatsoever Mandir or Masjid. Today somebody is fighting on the issue of a mosque or a mandir but if you go to Assam, you will find in Hajo the chanting of namaz and mantras take place at the same time fact to face without any disturbance whatsoever in the Assamese minds. That is the tradition and strength of the people of the State. We are proud of that. We also suffer from the feeling of insecurity because of the massive migration of population from across the border. We feel that the political, economic and social leverage of the State may be lost as its own indigenous people may be in minority. We have also a feeling of neglect because the State, in spite of the fact that it has all the resources, including petroleum and tea; and other mineral resources has really not developed. We have all the mineral resources. Today the youths of Assam ask 'me a vital question' to which I have 'no answer. Whenever there is a movement, whichever may be the Government, "it has said, "Look here, your" petrol output has been stopped and the country is losing "every day crores of rupees. " But then, he asks me a question back, "Look here, the country has not lost anything because crude is under the soil of earth, it can be extracted any moment, but (here is flaring of the gas everyday worth lakhs of rupees. How can it be replenished?". I have no answer to that. Today when we deal with Assam, we must keep in view the psyche, the sensitivity of the people. It has a deep sense of nationalist feeling, but equally it has its own pride. People of Assam never tolerate rule of Delhi. They would like to have a Government of their own and I am in total agreement with Mr. Prakash Mbedkar when he said: Always keep the

State Government as a buffer. Otherwise, the Central Government will always be a subject matter of attack for every failure, omission or commission. Today, if the AGP Government failed, the best thing should have been to give an opportunity to the People of Assam to elect its own Government. On the one hand you say that we failed all along, and on the other, you do not permit people of Assam to exercise their own right. Why don't you trust the people of this State? After all, in a democracy one must trust the people of that State. And a dangerous statement has come from the Home Minister that the situation in the State is such that election cannot take place anywhere in the country. Therefore, the conclusion is that it is the subjective opinion of this Government that the election cannot take place. Even if this Government loses its right to continue in Government, it will continue in Government. In a Democracy, the moment you do not trust people you lose your right of governance. "I feel that the hon. Home Minister who has made this dangerous statement and will correct it because I know he has a sensitive mind for the State of Assam.

After the President's rule two draconian Acts have been imposed, one is the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act and the other is the Disturbed Areas Act. What powers do these two Acts give? These Acts give power to an army man to shoot any body at sight without any order whatsoever from any authority. According to the Governor's own report the entire State is not under the domain of ULFA. ULFA's writ, even according to the Governor's report to which I do not agree does not transform the whole State, But why have you put the entire State under the purview of these two Acts?

Now, there have been reports of army atrocities. We have visited some areas. The All-Assam Students Union has asked the Home Minister. Mr. Sahay, to revisit Assam. Some of my friends, my colleagues, have visited various parts in the State. We heard harrowing tales of rape of women. Normally, women do not disclose this, but we found that young

girls had come and not only reported in the police stations, but they had done so to the Governor and in the presence of the Governor reported what the army had done to them. Action has to be taken against two army jawans. I have myself visited places where tales of molestation were told by women. I will not go deep into this because my friends will give detailed accounts.

Youths have been tortured by third-degree methods. Even under the Special Powers Act, the army authorities are duty bound under law, to hand over an apprehended person at the earliest to the civil authorities. But days in and days in, apprehended persons were not handed over. People had to move *habeas corpus* petitions in the High Court and only after filing of *habeas corpus* petitions and directions of the Court youths have been presented to whom third-degree methods had been applied. The Advocate-General's car had been impounded.

Today, with all this, alienation and bitterness is now boiling in the minds of the people of the State. I am worried about it. I am worried because ULFA cannot win over the hearts of the people of Assam in their fight for secessionism by arms, because you cannot obliterate hundreds of years of history by armed activities for a few days. I have said it in public that ULFA can silence me, but my nationalist conviction, that we are a part of the whole India, cannot be taken away from me by ULFA through arms. But let us also not forget that these boys and girls who have taken to arms, have taken to arms because they believe in something. Assamese girls normally do not come to the streets, and I was worried when I saw newspaper reports that Assamese girls have taken arms training across the border in Burma. We must try to understand as to why this has happened.

As an ULFA activist cannot change my conviction of Indian nationalism,

through harms, let us remember that the State power also, through arms, cannot change their convictions and bring them into the national mainstream. Every action that the army authorities are taking today in Assam is alienating the Assamese and taking the Assamese people from the mainstream to the ULFA camp. This is what worries me. Sir, let us remember that secessionism, extremism, does not really gather its strength through arms. It gathers its strength in the minds of men. In any State, in any country if there is no popular support, no extremist organization can make any dent, and I am worried that continuance of the President's Rule will only make more people ULFA-minded.

I was worried, Mr. Vice-Chairman, when a few days back a journalist told me that in the village prayer house women were praying for the welfare of the ULFA youths. Why has this happened? It is because villagers have been apprehended—entire villages have been apprehended—kept in open fields for hours and hours and interrogated, creating an impression as if everybody in the State is a culprit. Therefore, I would submit, most humbly, that this type of an effort will be totally counter-productive.

We have many other problems. We have the Bodo problem, the tribal problem, and I am amazed that when the Governor of Assam spoke about deaths and killings by the ULFA activists, he didn't utter a word about deaths and killings by the Bodo extremists. But the Bodo problem cannot be solved unless the State Government becomes an effective party to it. And, while trying to deal with the ULFA problem, we may face another kind of situation with the Bodo problem if we do not have a popular Government there. Therefore, what I will submit, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is that in this context if we look ahead we must take a three-pronged strategy:

One, we must try to bring these youths into the national mainstream or even isolate those who are not prepared to come to the national mainstream, from then

[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

vast number of youths who today may be supporters of the ULFA. Of course, you have spoken about the AGP. But there are supporters of the ULFA.

I will quote a statement from one important personality who is an important personality of Assam politics. Let me quote him from an interview published in the "SUNDAY" of 27th May—2nd June, 1990:

"There is no point in condemning the ULFA simply because it is resorting to violence. The Russian and Chinese Revolutions—both violent phases in history—were hailed by all progressive people. More recently, the mob frenzy that led to the assassination of the Romanian President Nicolai Ceausescu and the formation of a new Government in the streets of Bucharest has been welcomed by the whole world. The ULFA's activities must also be seen in that light as a form of protest."

Mr. Narayanasamy, this is not a statement of an AGP leader; this is not a statement from an AASU leader; this is a statement from Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, the President of the Congress(I). Therefore do not accuse the AGP. Your own people are being soft to the ULFA. And to my knowledge, this has not been contradicted. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA (Assam): A point of order, Sir. Mr. Goswami has referred to the name of a person who is not a Member of this House. Can he refer to that name? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI 9. S. AHLUWALIA: Sir,....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Mr. Goswami, please take your seat. Please hear him.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पहली बात तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री दिनेश गोस्वामी ने अभी उनकी बात उठाई है जो इस सदन के सदस्य नहीं हैं। दूसरी बात यह है कि जिस चीज को लेकर ये अपनी बात कह रहे हैं, मेरे पास भी ऐसे बहुत सारे बुकलेट हैं जिनमें इन्होंने क्या क्या कहा है, मैं दिखा सकता हूँ और मैं दिखाऊंगा। यह जो सनडे का स्टेटमेंट है, यह गलत है, इसका कंटाडिक्शन टेलीग्राफ में छप चुका है। जो कुछ ये कह रहे हैं यह सच नहीं है। गलत बात को यहाँ बयान नहीं किया जाना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :  
मैं माननीय सदस्यों से अनुरोध करूँगा कि जो सदन के सदस्य नहीं हैं उनके नाम का उल्लेख न करें जिससे कि विवाद की स्थिति पैदा न हो। स्वस्थ परम्परा के ढंग से चलें।

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Sir, will reply to this. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Maharashtra): Important newspaper reports are quoted in the House. A little while back Mr. Narayanasamy and others quoted a number of things about Mr. George Fernandes. That was allowed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Mr. Viren Shah, I have not objected to it. asked the hon. Member only why he was taking the names of those who are not Members of this House.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Let it\* reply. Let me take note of it.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): He has not made any allegation.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I have not made any allegation.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
श्री दिनेश गोस्वामी कानून मंत्री रह चुके हैं। उनको समझना चाहिए कि सनडे में छपने के बाद इसका कंटाडिक्शन टेलीग्राफ में छप चुका है। इस चीज को आप देखें।

J think that he is capable of defending himself.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am capable of handling it. (*Interruptions*) I do not want to enter into.....

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA (Assam); I want to know from Mr. Ahluwalia whether the contradiction was published in the "SUNDAY" or in the "TELEGRAPH" (*Interruptions*)

3T SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I cannot make an allegation; I did not make any allegation. I was only placing these aspects.

Therefore, what I am trying to point out, Mr. Vice-Chairman, today is, President's rule being a fait-accompli, the best course is to go in for early elections in the State. In Assam we have a particular time-table for elections. Monsoon sets in Assam during the middle of April. If we do not hold elections by the end of March or even latest by the first week of April, elections will have to be postponed, I think, till October and November. In spite of the best wishes the Central Government will not be able to hold elections. What I am trying to point out and appeal to the Members and to the sense of this House is that the continuance of President's rule and army operations in Assam will only strengthen the extremist forces. Let us not forget that today political forces have become irrelevant in Punjab and Kashmir. Even in a State like Jammu and Kashmir the same type of allegations were made against the National Conference. We had to think in terms of reviving of State Assembly in order that we may have some political forces to talk to. Don't make undue allegations against the AGP all the time, because the AGP has publicly proclaimed that though we are a regional party, we stand by the national

ethos. We are part of the National Front. We came to work together with the national political parties. (Don't forget about it. Therefore, don't make the political forces irrelevant, whether it is the AGP or the Congress (I) or the Janata Dal. Thus my apprehension is that prolongation of President's rule will lead to alienation, will isolate the political forces and the whole effort will be counter-productive. Therefore, I would like the Home Minister to announce that elections will take place latest by the end of March or by the early part of April.

I would also like to say that there are tremendous grievances in the minds of the youths of Assam. Forget about the youths of Assam. Let us not also look to the ULFA problem in isolation. Today, youths are in a rebellious mood. We have ULFA because Assam is a border State. We have problems galore in UP and Bihar. Half of Andhra Pradesh, I am told, today, is under the Naxalites. Why is it so? It is because the youths of the country feel that not only have we not been able to solve their problems, but irrespective of the leadership and political affiliations, we are not addressing ourselves to their problems. Violence is the worst form of injustice. But in a society where justice becomes a casualty, people do not mind taking to violence. Therefore, the youths are taking to violence. So, I would request the hon. Home Minister to address himself not only to the problems of the youths of the whole country, but also to the problems of the youths of the North-Eastern region.

I will conclude by making a reference to two issues. One, recently the Government has announced increase of oil royalty to Rs. 314/-. Our National Front Government announcement was for an increase to Rs. 385/-. The reduction to Rs. 314/- has given a wrong message to the people of the State. Two, it was decided to have two universities in the State to meet the demands of the people Barak Valley and the Bramhaputra



[Shri Dinesh Goswami]

valley. There is no announcement in this regard. All these give grounds for giving help to the propaganda machinery of those who want Assam to secede from the rest of the country.

I would not like to deliberate on the past because there will be accusations and counter-accusations. So, I would like to look to the future. Future is the only way in which you can sort out and solve Assam's problems by permitting the people of Assam to elect a Government of their own. It will be for them to elect AGP, if they so choose or throw it out, if they so choose. We shall have to go before them with our records of the last five years. But give them an opportunity. Denial of an opportunity to the people of Assam will only strengthen the hands of the extremists and the secessionists and the sooner we do away with this idea the better it would be.

With these words, I oppose the proclamation of President's Rule.

*The questions were proposed.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): The Statutory Resolution Moved by the Minister and the Motion moved by Shri Dinesh Goswami both are now before the House for discussion. These may be discussed together.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA: President's Rule was promulgated on 27th of November, 1990 in Assam. This should have been a surprise for the people of Assam, but, unfortunately, it came as a respite to them. The situation in Assam developed in such a way that it became a natural outcome of the circumstances and situations that prevailed in the State of Assam during that time. For us, it is a very unfortunate situation, when the Assembly elections were round the corner. There are arguments for and against President's rule particularly about its propriety. President's rule is the extreme

step and it should be used sparingly, under extreme situations and under extreme circumstances. But the bogey of President's rule who being played by the then AGP Government, which was nothing new. For the last one year the media, (the political leaders somewhere or the other, this way or that way were talking about President's rule in the State of Assam. So when it came, really it did not surprise anybody. Rather when a *bandh* call was given in the State of Assam against President's rule, the people responded to it partially. When blackout calls were given the people have responded to it partially and those who have responded to it they responded to it halfheartedly. It was long felt that President's rule will come today or tomorrow and ultimately it came. What was the necessity of President's rule particularly when the elections were due in the State? The first and basic responsibility of any elected Government is to protect the life and property of the people. The then AGP Government in the State have miserably failed to keep up that primary responsibility. Instead there were murders, lootings, extortions, intimidations and assaults. All these things reigned the whole State. Human life became the cheapest commodity. About 113 innocent people were gunned down in the State. About 58 political workers were murdered. The weapons and vehicles were snatched away from innocent civilians. Murders and dacoities were not reported to the police because no action was taken by the police. The police became a demoralised force. They were not acting on their own. In the rare event if they took some initiative, there were interferences from the higher-ups. The situation can be best described in a resolution passed by the Assam Police Association after the assassination of their senior police officer, Mr. Negi. He was the Superintendent of Police. What are the contents of that resolution? I quote:

"Terrorists are free to strike at any time at any place as they liked, while the police are restrained from performing even the mandatory duty."

This is what the resolution says. As a result of such inaction by the police and indulgence by the higher-ups the situation drifted to a point of no-return.

Sir, the situation is best described in an editorial of a popular newspaper of Assam which came out after the President's rule. They wrote and I quote:

"Never in the history of last 43 years of independence had one seen the kind of assassinations kidnappings, extortions and intimidations which have marked the AGP rule. Never before has the rule of law been so completely and systematically repudiated in favour of favouritism and whimsical ad hoc decisions. Never before has merit and performance been so wilfully devalued in favour of political preferences. Never before has the bureaucracy and the police been demoralised by the political bosses. Never before has corruption assumed the proportion that the AGP was able to manage in just five years. Never before had people to live in such abject fear as to be incapable of stirring out after 6 P. M. "Never before have people been deprived of their personal fire arms merely because the police was unable to prevent them from being snatched by extremists. Never before have people been afraid of reporting crimes against them to the police. Never before people suffered such blows to their dignity and self-respect. Worst of all, never before has a popularly elected government so often been accused of having nexus with an extremist\* organisation.

Thus, all said and done, if anyone is really responsible for invoking President's rule in Assam by his acts of omissions and commissions, it is the AGP itself. "

This is what a popular newspaper of Assam says.

DR. NAG EN SAIKIA: Mr. Kalita, will you yield for a moment? Sir, I only want to know from Mr. Kalita whether

he subscribes to all the views of the newspaper—many views have been published on many occasions—or whether he conveniently chooses to subscribe to this view only. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH): Yes, Mr. Kalita. You continue.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA: There were mayhems, murders, rapes and extortions. Properties and the dignity of individuals could not be protected. Nor did the Government show any inclination to protect them. The media was muzzled and judges were threatened. So also die individual's right to Constitutional remedies. Things came to such a pass that all these virtually acquired a sort of political legitimacy. Can any Government worth the name just remain silent even after seeing all these?

Sir, the wrong policies of the then Government had given rise to various ethnic agitations. The Bodos were demanding separate land. The Karbis were demanding an autonomous State. Not a single day passed when, in one or other locality, a dharna or a bandh was not held. The AGP's Parnia has made it out to be a sectarian party instead of a regional party. Unity is the main factor in a society like the Assamese society. You know there are tribals and non-tribals, there are different castes and communities in Assam. Unity is the most important factor for Assamese development. But due to the wrong policies of the then AGP Government, the whole society was disintegrated. What you need in Assam is the integration and unity among different communities, because development is not possible without them.

Not only this. Look at the industrial picture. More industries were closed than opened during that five years' rule.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: One minute. May I ask this. Why should not Mr. Kalita go and address these"

[Shri Dinesha Goswami].

things to the people of Assam and ask for their votes? In spite of all these, we are prepared to ask them for their support. Why are you afraid?

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA: I will answer his points also.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH (Maharashtra): May I mention, Sir? Those people who opened the doors of the State to foreigners to come here and take over our country have no right to say, 'Hold elections'. We will first expel those foreigners and then we will have elections. We do not want to hand over our country to those forces which want to destabilise us.

**उपसभा अध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :**  
आप, दोनों के बीच में कहाँ से आ गये।

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA: Mr. Goswami has said that we are scared of elections. We are not afraid of going to the people for election. But let me tell you about an observation of the then Home Minister, Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, of the National Front Government, of which you were a member, on 4. 9. 90 in the Consultative Committee meeting of the Home Ministry.

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I am on a point of order. This is an important point. I do not mind him saying that. Sir, I am on a point of order. This is important. Please listen to me. I don't mind if he is saying that. But there has been always a convention that we do not disclose the Consultative Committee meeting's proceedings in the House because the danger will be that we say so many things which we may not like.... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA: I will not refer to the proceedings of the Consultative Committee. (*Interruption*). But this has been published in the newspapers also. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: Sir, it is for you to decide. I am not going to stop him. It is for him to criticise. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: When the previous Prime Minister referred to the proceedings of the Consultative Committee in this House, I have protested against it. (*Interruptions*). And hon. Shri Dinesh Goswami was a Cabinet Minister in his Cabinet. (*Interruptions*). The then Prime Minister disclosed the proceedings of the Consultative Committee attached to his Ministry. May I mention that? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI: I can neither match his voice nor volume. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta raised the matter about the Consultative Committee meeting and the Deputy Chairman gave the ruling that the proceedings of the Consultative Committee meeting can never be permitted to be raised on the floor of the House. This is the ruling given by the Deputy Chairman. Therefore, I do not know whether the same ruling... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA: I do not want to refer to the proceedings of the Consultative Committee meeting. I am referring to the newspaper report where the then Home Minister, Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed has mentioned that "in the prevailing law and order situation in the State of Assam, the holding of elections in December 1990 has a remote chance". That has come out in the newspapers also. That was expressed by the then Home Minister of the National Front Government of which Mr. Dinesh Goswami was also a Minister. Sir, the then Home Minister also stated that in spite of repeated requests by the Centre, the Chief Minister of Assam failed to take any effective steps. This was the observation of the colleague of Mr. Goswami in that Cabinet. What

followed thereafter? Development schemes were announced by the Central Government, various programmes were announced, status of a special category State was given, but that also could not stop the violence Which went on unabated. The reason was that even after that the same AGP party has given a bandh call against their own National Front Government of which they were a constituent. Why? Because they wanted to have some political issues. They knew it fully well that the issue on which they have won the last election in 1985, that is the foreign nationals issue, is an old issue now. They wanted a new issue and what is that issue? That is anti-Centre stance and that is why, they gave a bandh call against the National Front Government of which they were a partner. (Interruptions).

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Mr. Kalita, would you please enlighten us whether you welcome this Presidential rule or not? ( Interruptions). Do you welcome it?

SHRI VITHALBHAI M. PATEL (Gujarat). When your turn comes, you can say anything on it. Let him speak. (Interruptions).

SHRI AJIT P. K. JOGI (Madhya Pradesh): Let him speak.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA: I am not going to answer you. But, of course, I will refer to that.

The Vice-chairman (Shri Bhaskar Amnaji Masodkar) in the Chair

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Kalita, please address the Chair. You need not take note of what they say.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR KALITA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, what followed next was still shocking. The meeting of Mr. Mufti M<sup>o</sup>hammad Sayeed and Prof. Madhu Dandavate at Guwahati was disturbed. The State Government failed to do anything. Mr. Dinesh Goswami, a

Member of the AGP party and a Minister in the National Front Government was gheraoed. An embarrassed Mr. Goswami had to resign. The hon. Minister, Mr. Subodh Kant Sahay, was also the Minister of State for Home Affairs at that time, might know what happened thereafter and why Mr. Goswami withdrew his resignation. But, Sir, the situation remained the same. Even after Mr. Goswami's resignation, even after all this, the situation remained the same and violence continued unabated. Now that the new Government at the Center took a serious look at the situation, the Chief Minister^ I am told, only requested for ne<sub>w</sub> Gypsies to patrol the roads. If anybody wanted President's rule to be imposed in the State, i<sub>t</sub> was the AGP. The AGP wanted it most because it wanted an issue to fight their next election. So the President's rule did not come as a surprise... (Interruptions).. Sir, this is the background in which the President's rule came. But my request to the Government is that the first priority of the Central rule must be to restore normalcy and start developmental works. Mere announcement by the Governor that 12000 jobs would be provided or that a few small-scale units would be set up in Upper Assam or repairing of roads would be done to give a new look to the administration, would not be enough. Rather, this sort of announcement irritates the people since they have heard enough of such announcements. Again, Sir, reports like 'the country is losing Rs. 800 crores in the tea industry because of unrest in the tea industry.' agitate the young men. The young men are asking: Where is our share| of development in that Rs. 800 crores? The feeling of deprivation and despair is the root-cause of these problems. What can satisfy the young mind and the people of Assam is concrete results. Sir establishment of The Accord refinery has been announced but not

even the foundation stone has been laid by the previous Government. Setting I up of gas cracker units has been announced. No tangible action is taken for

[Shri Bhubaneswar Kant a]

the establishment of a Central University at Tejpur and Silchar. The progress on the bridge over the Brahmaputra at Jogigopa is the slowest. The most important thing is the control of the river Brahmaputra which can bring prosperity to Assam and resources to the nation.

The Brahmaputra Board is crippled for want of funds. Assam is one of the most backward States in the country. This backwardness is the root of all these political problems. The United Liberation Front of Assam is also the result of such backwardness and it is also a political problem. But unfortunately I can point out only one thing regarding this organisation If it is a revolutionary movement with an ideology, the ideology was given a back seat. Collection of money became the only factor and not the ideology. Money played the main role which is something unheard of in the history of revolutionary movement anywhere in the world. I am happy to hear "from Mr. Goswami— and I am with him—that these boys, these activists should be brought into the national mainstream. I am one with him in this. But he was in power for eleven months. The AGP was there for full five years. What did they do to bring them into the national mainstream?... (Interruptions) .. Sir, the organisation was banned now under the President's rule, but my fervent appeal is to arrest the root, the root is deprivation, otherwise the feeling of alienation will still remain and once the time passes, it can come out in a different form. Already a hue and cry is being made about atrocities by the Indian Army and many more issues might come for the benefit of our Opposition colleagues. But it is not true that the Army operation had been totally futile. Rather it has achieved a tremendous success, restoring confidence among the common people. According to a recent release by the Government already Rs. 2. 57 crore have been recovered and 315

arms were recovered and 1300 persons have been arrested out of whom 300 have been released. Besides, 27 dead bodies have been recovered. But there is need for a proper, coordinated approach in this regard so as to avoid unnecessary harassment to innocent people. Moreover, the persons arrested under TADA can only be released by designated courts. But at present there is only one designated court. More such designated courts should be constituted for the ends of justice. Advisory committees attached to all police stations should be set up involving people from all walks of life.

Last but not the least, the army has a very limited use in controlling the internal disturbance. Once that is over, it should be withdrawn. The political process should be started without prolonging the President's rule and for that we demand early elections in Assam. With these words I welcome the Resolution moved by the honourable Minister of State for Home Affairs and I hope that the President's rule will not be prolonged and that elections will be held at the earliest.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have heard with attention the speeches of my friends who preceded me. I am in a difficulty in matching them with facts. I concede they know the facts much more than I do about Assam. I try to speak now on Assam because during my tenure as Minister I had the opportunity of visiting Assam quite a few times. I had the occasion to understand the problems of Assam. To me President's rule could have been justified if it had been an answer, a remedy, a way out, to the basic problems facing Assam. I ask my friends here whether President's rule can bring about a change politically or otherwise. I feel this is no answer, this is no remedy, this is no way out, for Assam's problems. We have seen President's rule elsewhere, in Punjab, in Kashmir. It never provided

any solution to the problems faced by these States; so also, I feel, in the case of Assam. Having visited Assam quite a few times, I feel that neither the politics of violence nor the politics of hatred will pay. Today, Assam is suffering from two types of psychology: One, the psychology of alienation, and, two, psychology of frustration, and one is feeding the other. The problems in Assam are the problems which you find in any underdeveloped or backward State and they are poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, communal clashes, social tensions, etc. These are the problems which are creating a climate which is not conducive to a peaceful life there. But it is not one day's creation. It is the legacy of the past. This has been the legacy of many years and it has been accumulating. The people of Assam—why the people of Assam alone?—the people of the entire North-Eastern Region feel suffocated. They have no opportunities of development and they feel that they have been neglected by the authorities, maybe the local authorities, maybe the Central authorities. This feeling of neglect has been responsible for this dual psychology, the psychology, as I said, of alienation, and the psychology of frustration.

Now, nobody doubts the patriotism of the Assamese. My friend and my colleague. Shri Dineshji, was speaking about it. Nobody doubts their patriotism.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN - (SHRI BHASKAR ANNALI MASODKAR): He was making a sentimental appeal

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY Nobody doubts their patriotism and the Assamese are as much patriotic and intelligent, as anybody else. But we should understand their feelings, their situations and their problems. The ULFA has not risen out of nothing. The members of that organization are from every household and many household; have contributed to the ULFA in the sense that they boys

and their girls have gone there out of frustration. Who are responsible for this? May be the Government at the State level in the past, may be the Government at the Centre or may be all of us. There is failure of leadership. The leadership has not provided the answer there. It happened in Punjab; it happened in Assam; and it is happening in Telangana. You must take a view on this. It is not a question of law and order. If you think that we establish law and order and peace by President's rule, you are mistaken. We cannot achieve that. Army has not brought about security, peace and stability. I am not going into the atrocities of the army personnel. I do not know much about it. Army is not the answer. Para-military force is not the answer. Police is not the answer. The answer is we must tackle the problems of youth, unemployment, illiteracy, poverty and frustration emanating out of these. I know. When I was a Minister I had to deal with several cases of intimidation. I pleaded with the Government of Assam. When they wanted more and more investment, I told them that there should be a proper climate for investment. And who will go to Assam when Assam is disturbed? Even if we invest money, money will be wasted. There will be no development. They understood it. They were aware of it. As a matter of fact, we gave so many projects to Assam which no Government in the past did. Nearly Rs. 8000 crores of investments were planned. We gave a refinery of 3 million tonnes. I sanctioned a cracker project. Other Ministries also. But all this required a proper climate, and investment climate. In the past we never trained their youth for taking up responsibilities. My

friend Dinesh Goswami used to tell me: top posts are all occupied by outsiders. Top posts are manned by outsiders—not because they were deliberately sent from outside, though competent people were available in Assam. It is not so. Competent men were not available or are not available to man the posts in various undertakings. Who is responsible for that?

(Shri M. S. Gurupada Swamy).

They were not trained for these jobs in the past. And when you want to recruit them to those posts, though people are available proper skills are not available. Competent men are not available. This is the tragedy of Assam. The boys who are called ULFA boys are from middle class families—many of them from middle class families. They are) from educated Classes. They have taken to arms. By disarming them at one point of time we will not disarm them for ever. Therefore, I say that the problems of Assam have 'o be identified. And you have to find out solutions to these problems. President's rule, according to me, is not the answer, not the remedy, not the way out.

On the contrary, by this President's Rule, you will be alienating the people of Assam. The sense of alienation which is already there will be encouraged. The sense of frustration will be encouraged. I for one, Sir, feel that politics of violence will not help. It should be avoided. But it is there. But it can! be avoided only by politics of development. The Central Government and the State Government will have to take up development and involve the people in developmental activities. That is what is necessary. And democratic set up is important. Let us not, as politicians, as leaders, try to destroy the democratic instrument which we have built up over the years. In 1983, as my friend pointed out when the conditions were so disturbed, we have held the election. And if my friend says that because there is no proper climate, or there is a climate of violence and we cannot hold the election, then in many parts of the country's, perhaps, you may not be able to hold the election to the Assembly and we may not be able to hold election for Parliament either. There may be violence, there may be a breakdown of law and order. It is a vast country And these things do happen. Our efforts should be to see that the democratic instrument, the democratic system is built up even if yon are facing challenges, difficulties and problems. That should be our effort.

In the end, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not approve of President's Rule. My friend the Home Minister was with us. We discussed this matter in Government in the past. We did not take this step at all. We avoided this step. We discussed this problem of Assam. We thought the President's Rule is not the way out; it is not the remedy of Assam. We had already the previous examples for Punjab and Kashmir and we! thought the President's Rule should not be imposed and there should be an election as early" as possible. And to introduce the President's Rule when the elections are due, I think, is inexcusable. It is not justifiable at all.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Sir, I would like to start by observing that the Government has taken a wrong step in proclaiming the President's Rule in Assam. The successive Governments are imposing the President's Rule in one State after another and thus Article 356 is being misused for that, much against the federal principle for which we have strived for. Sir, I would like to say that at a certain point of time, perhaps, Parliament will have to make an enactment deleting this Article which is being repeatedly used against the States, against the federal principle.

Sir, I would like to say something about Assam. I may not fully agree with what my learned colleague, Mr. Dinish Goswami said. But I would like to make some comments as to how the present situation has come, has developed in Assam. Sir, this ULFA movement is a movement of the Militant youths and their demand is a separate State of Assam seceding from India. In India, now we find—it is in Punjab, it is in Kashmir and now it is in Assam—a section of the boys are taking to arms, and they demand disintegration of the country, coming out of the country. What for? It is true that there was regional imbalance. Prime Minister said in Parliament that he will see to it that regional imbalance is removed. There is no doubt that people were aggrieved because of this regional imbalance and they protested.

But nobody listened to them and there was discrimination which developed to such an extent that it resulted in movements, in struggles and agitations with contents which were not democratic. I would like to say that some chauvinistic content developed in those movements in some parts of the country and so in Assam. Sir, if we recall the past history of Assam, we know that a movement was started by the students there. Obviously they were aggrieved by the discrimination practices against the Assamese people. Economic progress was stalled. There were imbalances compared to other parts of the country, and they felt aggrieved, and a movement was conducted. At that time also we had objected to it, objected to the chauvinistic content of the movement. We know that Assam movement ultimately could not remain peaceful. Hundreds of people, men, women and children, were massacred. Not only that, many individuals, many personalities were kidnapped and were murdered and beaten and eliminated. We have seen what happened recently. We have seen what has happened in Punjab where the Akali chauvinistic politics has ultimately led to demand for Khalistan. We know how terrorism has spread there and we know how terrorists are causing depredation in Punjab. We have seen the imbalances and discrimination causing the present situation in Kashmir and how a big section of Kashmiri youth demand secession from India. All this has happened because of wrong way of tackling the situation by the Centre which resulted in a section of the people being forced to take to the path of terrorism and militancy in various parts, including Assam. The present situation is the culmination and the logical conclusion of the manner in which the movement was conducted by the students. The youth in Assam have taken to arms and they are demanding secession from India. We had warned—our party had repeatedly warned—that Central Government as well as the AGP Government that unless the situation is properly dealt with, it may go out of control. Earlier, the National Front Government had issued number of instructions and directives to

the AGP Government and if these instructions had been properly implemented, perhaps, the situation may have taken a different turn. But unfortunately, things did not improve. During the 11-month rule of National Front Government, the situation went from bad to worse, and now the present Government has imposed President's rule.

I think by imposing President's rule, things cannot be remedied. Government should have taken a different course by asking the AGP Government to take measures as directed by the Central Government. But that was not done. This situation has led to certain other militant groups starting a movement, like some other tribal movements who are now demanding some autonomy within Assam. If this situation is accepted, it will further lead to vivisection of the State of Assam. Assam has a different history. It is not like other States. It has a composite culture with different languages, different ethnic groups who live together. So tackling of Assam situation should have been in a different way, both by the Centre and by the AGP Government. So, not only certain other groups have taken to arms and killings are taking place, but it has ultimately given rise to passions. But it is not the passion of nationalism. It is a passion of some provincial outlook. It is a passion of chauvinism. As you know, the oil supply was stopped. The oil supply was stopped when, the country was facing a severe crisis. The direction that was given to the students and the people of Assam was wrong and this had its own disastrous effects.

Sir, it is said—this had been stated by the Government also apart from what we have seen in newspapers—that the U. L. F. A. has links with the other terrorist groups in the North-Eastern Region and it has also links with the L. T. T. E. of Sri Lanka. You can see what kind of a situation we are in. There are these different militant groups in the North-Eastern Region. In Punjab, we have the Khalistani terrorists. Today, the country is surrounded by, it is



[Shri Sukomal Sen]

being confronted by, terrorist groups in different regions. In Kashmir, in Punjab, in Assam, in Manipur, in Nagaland, in Meghalaya, everywhere, you find terrorist groups and these groups have formed a chain. It is a very dangerous situation which is developing.

In this connection, I would like to point out that the Central Government has done a wrong thing in declaring the whole of Assam as a disturbed area and enforcing the Disturbed Areas Act in the whole of Assam. What is, the point in declaring the whole of Assam as a disturbed area? The whole of Assam is not a disturbed area. The problem is there only in certain parts of Assam where the U. L. F. A. is operating. Only those parts should have been brought under the purview of the Disturbed Areas Act. What will happen? If you enforce the Disturbed Areas Act in the whole of Assam, the Army can operate in the whole of Assam, even in areas where the situation is normal and which are not affected by the depredations of the U. L. F. A. The Central Government has taken a wrong step by applying the Disturbed Areas Act to the whole of Assam. The Government should withdraw this Act in respect of the other areas. It should be made applicable only to those areas which are affected by the depredations of the U. L. F. A. terrorists.

Another important thing I would like to point out is, there have been complaints that the Army is committing excesses. Mr. Dinesh Goswami has given some instances. Instances have been given by other people in Assam. It has also come in the newspapers. I know that when the Army operates, some excesses take place. But it cannot be justified. It does not mean that innocent men, women and children should be harassed, should be tortured, should be persecuted. If it happens, if innocent people are persecuted, if they are harassed, by the Army, it will prove counterproductive. It will alienate the people who are otherwise innocent and who do not sympathise with the U. L. F. A. If the Army commits atrocities on them, the people

will be led to take a stand against the Government of India and in favour of the U. L. F. A. terrorists, in favour of the demands of the U. L. F. A. terrorists. Therefore, this should be borne in mind by the Government.

Another point is,....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAN MASODKAR): Last point.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: The Government should enquire into all the depredations caused by the U. L. F. A. terrorists. When the Army raided the U. L. F. A. camps, several bodies were found. Who were these people? How were they kidnapped? The Government does not know. Mr. Sahay was the Minister of State for Home at that time also when these things took place. The Government is in the dark. Many people were kidnapped. Who were these people? What were their antecedents? How were they kidnapped? From where? Nobody knows. It is simply strange that neither the Central Government nor the A. G. P. Government could say anything about it. Neither of them could throw any light about it. The Central Government is "not aware that in a part of the country, many people had been kidnapped and killed. Now, many bodies have been dug out from the grave. It is horrifying. What was the police doing? What was the intelligence doing? What were the other agencies doing? The Government should take care of such things. It has come to light today in the case of Assam. Such things may come to light later on in the case of other places also. It is a total failure on the part of the Government at the Centre and the State.

In conclusion, I would say that the Government should see to it that the normal activities in Assam should not be interfered with. The various political parties, different organisations and individuals should be given full liberty to carry on their activities. When I say normal activities, I mean, activities within the Constitutional framework of the country. But as I said earlier, the Disturbed Areas

Act has been made applicable to the whole State. This will cause interference in the normal activities of even those parties who are opposed to the U. L. F. A. who have criticised the U. L. FA. This Act will be misused by the Army and the Government and the normal activities of these parties will be interfered with in the name of this Act. The Government should keep this in mind.

Then, elections should be held early in Assam. It should be the intention of the Government to see that normal condition is restored without delay.... so that elections can be held. In the absence of the democratic process the wrath of the people will grow more and more. If a particular State is kept under a continuous President's rule, it will cause alienation. This must be kept in mind by Shri Sahay and the Government. Prolonged spell of President's rule will lead to alienation. So election should be 'held without any delay.

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER (Haryana): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman. I stand to support the Resolution of the Government for Proclamation of President's rule in Assam. It is not the first time that the President's rule has been imposed in Assam. It has been done thrice earlier, in December, 1979 to 1981 and March, 1982. Sir, whenever President's rule is imposed, definitely it is a temporary set-back for the democratic process. I agree with Shri Gurupadaswamy when he put a question whether President's rule was the answer. I totally agree with him. President's rule is not a permanent answer, it cannot be an alternative to the elected government. But when the country's integrity and security is involved, when there is a question of oneness of the country, I think, no Government worth the name can allow the country to break and that is what was going to happen there. Training camps were set up under the very nose of the AGP Government. People were being trained with arms imported from foreign countries. For what were they being trained? It was not to defend the country but to fight against the country. There was no alternative left with the Government. I was surprised when my learned friend

said that the President's rule can never solve the problem. Sir, Gurupadaswamiji as well as Goswamiji, they were both members of the V. P. Singh Government, very senior members. They extended the President's rule in Punjab. What happened in Jammu and Kashmir? Why was the President's rule extended by their Government? This was because free and fair elections could not be held there. The atmosphere was not conducive for holding elections there, it would have resulted in bloodshed. That is why the President's rule was extended.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: I think this is not true. The presidential rule was extended because the Congress party did not agree to the proposal for holding election in Punjab. It is not because the previous Government: did not desire to have elections in Punjab. ..

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER: That is not the question.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): I think you should not yield to him. You make your point.

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER: The question is very simple that the atmosphere there in Assam was so dangerous that murders with impunity were being committed by ULFA, which is known to be a private army of the Chief Minister of the AGP.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA:.. It is a wrong statement.

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER: Shri Goswami tried to give an impression.... {*Interruption!*; }. I never interred when he spoke.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: It should not go on record.

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER: Mr. Goswami tried to give an impression that the Congress party is also in favour of ULFA. That is why he tried to say something.

TShri Mohinder Singh Lather]

Sir, I have got a news item here from The Hindustan Times dated 27th December, 1990 which says:

**"ASSAM CONGRESS LASHES OUT AT MOHANTA**

'The Assam Pradesh Congress(I) party has characterized former Assam Chief Minister, Prafulla Kumar Mohtan-ta, as the 'prime accused' in the prolonged lawlessness gripping Assam and the 'action he had taken to murder democracy. ' A press release of the party today said, 'It was only to 'protect common people from the clutches of Mah-anta's terrorism that President's rule had to be imposed. Like Hitler, Mohanta kept and maintained ULFA as a private army of his own. "'

These are the views of the Assam Congress and not as stated by Mr. Goswami.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: The Congress is very much opposed to the AGP and it is very natural that they spoke in that language.

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER: I am not yielding, Sir. It is not proper that every time you should stand up and speak like that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): It is not necessary. You just address the Chair.

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER: What Chandra Shekharji's Government has done should have been done by the previous Government. Even the instructions and directions issued by the V. P. Singh Government to the Prafulla Kumar Mohanta Government not carried out. The Central Government wanted him to declare eight districts of Upper Assam as disturbed areas but it was not done. Murder cases there were not prosecuted by the Government property. All the accused people were bailed out. Absolutely no appeals were filed. There was a clear indication that there was no difference, between the AGP and the ULFA. What was the Government doing.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: I am also an AGP man. Do you think I am a supporter of ULFA?... {Interruptions}...

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER: It is only the AGP Government which is to be blamed, not anybody else. You should blame the AGP Government itself, for that. The writing was there on the wall itself, and the writing was very clear. If the AGP people did not know it, did not want to know what was going to be done by the Central Government, they should have consulted Mr. Goswami, they should have consulted Gurupadaswamyji, they should have inquired from others if they never wanted to face the truth.

वाइसचेयरमैन साहब, हमारे पंजाब के अन्दर एक कहावत है। एक बूजुर्ग घोड़ी पर बैठका जा रहा था और उसका लड़का घोड़ी की लगाम पकड़ कर आगे-आगे चल रहा था। बूजुर्ग कहने लगा, "पुत्र घोड़ी कित्थे है"। वह लड़का हैरान हुआ और उसने कहा, "बापू जी, तुम्ही घोड़ी उल्टे बैठे हो तो घोड़ी तुम्हाड़े थल्ले है" बूजुर्ग ने कहा, "पुत्र जी, पता तो मैं बीबी पर पच्छ लैका बंसा हुंदा है"।

if the AGP Government did not know about the repercussions of what they were doing, who else can be blamed? They were encouraging the ULFA people, they were supplying them with money. Crores of rupees have now been recovered; a large quantity of arms has been recovered from the possession of those people. Grays? have been found, containing dead bodies of innocent people. So, what was happening in Assam? And you are trying to support it. But I agree with you that President's rule is not the answer. This Government will try to hold elections as early as possible, when normalcy returns there. This temporary rule is simply there so that separatist elements who want to break the country are brought to book and normalcy is allowed to come here before the elections are held.

Sir, they are blaming that President's rule has been imposed due to the Conspiracy of the Chandra Shekhar Government and the Congress (I). This is what

they are saying. But this is not true. The truth is, President's rule had to be imposed because of a conspiracy between the AGP and the ULFA. They have to blame themselves for it. It is not the Congress either. There was no pressure of any sort on our Government that President's rule should be imposed there. The circumstances were such, the goings on there were such that no Government worth the name could tolerate that state of affairs there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please conclude now.

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER: Sir, I have not taken even three minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): You have crossed your limit.

8. 00 P. M.

SHRI MOHINDER SINGH LATHER: Sir, they are blaming Congress and the Government. It is just like blaming the piano for bad music. The bad music was created by the AGP, not by us, and now they must face the music. This is the thing. They are blaming others. This decision on President's rule has been supported even Bharatiya Janata Party, and all right-thinking persons said, "Yes, the atmosphere was not congenial for elections. "

Sir, I must congratulate Chandra Sekhar-jii for this bold, appropriate step at the correct time. A very senior Commander, a Major-General there, has stated, and it has come in the paper also, that if these things would have been allowed for some more time to continue, the situation could not have been controlled even by the army. Sir, people are now praising our brave army also. I am proud to say that our jawans are doing commendable work there to find out hidden arms, to find out the criminals. There may be a few stray cases of excesses here and there I do not disagree that there might have been some cases in which excesses have been committed. But it is very heartening to note that a very high-powered committee has been formed consisting of the Advisor

to the Governor, the Director-General of Police and the Major-General of the Army. This committee will go into all the complaints of excesses of the army, and naturally action will certainly be taken against those persons. We are also with you. But no such thing, we hope, will happen there, Sir.

Sir, through you I appeal to the whole House, every section of the House. We should see that normalcy returns to Assam so that elections can be held at the earliest. I join my voice with the appeal of Mr. Goswami that we should not delay it. I hope that President's rule will not be prolonged even for a day unless it is absolutely necessary.

Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I rise to support the Resolution of the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Sahay, that this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 27th November, 1990 under Article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Assam.

Sir, Assam has been passing through a period of turmoil for the last two years. The trade, industry and economy of the State have been suffering major set-backs because of a reign of terror let loose by the ULFA.

The rise of the ULFA, as a power to reckon with, coincided with the resignation of the Congress (I) Government in 1984 and establishment of a popular Government by the AGP under the leadership of Mr. P. K. Mohanta in 1985.

During mid-'80's 1986 and 1988, the ULFA has been able to get public sympathy for its overground role of social reformer and due to the failure of the A.G. P. Government to meet the aspirations of the local youths. The AGP Government, due to its own internal weakness, could not muster enough political courage to combat the ULFA which even

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publicly propagated secession from the Union of India and announced its objective of a sovereign state.

During this period, the ULFA donned the robe of Robin Hood and started its activity of extortion from small vendors, traders and contractors. They announced their policy of anti-capitalism and aim of establishing scientific socialism in Assam. In 1989 the ULFA started their "operation extortion" by demanding money from affluent classes at gun-point. At the same time it tried to build up its social image by punishing known anti-socials and criminals at public places. The entire administration was under the control of the ULFA.

The AGP Government cared little and did not take any administrative cognizance or steps to correct the situation. The then Chief Minister publicly admitted that it was impossible for an elected Government to meet the aspirations of the people by resorting to arm-twisting methods since resorting to hardline atrocious methods by a Government meets with stiff resistance from all. Due to this passive attitude of the elected Government, ULFA marched ahead from strength to strength and gradually started inducting village unemployed youths to its cadre, first for their civilian activities and later for military training. At this point, some members of the AGP started praising directly and indirectly actions taken by ULFA and thus completed the nexus between both by mid-1989.

By the end of 1989, ULFA started demanding money in large amounts from traders of Guwahati, Tinsukhia, Barpeta and Dibrugarh and started visiting tea gardens for day-to-day requirements.

The tea industry maintained its cool and yet tried to keep ULFA cadres at bay by explaining to them their limited resources; by sometimes conceding small favours to the neighbouring society and by organising community development work.

As day passed on, the pressure of ULFA was built up gradually on the tea garden management and at this point of time during 1990, the Government of Assam was approached for redressal. The Chief Minister, the Home Minister and the Chief Secretary were approached gradually, but unfortunately despite several meetings with them the situation did not improve and as a climax to this situation, Mr. Surendra Paul was killed during the first part of 1990. The tea industry got a big jolt and a sense of fear psychosis started growing in them.

During 1990, the Central Government was contacted by ITA and other organisations several times without any result. The V. P. Singh Government never took a hard line against ULFA and environment in Assam started drifting from bad to worse. Every fifth day some one important from trade, industry, society or political parties were picked up, tortured and killed. This atrocious situation further divided the Assamese community as a whole and by June 1990, ethnic problems started building up amongst distinct ethnic sub-groups like caste Hindus and tribes belonging to Karbi Miris and Bodos. ULFA resorted to various measures to hold back the divisions but unfortunately due to Central Government's weakness combined with AGP's apathetic policy further fragmentation took place in Assam.

In the meantime, during June 1990, huge demands were slapped on the face of tea industry by ULFA. The matter was reported to the then Central Government and the State Government, but without any result. In the process a few companies had to pay large sums as insurance against safety. A few others revolted and even tea garden labour community felt threatened and started agitating from September, 1990.

Despite the fact that ULFA had little following in rural areas, its activities started having a crippling effect on the overall growth and development of the Assam-society as a whole. The clock started moving backward in Assam which ultimately resulted in the imposition of President's

Rule in the State. With the imposition of President's Rule, the fear psychosis which gripped the population, had gone down and a modest beginning was made by the Government to correct the social and environmental problems.

Today in Assam, every second person gladly admits that the removal of AGP from power was a necessity and President's Rule was inevitable. It would have been great if Army would have moved in with greater restraint.

ULFA has retreated now. Unless the Government takes strong political and administrative steps and an atmosphere of tranquility is established in Assam, economy of the State will never take off and problems of society will remain as they were.

The AGP Government earned a reputation for rank inefficiency and corruption with not a single aspiration of the Assamese being fulfilled. I have plenty of proofs or complaints, photo-copies of these complaints, which have been made to the Government. I am not trying to put them on the Table of the House, but I am only trying to explain that my senior friend. Mr. Goswami, has been propagating that ULFA has not been doing much, but even the workers of the tea industry have sent complaints. I would like to read what workers of the tea industry had to say:

"We are hard-working workers, whose livelihood depends on employment only. Recently some demand from certain section of people have created an explosive situation in which we are considering ourselves insecure. This situation might force us to agitate and it might turn into a revolution and take the shape of a mass movement. Since we are citizens of a free country we would like to remain alive by abiding by the law, order and Constitution of the independent country.

Hon. Chief Minister, as a representative of all the people of Assam, we would like to request you to feel con-

cerned about the imposition of such demands on the tea gardens so that a new mass movement does not flare up amongst the tea garden workers and turn into a revolution."

This was an appeal to the then Chief Minister of Assam from the workers. There were a number of threats and a number of killings took place. On the 14th September, openly a letter came not from ULFA but from another secessionist group saying "We have murdered all these people." This was the situation in Assam at that time. I would like to quote here what the then Chief Minister of Assam had said: "I am not happy with Bhrihu Phukan's functioning as Home Minister. He has not been able to do justice to the Department. This is how the AGP Government was functioning. What did Brighu Phukan say against the then Chief Minister? I quote "Mahanta is not sincere about implementing the Accord on the basis of which we were elected". Obviously they could not contain the activities of the secessionist groups.

What did Mr. Brighu Phukan say about ULFA? He said "After all, these ULFA boys are from amongst us. Who then is the *shikari* and who the prey?" This was the attitude of the AGP Government at that time. There were posters on the walls openly publishing all these things.

When the tea garden managers, about 150 or odd were air-lifted Mr. Prafulla Mahanta said "I did not know anything about it." How will he know that when the administration was not under his control? He knew nothing about what was happening in his State. He started blaming others and said "Why have you saved them?" Perhaps they wanted to kill them also with the help of ULFA.

About the police, what did Mr. Prafulla Mahanta say? He said "If they become conscious of their own safety, then, how can they work?"

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What did Mr. Hitsswar Said motive of ' Assam say? He said 'Assam was almost dead bu dusk. That was almost the only major achivement of the \som Gana Parishad regime. " This was the achievement of the AGP Government.

Wha\* did Mr. Brighu Phukan say? He said crcnij "AGp had -inks wuh the ULFA boss. " There are| all published. These are the stat. is made by the Ministers of the previous Government. What do 'hi people of Assam want to- V ih; reople of Aswm wan\* to know who is response<sup>1</sup>; for the failure >. \* the A. -. - n Accord<sup>0</sup> Is It the AGP .. lOverni-. T'. or trie t jolitically motivated publicity to blame the Congress(I) alone for the 1983 electoral rolls? How can the defective electoral rolls of 1983 become correct from 1985 for AGP? May I know irom the Minister whether the AGp Government was illegal or not? Whose activities are creating cleavages in the society in the name of race and religio<sub>n</sub> and in the name of language and creed?

I am forced to quote Mr. Sarat Chandra Sinha who I believe was one of the best individuals, very honest individual and who was the ex-Chief Minister of Assam. He said:

"To assess the depth into which Assam's law and order situation has deteriorated, one is to recall that sometime back the Chief Minister of Assam himself had to admit the failure of law and order in the State and accused his own Home Minister. His Home Minister in turn accuse the Chief Minister. The crime of extortion of money, coercive acts, forcible occupation of properties and forcibly taking away of vehicles are being committed within the knowledge of the authority and with impunity. "

This is what the ex-Chief Minister himr self has said. Finally, he says:

"Unfortunately the Constitutional Government has given way to the extra Constitutional authority emerging out of the muscle power. Democracy has lost all its meaning. "

What did Mr. Golap Borbora, ex-Chief Minister of Assami say? He said:

"The AGP Government has miserably failed to control the law and order situation in the State. Extremist forces have killed more than 150 persons including some political workers, during the last few years. Crores of rupees have been extorted not only from the business community, but also from many officers and well-to-do persons in the villages. "

I want to warn AGp leaders that the day is not far when they will have to apologise for all the wrongs done under their rule like Mr. Jcs-uzelski of Poland, i do believe a lot of restraint is required by the army also. No civilians or innocent should be arrested, or disturbed in any way.

“मैं मानता हूँ कि ईधन डालकर कौनसी आग बूझी है, मैं मानता हूँ कि ईधन डालकर कौन सी आग बूझी है कभी । इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि पास के सारे संभावित ईधनों को अलग कर दिया जाए ।”

This is what the army should do.

Lt. -Gen. Brar, GOC, Eastern Command, has rightly said^ "Our job is not only to flush out terrorists but to instil confidence in the minds of the people and this requires time. " I would also like to quote Lt. -Gen. Baljit Singh, Chief of Staff, Eastern Command who said, The army was clearly handicapped by lack of intelligence report on the activities of the ULFA. " This was because the Central Government was hand in glove with the

AGP Government and no effort was made to have intelligence reports. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRA-VARTY;  
Sir, is it necessary to quote army personnel?  
How is it relevant?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Let us  
not make an issue of it.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Sir,...  
(*Interruptions*), I am not yielding (*Inter-  
rptions*). Sir, is it unparliamentary to  
quote something?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI  
BHASKAR ANN AJI MASODKAR): No.  
r You go ahead. Do not enter into a debate  
on this.

AN HON. MEMBER: But it is excessive.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: I do not  
know what the it is. They are exposed. That is  
why they are shouting.

The NF groups jointly or separately, never  
had even a single word of condemnation or  
censure of the activities of the ULFA. The  
godfather or the grandfather of the ULFA,  
Mr. V. P. Singh, and the then C. M. of Assam  
tipped off senior leaders of the ULFA  
enabling them to escape. Is it not true that the  
ULFA had even approached the UN? And my  
colleagues still consider them nationalist and  
patriotic.

I can produce photos of arms seized from  
ULFA camps. It is horrible to think of the  
massacre of the Lakhpathar camp of the ULFA  
near Digboi where — innocent people were  
tortured and finally killed. Scores of mutilated  
bodies have been found.

It is clear from the books and documents  
seized that ULFA men were working  
according to a plan which, if not checked,  
would have created a Vietnam in the area. A  
top secret communication from the Union  
Home Ministry to the

Assam Government was recovered from  
one of the ULFA camps.

Around 18th December, it is published in  
the widely circulated Assamese weekly  
'Boodhhar' that the Central Council member  
Mr. Sidhartha Pukan has made a belligerent  
call for an armed response. The ULFA also  
has warned of an armed retaliation. This must  
be taken seriously.

'On 24th December there was a news item.  
I request the hon. Minister to confirm it  
because it is creating confusion in the minds  
of people. The report says that Rs. 2 crores  
have been recovered only from one camp.  
Papers reveal ULFA hand in drug trade also.  
How can they be Robin Hoods? The ULFA  
have contacts with the Naga rebels and the  
Punjab and J & K militants. And as  
mentioned yesterday by our hon. prime  
Minister, they have links with the LITE.  
These things have to be taken seriously.

With these words^ I support the Home  
Minister in imposing President's rule in  
Assam. It should continue as long as the  
situation is not normal. I certainly wish that  
elections should be held there as soon as  
possible so that the democratic process can be  
restarted. But, for that, the AGP should come  
forward to cooperate in bringing the ULFA  
back to the mainstream of the society.

I thank you very much, Mr. Vice-  
Chairman.

श्री अश्विनी कुमार (बिहार) : मान-  
नीय उप अध्यक्ष महोदय, आसाम में राष्ट्र-  
पति शासन लग करती पड़ा अज की  
सरकार को, अज की परिस्थिति के अंदर,  
मैं उसका स्वागत करता हूँ। परन्तु किने  
परिस्थितियों में यह हुआ, क्यों आसाम  
की यह परिस्थिति हुई, मैं इसका और  
आपके माध्यम से गदन के और अफ़ा  
ध्यान थोड़ा से आकर्षित करने चाहूँगा।

आसाम की स्थिति के बारे में पिछले  
सत्र में मैंने एक प्रश्न पूछा था। मैंने



[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

इन्हीं होम मिनिस्टर से पूछा था कि क्या यह अखबारों में छपा हुआ सही है, मैंने आरोप नहीं लगाया था, कि जो व्यक्ति रात में "उल्फा" है, वह दिन में "आसू" और "ए जी पी" हो जाते हैं। यही प्रश्न पूछा था और मेरे ए जी पी के मित्र बहुत नाराज मुझसे हो गए थे। आज मुझे अत्यन्त कष्ट है कि गृह मंत्री जी ने यह बात कही है कि ये सारे मिले हुए हैं। मुझे अत्यन्त कष्ट है और अगर मेरी धारणा गलत होगी तो मैं जितना प्रसन्न होऊंगा, उतना कोई नहीं कि "ए जी पी" का संबंध "उल्फा" से नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान) ...

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Sir, I am on a point of order. The Home Minister, I think, quoted from the report that was submitted by the Governor. I don't think it was the statement made by the Home Minister himself that ULFA, AGP and AASU, all are equal. I don't think so. It should be clarified whether the Home Minister stated it or it was a comment that was made by the Governor.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Dr. Nagen Saikia, there is no point of order. You please continue, Mr. Ashwani Kumar.

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से अपने ए जी पी के मित्रों से फिर निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो आरोप लग रहा है यदि यह असत्य सिद्ध होगा तो मुझसे ज्यादा प्रसन्न कोई नहीं होगा। मैं नहीं चाहता कि उनके ऊपर यह आरोप लग। ... (व्यवधान) ...

I will be very happy if you are not equated with ULFA. But the people are saying, the Governor's report is saying the press reports are saying. I will be pleased if you are not equated with them. That is what I am saying. (Interruptions).

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: We are no less Indian than you.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: I am not saying that you are less Indian than us. But the ULFA people are also Indians, Mr. Saikia. They are also sons and daughters of our country. Don't say like that.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRA-VARTY (Assam): You people are pushing them into the jungle.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: We have not. Who has pushed them into the jungle, that will come before you just now. Please hear me.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जो "उल्फा" का प्रश्न है, यह आसाम के पुराने प्रश्न से जड़ा हुआ है। आसाम के अंदर जब देश का विभाजन हुआ, उसके बाद से, सन् 1947 के बाद से लगातार बंगला देश से इनफिल्ट्रेशन होता रहा, आज भी हो रहा है और जो उस इनफिल्ट्रेशन की बात करता था, उसको कह जता था कि यह साम्प्रदायिक बात की जा रही है। आसाम के अंदर भी बहुत से मेरे मित्र, बहुत बड़े-बड़े नेता कहते थे कि यह बंगला देश से, इनफिल्ट्रेशन की बात करना यह घोर साम्प्रदायिक है, यह देश-द्रोही है। परन्तु एक दिन आसाम के मेरे मित्रों को सम्झ में आया। 1979 में जब मंगलदोई पार्लियामेंटरी वाई इलेक्शन के लिए नए इलेक्टर रोल बनने के साल भर में 60 हजार वोटर्स बढ़ गए और ये सब बंगलादेशी हैं। आसाम के जो आंदोलन की जड़ है, वह मंगलदोई पार्लियामेंटरी इलेक्शन से है जिसका नेतृत्व आपने किया, जिसमें हमने अपना सहयोग दिया। क्योंकि वह देश के बाहर से आक्रमण हो रहा था, हमने आपको सहयोग दिया था। मैं आज आपके सामने और सदन के सामने यह बात रखना चाहता हूँ, हमने तब सपोर्ट किया था, जब वह बहिरंगत के खिलाफ नहीं, विदेशी के खिलाफ था और आज मैं स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि आज आसाम का आंदोलन जो पहले

“आसू” से शुरू हुआ था, बाहिरागत के खिलाफ था। बाहिरागत मतलब outsiders from Assam

यह तो बंद में इस नेतृत्व को सदबद्ध आई, जो मैंने मिला यहाँ बैठे हैं—विनेश गोस्वामी बैठे हैं, विजय बहन बैठे हैं, इनके नेतृत्व में वह बाहिरागत से विदेशी के ऊपर हो गया और जो विदेशी के खिलाफ आन्दोलन हुआ, तो एक राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन के नाते हमने उसका पूर्ण समर्थन किया और जो इन्फिल्ट्रेशन हुआ, उसके लिए और आज जो भी आसाम की समस्या है, उस समस्या की जड़ में वह इन्फिल्ट्रेशन ही है, जो 1947 से आज तक होता आ रहा है और आज तक की सभी सरकारों से हम सुनते आ रहे हैं कि बार्डर चेक-पोस्ट बढ़ा दिए गए हैं, हम कंट्रोल को तार लगा रहे हैं और आज तक जो भी सरकार वहाँ बैठी रही, जो भी प्रधान मंत्री रहे, चाहे वह पंडित नेहरू हों और चाहे आज चन्द्रशेखर तक हों, किसी ने भी उसको और ध्यान नहीं दिया। यह मैंरा स्पष्ट सबके ऊपर आरोप है और उसी के कारण आज आसाम की समस्या हुई है। और यह इन्फिल्ट्रेशन केवल आसाम तक ही सीमित नहीं रह गया है, आज आप बिहार में जाकर देखिए, बिहार के अंदर ‘पूणिया’ जिले में जाकर देखिए। और कहीं-कहीं नहीं इन्फिल्ट्रेशन हुआ? यह समस्या आज बढ़ गई है। इस समस्या के खिलाफ जब आसाम ने आन्दोलन किया, सन् 1982 में चुनाव का बहिष्कार किया, उस समय वहाँ जो राष्ट्रपति शासन था, उसने जो अत्याचार किया आंदोलनकारियों के ऊपर अत्याचार किए। मैं भी उस आंदोलन के साथ जुड़ा हुआ था और बहुत से स्थानों पर विनेश जी और हम साथ-साथ उन मरने वाले शहीदों को श्रद्धांजली देने गये थे। हमने इनको सहयोग किया था उस आंदोलन के अंदर। परन्तु उस समय राष्ट्रपति शासन के अंदर केन्द्र में कांग्रेस की सरकार थी जिस समय यह आंदोलन हुआ था। बहुत लोग मारे गये और इतना बंद हुआ था, इतना विरोध था जिसकी मैं कल्पना

नहीं कर सकता। मैं बिहार से जुड़ा हुआ हूँ, मैंने जे.पी. आंदोलन देखा है, पर आसाम का आंदोलन उससे जबस्त था, मैं इतना ही आपके सामने कहना चाहता हूँ। परन्तु उस आंदोलन में से जन्मी हुई ए.जी.पी. की सरकार 1985 में शासन में आती है। हमको बहुत आशायें थी कि यह जो जवान लोग आये हैं, कालेज और स्कूल से निकल कर आये हैं ईमानदारी से शासन करेंगे, आसाम का जो पिछड़ापन है उसको दूर करेंगे, जिस प्रकार से उन्होंने राष्ट्रीय धारा में जोड़ने का प्रयास किया उसको करेंगे। परन्तु आज मुझे बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कि 1985 से लेकर 1990 आ गया आसाम का जो भी एकोर्ड हुआ था, जो भी समस्याएँ थी उनका निदान नहीं हो सका, नहीं हो सका, नहीं हो सका। उसके लिये अगर आसाम के लोग केवल केन्द्रीय सरकार को केवल जिम्मेदार देखते हैं तो मैं असम की सरकार को भी उतना ही जिम्मेदार मानता हूँ जिनके दोनों के कारण आज आसाम की प्रगति नहीं हुई। आज आसाम में घोर असंतोष फैला हुआ है। इसके लिये ए.जी.पी. की सरकार मुक्त नहीं हो सकती क्योंकि वहाँ पर पांच साल उनका ग़ुदब शासन रहा है।

उल्फा की गतिविधियाँ पिछले साल-डेढ़ साल से चल रही हैं। इससे पहले बोडो आंदोलन चल रहा था। बोडो वाले वहाँ से अलग होना चाहते थे। उस आंदोलन को दबाने के लिये सरकार ने क्या किया, नहीं किया, यह एक अलग विषय है वहाँ बोडो का आंदोलन चल रहा है। परन्तु उल्फा का आंदोलन प्रारम्भ हुआ और उल्फा के आंदोलन में क्या हुआ? फिराती के लिये धन दीजिये, उठाकर ले जायेंगे, इतना पैसा दीजिये, नहीं दीजिये, किडनपिंग हुई, किलिये हुई। हमारे उस समय के डिप्टी मिनिस्टर और आज के भी डिप्टी प्राईम मिनिस्टर श्री देवी लाल जी वहाँ गये और उनसे सर्किट हाऊस में जो लोग

[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

मिलने आये और जिन्होंने कंप्लेंट की उल्फा के खिलाफ कंप्लेंट की कि इस प्रकार से व्यापारियों को, पंगाड़ा जा रहा है, उनसे धन की फिर्ती ली जा रही है तो वह कंप्लेंट करने वाला जिन्दा घर नहीं पहुँच सका और मुझे कष्ट के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि ए.जी.पी. की सरकार उनको सुरक्षा नहीं प्रदान कर सकी। जो डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर से अपनी अपील करने जाता है वह भी गोली से मार दिया जाता है और उनको सरकार नहीं बचा सकी। यह कितना अच्छा शासन था, प्रशासन था, यह मेरे मित्र स्वयं जरा दिल पर हाथ रखकर इसका उत्तर दे दें मैं उन्हीं से चाहूँगा। गोहाटी के अंदर जो चैम्बर आफ कौमर्स है उनके कितने अध्यक्ष और मंत्री मारे गये? यह इनका हिसाब मैं इन्हीं से पूछना चाहूँगा और किसी से पूछने का मेरे को दरकार नहीं है।

इस प्रकार की खबरें अखबारों में छपी हैं, मेरे बहुत मित्रों ने कोट किया है। यह जो फिरोती मांगी जाती थी, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कहा जाता था कि फरोती तो वहाँ के एस.पी. और डी. एम. को दे आओ, हमको पैसा मिल जायगा। इस प्रकार की खबरें अखबारों में छपी हैं, कहिये तो मैं कोट कर सकता हूँ। इसका क्या अर्थ माना जाता है और जब पुलिस से पूछा जाता था। हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में छपा है :

"No one has come forward with a complaint that there is a law and order problem. If those people want to leave, we are prepared to give them full security."

यह डी एम का कहना है। कौन कंप्लेंट कराने जायगा? उः प्रधान मंत्री से कंप्लेंट कराने के बाद अगर गोली मार दिया जायगा तो उसको बचाने वाला नहीं है। उनकी सुरक्षा वहाँ कैसे होगी? ऐसे एक उदाहरण नहीं अनेकानेक उदाहरण

हैं। मित्रों ने सबके नाम गिनाये हैं कौन-कौन मारा गया, कितने कितने हुये, कितने लोग मारे गये, इसके बारे में आज प्रश्न वाचक चिन्ह है। इंडियन एक्सप्रेस में 3 नवम्बर को छपा कि 130 लोग मारे जा चुके हैं। जिसमें 52 कांग्रेस-आई और सी.पी.एम. के कार्यकर्ता हैं। एक विचित्र स्थिति बनी हुई थी। इतना ही नहीं जो धन मांगा गया वह केवल बाहरी लोगों से नहीं मांगा गया, गोला घाट के अंदर एक टी गार्डन है जो आसाम टी एम्प्लॉईज इंडस्ट्रियल कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटी का, उससे 15 लाख रुपये मांगा गया। वर्कर्स कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटी से भी मांगा गया और नहीं आया तो उनके लिये धमकी का प्रश्न आया। मित्रों, यह सोचने का विषय है। मैं बहुत गंभीरता से, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश के विभिन्न भागों में यह क्यों पड़ा रहा है? आसाम में आज शुरू हुआ है, पंजाब में है, कश्मीर में है, तमिलनाडु में है, आन्ध्र में है, इसके पीछे क्या भावना है? क्या यह कम डवलपमेंट के कारण है? पंजाब तो परकैपिटल इनकम के हिसाब से सबसे बड़ा इनकम का प्रान्त है। परन्तु मेरा स्पष्ट मत है कि इसके पीछे दो भावनाएँ हैं। एक तो हमने जो सन्स अफ दि सथल की थ्योरी बतई, लेकिन भूमिपुत्र को हम काम नहीं दे पाए। किसे हम भूमिपुत्र कहते हैं? जो भारत की आत्मा से प्रदेश को कटा गया है। प्रदेश से कटकर आज वह छंटा नागपुर कहा जाता है, एक जिला कहा जाता है, एक शहर कहा जाता है। पूरे देश की हम चिन्ता नहीं करते हैं। हम एक एक क्षत्र, एक एक रिलीजन में बंटते चले जा रहे हैं। भूमिपुत्र को काम मिलना चाहिए क्योंकि आज वह समझने लग है कि भारत की भूमि बेरी नहीं है। भारत भूमि बेरी है, यह भाव समप्त हो चका है। यह हमारी भारत भूमि है, इसी लिए हमें त्याग करना चाहिए, तस्य करनी चाहिए, एस आज नहीं हो रहा है। हमने कंपोजिट कल्वर की बात कही और दूसरी ओर हम मल्टीनेशनल सोस इटी की बात बहते हैं, उसका परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि जगह

जगह अलग अलग राष्ट्रों की कल्पना हो रही है कि भारत एक राष्ट्र है, इसकी एकता को समाप्त करो। मुझे बड़े कष्ट से कहना पड़ रहा है कि आज तक सरकार ने इस ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया। जो हम रा मोडिया है, रेडियो है वह सैय। भये कोतवाल के, सजना सजनी के गीत भले ही गाते रहें लेकिन यह बन्दे मातरम या भारा माता के या भारत देश के गीत कभी टी.वी. पर आ.एंग क्या? इन भावनाओं को समाप्त कर दिया गया है।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एम. ए. बेबी)  
पीठासीन हुए]

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मे गृह मंत्री जी से जानना चाहत हूँ कि क्या यह संयोग है या इसके पीछे कोई योजना है और जितनी इस प्रकार की गतिविधियाँ हो रही हैं चाहे वह यू.एन. इस्टेड लिबरेशन फ्रंट आफ असम हो, जे.के.एल.एफ. हो, खालिस्तान लिबरेशन फ्रंट हो, सोशलिस्ट काउंसिल आफ नागलैंड हो, बर्मा फ्रंट हो, पीपुल्स लिबरेशन आर्मी आफ मणिपुर जो, जम्मू के अंदर हो ये सारे जो फ्रंट हमारे मित्र ने कह चरों ओर देश में बन गए हैं, क्या इनके पीछे कोई एक सूत्र है? मैं गृह मंत्री से जानना चाहता हूँ कि सेंट्रल इंटेलिजेंस से पूछिए कि वह पता लग यें। मैंने पढ़ा है, मैंने पास प्रमाण नहीं हैं लेकिन जो मैंने पढ़ा है उसके आधार पर मैं सदन में पूरी जिम्मेदारी के साथ कहना चाहत हूँ कि बंगलौर में एक संस्था है वर्ल्ड काउंसिल आफ चर्चेंज उनका जो प्रकाशित पत्र है, उनकी जो पत्रिकायें हैं उनमें स्पष्ट इन सारे लोगों को मार्गदर्शन देकर देश के अंदर जो पिछड़े हैं उनको आर्म्स और ऐम्पुनिशन देकर लड़ाई चलिए, इस प्रकार के वक्तव्य छपते रहते हैं। उनकी जो मीटिंगें होती हैं उनमें पिनाज मोत सिंह मान, गोराबालेंड के वीणिग नहव भी जाते रहे हैं। एक योजना बड़ा पड़वाँ इस अर्गनइजेशन के माध्यम से चलाया जा रहा है जिसका स्रोत विदेशों में है, सी.आई.ए. से होगा या किसी और। यह वर्ल्ड काउंसिल

आफ चेंज जो है इसका स्रोत मे गृह मंत्री जी से चाहूँगा कि पता लग कर यहाँ पर रखें। मैं इसका इतिहास सदन के सामने रखना चाहत हूँ।

महोदय, आज से 6 साल पूर्व इसका हेडक्वार्टर इंडोनेशिया में था। इंडोनेशिया के शासन ने उनको कहा कि ये देश में अनरिस्ट पैदा कर रहे हैं। इसलिए वहाँ से हटा दिया गया। वहाँ से इनका हेडक्वार्टर सिंगापुर में आया तीन साल बाद सिंगापुर की सरकार ने उनको वहाँ से हटा दिया क्योंकि उन्होंने देखा कि यह वहाँ के लोगों को लड़ा रहा है। वहाँ से हटाकर आज उसका हेडक्वार्टर बंगलौर में पिछले चार साल से है। मैं चाहूँगा कि उनके द्वारा जो पत्र या लिट्रेचर छपा जाता है, वह मैंने पास भी है, मैं नोट नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन गृह मंत्री से चाहूँगा कि वह इसकी जांच करे। जिस प्रकार के सेंटेंसेज में प्रयोग किए गए हैं उनसे आन्दोलन और असन्तोष भड़काना सरल है। इसलिए यह मामला अत्यंत गंभीर और महत्वपूर्ण है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज केवल असम में ही आन्दोलन नहीं चल रहा है। मणिपुर में, नागालैंड में, मिजोरम में चल रहा है। जो जो स्टेट्स आग हो गई है वहाँ पर भी ये आन्दोलन चल रहे हैं। जो अलग कहते हैं कि यह इकानमिक कारण हैं, वह गलत है। कानिमिक कारण नहीं है। ज्यों ज्यों आज प्रगति हो रही है, प्रति वर्ष परसेंटज के हिसाब से लोग गरीबी रेखा के ऊपर चले जा रहे हैं, लेकिन असल में ऐसा नहीं है। परसेंटज के हिसाब से इल्लूट्रेट की संख्या बढ़ रही है। सारे देश में इल्लूट्रेसी की दृष्टि से, पावर्टी की दृष्टि से कोई महत्वपूर्ण काम नहीं हो रहा है। यह प्रोब्लम अलग विवाद के कारण हो रही है और इस अलग विवाद को बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा है। सन्मन्तपूर्वक निवेदन करना चाहत हूँ कि अलग विवाद को समाप्त करके, यह देश एक है, यह हमारी भारत

[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

माता है इस प्रचार की प्रखर देशभक्ति की भावना जगा कर इसको लाने का प्रयास करें।

इसके आगे एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा कि जो वहां पर गवर्नर शासन लागू किया गया, ठीक है उल्फा की गतिविधियां बढ़ गई थी इसलिए राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना आवश्यक हो गया था, मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा है कि 19 नवम्बर, का सरकुलर उल्फा ने दिया है जो उनके कैम्पों से मिला है जिसमें स्पष्ट कहा गया है कि 10 दिन के अंदर हमारे यहां राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होने जा रहा है। आप लीडर लोग हट जाइये, सारे कैम्पों को खाली कर दीजिए। इस प्रकार का सरकुलर उनको कहां से पिला? केन्द्रीय सरकार जरा अपने गिरेबान में झांक कर देखे कि यह कहां से लीकज हुई। अगर इस तरह से केन्द्रीय सरकार का शासन चलेगा तो शायद देश के अंदर आपको शासन करने में सफलता मिलेगी मैं नहीं जानता। आज यह तथ्य है कि उल्फा के जितने न भी लीडर हैं कोई भी उनमें से पकड़ा नहीं गया। सब इधर-उधर अंडरग्राउंड हो चुके हैं। इससे स्पष्ट अर्थ यह लगता है कि उल्फा का केन्द्र, केन्द्रीय सरकार के गृह मंत्रालय के अंदर ही कहीं बैठा हुआ है जिससे वह सरकुलर गया है। मैं चाहूंगा केन्द्रीय सरकार इस पर ध्यान दे। आज वहां पर शांति स्थापित करने के लिए उन लड़कों के अंदर, जो देश से दूर भागने की भावना आ गयी है उस भावना को फिर से भरने के लिए देशभक्ति की भावना जगाने के लिए सदन के सब लोग प्रयास करें। देश का जो नेतृत्व है वह यह प्रयास करे। सब राजनीतिक दल के लोग मिलकर प्रयास करें। देश हमारा एक है। हम इसके पुत्र हैं। कोई आगे बढ़ा है, कोई पीछे बढ़ा है। हमें गरीब से गरीब भाई को ऊपर लाना है। इस एकात्मा और राजनीतिक भावना से जब तक काम नहीं होगा तब तक देश में शांति नहीं हो सकती

है। अभी तो चार प्रांतों में गड़बड़ी है और इधर दूसरे प्रांतों में भी हो जायेगी। मेरा नम्र नवेदन है कि विभेद की भाषा बोलना बंद करें। अलग-अलग बातें छोड़ कर भारत माता की जय बोलें जिस नारे ने हमारे क्रांतिकारियों को प्रेरणा दी थी और देश को स्वतंत्र कराने के लिए बंदे मातरम और भारत माता की जय करके फांसी के फंदे पर झूल जाते थे। वही भावना, व सेंटिमेंट्स देश में लाना होगा। अभी पहले के उपाध्यक्ष जो बैठे थे वह कह रहे थे कि सेंटिमेंट की बात नहीं कहनी है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश सेंटिमेंट्स से बनता है। सेंटिमेंट होंगे तो इकोनॉमिक प्रोग्रेस होगी। आज सेंटिमेंट्स नहीं है इसीलिए इकोनॉमिक प्रोग्रेस नहीं हो रही है। एक-एक आदमी भ्रष्टाचार के अंदर फंसा जा रहा है क्योंकि आज केवल पैसा कमाने की होड़ लगी हुई है। जब यह होगा कि यह देश हमारा है, गरीब आदमी मेरा भाई है, यह भारत माता का पुत्र है, मैं भी भारत माता का पुत्र हूँ, जब यह एकात्मा की भावना उत्पन्न होगी तब सारी समस्याओं का निदान हो सकेगा।

अंत में यह कहूंगा कि आज जो सरकार ने किया है इस को कम समय तक लागू करके सारे देश में एकात्मा का भाव लागू करे जिससे केवल असम में ही राष्ट्रपति शासन जल्दी समाप्त हो बल्कि अन्य जगहों पर भी जहां राष्ट्रपति शासन बढ़ता जा रहा है वहां भी जल्दी से समाप्त हो सके। देश के अंदर एकात्मा की भावना आये। परन्तु आज आवश्यकता के नाते मैं अपनी पाटी की ओर से इसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Sir, on a point of information. According to the List of Business, at 6 o'clock there is a statement by the Minister of Commerce and a number of speakers are there now. I would like to know whether the voting will take place today itself or the busi-

ness will be shifted to tomorrow. I think it would be better if it is shifted to tomorrow.

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): Sir, there are many speakers and we do not know when it would be completed.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: Eight or nine more speakers are there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): After the clarifications are sought, I do not think we would be in a position to complete this. It may spill over to the next day, that is, tomorrow. Now, Mr. Gopalsamy.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: We would like to know whether the voting would be today or tomorrow. If it is tomorrow, some Members who want to go now can go. You are in the Chair and you can decide it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): I do not think that voting can take place today.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: No voting today then.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): I can go now with an easy conscience.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now, Mr. Gopalsamy.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, the imposition of President's Rule and the promulgation of Draconian laws is the greatest blunder committed by the present Government. I would like to associate myself with the views expressed by my friend, Shri Dinesh Goswami.

Sir, the States exist in this country as of right under the Constitution, entitled to autonomy guaranteed by the Constitution. Autonomy is not a bauble, conferred by the Centre on States. This factor, if it is forgotten, in the name of unity

and integrity if any Government plays the dangerous game of settling political scores, the country will not forgive. Sir, what happened in Punjab? Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala was the Chief Minister, and for the first time in the President's Address he was applauded in the President's Address itself. But his Government was dismissed under the booby of law and order in Punjab. I do remember, at the stage<sup>1</sup> when a discussion took place, I warned the Government, the then Government, that the regional party which was in power, the Akalis, stands as a buffer between the extremists and Delhi and if you remove that buffer, you will be caught in the quagmire the quick-sand. That has happened. Has the law and order improved, has the number of killings been reduced in Punjab? No. Why it happened. 'The very same sinister game was played in Jammu and Kashmir, because the party which has been enjoying power in Delhi does not want a regional party to rule any State' if it is opposed to the party which has been enjoying power in Delhi. That is why they wanted to destabilise the National Conference Government in Jammu and Kashmir. The *Modus operandi* is very simple; If there is a possibility, divide upon, divide to weaken, then destabilise the Government. The ultimate result in the extremists have been strengthened. Jammu and Kashmir is that the hands of the same thing happened in Punjab, now in Assam. You have raised the bogey of ULFA.

Sir, I would like to register our point of view on behalf of my party that we are second to none to condemn any such movement, ULFA or any movement which threatens the very unity or integrity of this country.

Sir, a charge was made that LTTE camps exist in the State of Tamil Nadu.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): It is a fact.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Please listen to me I have also to put forth my view. I am entitled to it. (*Interruptions*).

But if it is a fact, the Central Government has got all the agencies. They were making wild accusations. Certain vested interests, have been making wild accusation that LTTE camps exist in Tamil Nadu. But there is no....

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: There is a recorded proof that LTTE camps are there, in Tamil Nadu and.. (*Interruptions*),

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Who decides your solid proof?.. (*Interruptions*)..

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You cannot hide the fact. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please sit down. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Then, certain sections stated that...

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka) You are only for DMK. Why do you stand for LTTE?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You have not followed the point. It is because they said the camps existed in the State of Tamil Nadu. The accusation was about camps. But when they could not establish or substantiate the charge, now they have left that accusation. Sir of course camps were there not only for LTTE!

SHRI T. R. BALU (Tamil Nadu): Supported by Congress and AIADMK.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY.. not only for LTTE but for many other groups, for EPRLF, TELO and PLOTE, not only in Tamil Nadu but in Uttar Pradesh also. I could mention the name of the place. There was a camp in Almore in UP for LTTE and other groups in the 80s. Who was ruling here at that time? Who was ruling in the State of Tamil Nadu at that

time? Why were the camps allowed? They were there with their encouragement. Our Army officers gave training.

SHRI T. R. BALU: The Congress was financing.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: And, Sir, the camps were there. It is a fact that canis were there in 80s. And 'India Today' also exhibited some photographs of LTTE camps, of the camps of the other groups n'so. But who gave the training, who nurtured this thing? Who gave money? Sir. Rs. 4 crores of money was given to LTTE when the AIADMK was in power '0 purchase weapons Sir, a bomb blast took place in Meenambakkam airport and more than 40 people were shattered to pieces. They were killed in cold blood. But at that time, we did not get the dismissal of the Ministry. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: When Padmanabha and 17 others were killed, who was in power in Tamil Nadu? (*Interruptions*). You are accusing the AIADMK Government. What is your stand? (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Mr. Narayanasamy, please take your seat.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: You are a party to the LTTE activities in Tamil Nadu.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Please take your seat. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We will not allow this. This is the statement of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has given a very categorical statement that he will not allow any group to use the soil of Tamil Nadu to create violence or anything. But Sir, today, there are some people who are raising his bogey. Of course, the hon. Prime Minister has said about the link between the ULFA and the LTTE. We are not

holding any brief for the LITE here. But, Sir, we want to have very cordial relations with the Central Government. The Chief Minister came here on the 3rd of this month. He held discussions with the Prime Minister. If anything is brought to the notice of the Tamil Nadu Government, whatever suggestions are given by the Central Government to tackle any such problem, we are prepared to extend our fullest co-operation to the Central Government. But, Sir.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Central Government is not running your Government. *(Interruptions)* You will say that the Central Government is interfering in your State affairs. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Mr. Vice-Chairman, - Sir, we are discussing Assam, not Tamil Nadu.

DR. NAGEN SAKIA: Sir, we are discussing the Statutory Resolution on Assam, So, the speakers should be asked to confine themselves within the parameters of the subject. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: But Sir, with all the force at my command I would like to inform this House that there is no camp for ULFA or for any other group inside Tamil Nadu. But because they are raising this bogey... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: We can prove it... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, when the Nazis wanted to finish Communists, they said Reichstag is on fire because of the Communists... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Gopal-samy is under the mistaken impression. There is president's rule... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): On a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN; SHRI M. A. BABY: There is a point of order. Let me hear that first.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN; Sir, the discussion is on Proclamation of President's rule in Assam. I don't know how the hon. Member can talk about LTTE and Sri Lanka. I would like the Chair to give his ruling... *(Interruptions)*. I want to appeal to the Chair. If the hon. Member is allowed to talk about LTTE, then you allow us also to speak about LTTE. But because the Minister is going to answer only about Assam, I don't know how you allow him to speak about LTTE also. In the morning I asked the Prime Minister a question and at that time Mr. Gopalsamy was sitting quiet. He did not reply. Now he wants to raise it in an indirect way in this debate. But the Minister will not be able to reply to that. So, it will be totally incorrect. We also have so much to say on Tamil Nadu; we can also say if he is allowed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): I have to deal with the point of order. Let me clarify. The hon. Member is right that we are discussing about Assam, and while discussing about Assam there can be some reasonable reference to some other States also. But unfortunately Shri Gopalsamy is taking too much time in relation to Tamil Nadu. So, there should be only some reasonable reference to Tamil Nadu.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I will confine myself to the subject. I would like to condemn any sinister move to destabilise the State Governments, because the Assam Government was dismissed; President's rule has been imposed. Already the wings of the country, the North-East, North and the North-West are on fire. But the southern tip is very peaceful. But certain sections have been raising this bogey and demanding dismissal of Tamil Nadu Government even. But, Sir... *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, you should not allow this.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Mr. Gopalsamy is threatening the House and warning the House.



SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We are not worried. Hon. Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar will never yield to any such pressure from any quarter. But, Sir, we paid a heavy price in 1976 because v/e opposed emergency, and Mr. Chandra Shekhar also suffered detention in the dark dungeon cells. We have certain principles and convictions. At the same time, when there was a move to expel Indira Gandhi from the Lok Sabha, after Chikmagalur victory we were the first, our leader was the first, to condemn that action also. I remember the words of Lady Macbeth: Stars, hide your fire; the crimes we are going to commit should be hidden in darkness. That is the Shakespearean couplet. I would like to draw the attention of certain people who are trying to heed to the voice of certain Lady Macbeth. Not only Lady Macbeth, but those who acted upon her advice were doomed. Those people who act according to the advice of Lady Macbeths will only face doom. (Interruptions) I know, the Congress Party has given a Press release<sup>1</sup> at 4 p. m. The Congress Party has descended to such a Jaw level that it is running after some third rate people who have no political credibility. (Interruptions).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Mr. Gopalsamy, you joined Mr. V. P. Singh. You have no right to talk about the Congress Party. (Interruptions).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I know, the Congress Party has given a Press release at 4 p. m., against the Tamil Nadu Government.

SHRI T. R. BALU, Shams: (Interruptions).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: We ignore the yellings of cunning jackals. We have got the mandate (Interruptions) You dismissed a popularly-elected Government in Assam. You could send the Army there. (Interruptions) You could send the Army to Assam It will be thrown into the Brahmaputra. The Congress Party will be drowned in the Brahmaputra. They could not enter the State of Assam. They could not enter

the State of Jammu and Kashmir. (Interruptions) In Andhra Pradesh, ten districts are virtually under the control of the Naxalites. But I am not here to demand the dismissal of the Janardhan Reddy Ministry. I am not demanding.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: He has no right to say that. (Interruptions). You did not win a single Lok Sabha seat. What right have you got to talk about the Congress Party? (Interruptions) You have been wiped out in the Parliament elections.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Mr. Gopalsamy, please conclude.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I am not asking for the dismissal of the Andhra Pradesh Ministry. I am not for that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): You have only (two minutes).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Whether it is Andhra Pradesh or U. P. or any other State, we are not demanding the dismissal of any Government. (Interruptions) You want you want co-operation. I would like to warn you. If you try to play any dirty games, really, you will be creating another Punjab or Assam in the State of Tamil Nadu. The Congress Party will never be able to enter the State of Tamil Nadu. (Interruptions).

SHRI DAYANAND SAHAY (Bihar): Sir, he should withdraw this.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: He cannot make such a statement. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: The Tamil Nadu people want the dismissal of the D. M. K. Government. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, Mr. Gopalsamy should withdraw what he said just now. He cannot hold the Parliament and the country to ransom by giving such threats on the floor of the House. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY- They will be preparing the obituary of the Congress Party. They will be writing the epitaph of

the Congress Party in the country. (*Interruptions*) You will be thrown into the dustbin of history. Don't try to play any dirty games. (*Interruptions*) You lost power in Tamil Nadu 24 years back. You will not be able to come back to power in Tamil Nadu. (*Interruptions*). Sir, I strongly condemn the imposition of President's Rule in the State of Assam.

6. 00 p. M.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: That remark should be expunged.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): There is nothing unparliamentary. He gave a caution. There is nothing in that.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Let the Chair give his ruling I am appealing to the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): If there is any thing unparliamentary

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN<sup>1</sup>. I am not talking of 'unparliamentary'. What I want to bring to your notice is that the hon. Member just now said, if anything is done which the Central Government is entitled to, if it is so advised under the Constitution of India, Tamil Nadu will become another Punjab or Assam. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Punjab is still a part of India. Punjab is not Pakistan.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Several times several expressions are used.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Punjab is not Pakistan, Assam is not Burma.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Already they are converting Parliament into Punjab.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Only I want to know whether we are sitting beyond six.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Mr. Gopalsamy, please sit down. I hope you have<sup>1</sup> concluded. Yes, Shri Chaturanan Mishra.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) :  
उप-नाटक जै, अने बिना दंग से हम  
लोके असम पर बहन कर रहे थे और  
बहन करते वक हम लोक तमिल नाडु  
में चले गये, अगर यह होना इस लक्षन  
का नहीं, तो पता नहीं कि आगे क्या  
आएगा । हमारे समय में नहीं आता ।

हमारे विचार से, देश के समने...  
(व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. A. BABY): Now you may please stop. You can continue tomorrow. The Minister will now make the statement.

#### STATEMENT BY MINISTER—RECENT VISIT BY THE COMMERCE AND LAW AND JUSTICE MINISTER TO AFGHANISTAN

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY): Sir, in response to an invitation from the Minister for Commerce of Afghanistan, I visited Afghanistan from 30th December, 1990 to 1st January, 1991. This is the first bilateral visit of a Minister of Shri Chandra Shekhar's Government to a friendly country.

I was accompanied by a delegation of senior officials of various Ministries of the Government of India and experts as well as senior representatives of commercial establishments connect'd with Indo-Afghan trade and economic relations.

I had detailed discussions with His Excellency the Commerce Minister of Afghanistan, Mr. Zakim Shah as well as with the Deputy Prime Minister-cum-Minister for Planning and the Minister for Light Industries and Food Stuff.

The discussions were held in a warm and cordial atmosphere. Both sides appreciated the sincere efforts made jointly by